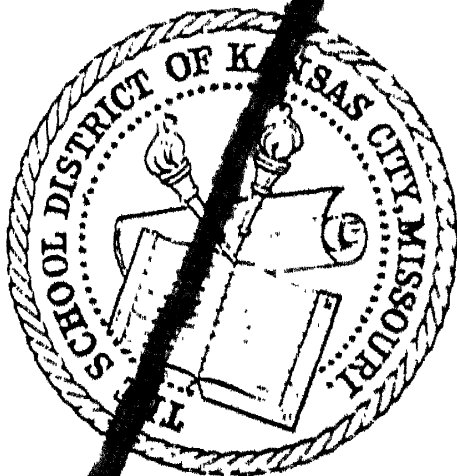


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THE DAVIS MEMORIAL VOLUME;
OR OUR
DEAD PRESIDENT,
JEFFERSON DAVIS,

AND THE
WORLD'S TRIBUTE TO HIS MEMORY

BY
J. WM. JONES, D. D.

*Author "Reminiscences, Anecdotes and Letters of Lee," "Christ in the Camp,"
"Army Northern Virginia Memorial Volume," &c., and
former Secretary Southern Historical Society.*

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF MRS. DAVIS.

RICHMOND, VA.:
E. F. JOHNSON & CO., PUBLISHERS.
1890.

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Ret.

TO

THE NOBLE MATRON, MRS. VARINA HOWELL DAVIS,

**WHOSE FITTEST EULOGY IS THAT SHE WAS WORTHY TO GRACE THE HOME
AND BRING SUNSHINE INTO THE LIFE OF**

Jefferson Davis,

**THIS VOLUME, WHICH WAS UNDERTAKEN BY HER KIND ENCOURAGEMENT, IS
AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED BY ONE WHO COUNTS IT AN
HONOR TO BE CALLED HER FRIEND.**

PREFACE.

Some years ago my personal relations to President DAVIS, and my interest in and knowledge of events of Confederate History, induced an arrangement by which, with his full consent, I was to write the authorized Biography of our great Chief, and I had been diligently collecting material for that purpose.

But on learning that he had at last yielded to a general desire, and was engaged at the time of his death in preparing his own Memoirs, and that since his death Mrs. DAVIS has decided to complete and publish the book, under her own supervision, I gave up, of course, any plan of my own which could by any possibility conflict with this Memoir.

It was suggested to me, however, that a volume which should briefly outline the Life and Character of the great Confederate Leader, and which should gather and preserve choice selections from the world's splendid tribute to his memory, would be a prized souvenir in the homes of the people who loved him, and not unacceptable to others who are willing to know more of the man who played so conspicuous a part in American History.

But even this work I was unwilling to undertake unless it should meet with the full approval of Mrs. DAVIS, and be so arranged that she should have a "royalty" on every copy sold.

I found her not only willing but anxious that these tributes of a people's love to her noble husband should be thus collected and published, and I obtained her cheerful consent that I should undertake the work, and her kind promise of valuable material for it.

I am glad to be able to add that the liberality of my publishers has made the royalty large enough to induce the hope that it will be an important source of income to the noble woman who has caught the spirit of her illustrious husband and steadfastly refused all gratuities.

The importance of an early publication has compelled the preparation of the book more rapidly than is desirable, and yet great care has been taken, and it is hoped that no serious error will be found.

I am under high obligations to the newspapers generally, and to many personal friends who have aided me in my work, and I regret that the names of those who have given me cheerful assistance are too numerous to publish, and that I must content myself with this general acknowledgment of their appreciated favors.

And while the book is in no sense an attempt at a full Biography, it is yet sent forth in the hope that it may shed much light on the Life and Character of "Our Dead President," and may show the world, and teach future generations, what a noble specimen of the Soldier, Statesman, Patriot, Orator, and Christian gentleman he was, and what a place he held in the hearts of a grateful and loving people.

J. W. J.

Atlanta, Ga., April 3d, 1890.

INTRODUCTION.

I can think of no better introduction to what I may say of the life and character of the great chief of the Confederacy than to quote the first paragraph of the superb oration which he delivered at the great Lee Memorial Meeting held in Richmond, Va., on Thursday evening, November 3d, 1870.

The spacious First Presbyterian Church was packed to its utmost capacity by an audience composed largely of Confederate veterans, who gave Mr. Davis such an ovation as King or proudest conqueror might have envied, and when the deafening cheers with which he was greeted, as he came forward to preside over the meeting, had subsided, he began his eulogy on Lee by saying :

"Soldiers and Sailors of the Confederacy, Countrymen and Friends:

"Assembled on this sad occasion, with hearts oppressed with the grief that follows the loss of him who was our leader on many a bloody battle-field, there is a melancholy pleasure in the spectacle which is presented. Hitherto, in all times, men have been honored when successful; but here is the case of one who, amid disaster, went down to his grave, and those who were his companions in misfortune have assembled to honor his memory. It is as much an honor to you who give as to him who receives, for above the vulgar test of merit you show yourselves competent to discriminate between him who enjoys and him who deserves success."

How appropriate this language to the great gathering in New Orleans, and the great gatherings in every city, and well nigh every town and hamlet of the old Confederate States.

Describing the immense outpouring of the people, and the solemn decorum of the vast crowds at the funeral in New Orleans, Mr. F. D. Mussey, of the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, said, in his report to that paper: "The funeral of General Grant was a magnificent piece set on the stage, but this was a spontaneous outpouring of the hearts of a grateful people."

And so it was. The man who had led his people in an unsuccessful struggle for independence died with a place in their hearts which no victor ever had.

How can we account for this? I suppose that one way of accounting for it is to say that the intelligent people of our Southland have long

since repudiated the fallacy that "success makes right," and that *this* is the criterion by which to judge a cause.

One of the finest replies that I have ever heard was that given by the late Bishop J. P. B. Wilmer, of Louisiana, when some old friends of his in Philadelphia were twitting him about the failure of the Confederacy, and claiming that this proved that he was wrong in leaving his pastorate in Philadelphia to cast his lot with his beloved South.

"We told you that you were wrong," said they; "and now see how it has been proven that we were right. Look at the result."

"I see and keenly feel the result," said the Bishop; "but I do not see that that proves anything as to who was right and who was wrong in that great contest."

"Why the conclusion is perfectly obvious, and we wonder that you do not see it. The Confederacy was overwhelmed, and was, of course, wrong in attempting to establish her independence," they confidently replied.

"I cannot see it in that light," rejoined the Bishop, "and I think that I can illustrate it so as to show even you the fallacy of your position. Suppose that you and I were to get into a heated discussion concerning some point in theology, and were to so far forget ourselves that words should come to blows. Now you are a much stronger man than I am physically; but suppose that you were to send out and get a burly Irishman, a big Dutchman, and a strapping negro, and that all four of you should, after a hard struggle, succeed in throwing me down and tying me, would that prove that you were right, and that I was wrong? Now the North, much stronger physically than the South, had not only the burly Irishman, and the big Dutchman, and the strapping negro, but they had the rest of the world from which to recruit their armies, and after a four years' struggle, which shook the continent, they finally succeeded in compelling us 'to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources,' and furl forever our tattered battle-flag. Does that prove that you were right and we were wrong in the contest? Away with any such absurd doctrine."

And so our Confederate people have not looked upon Mr. Davis as the unsuccessful leader of a wrong cause, but as one who bravely, heroically, and patiently, stood for country, God, and truth, as he was given to see it, and died a noble martyr for his people.

But Jefferson Davis's claim to a place in the hearts of his people does not by any means rest on his services to the Confederacy. As a young soldier on the frontier and in Indian wars he had illustrated the highest type of the young officer which the United States Military Academy at West Point sent out in its palmiest days; as colonel of the gallant Mississippi regiment he had won imperishable glory on the fields of Mexico, and contributed no insignificant part towards planting the

"stars and stripes" on the walls of the Montezumas; as representative of his State in the halls of Congress he had been the peer of the greatest in the House and in the Senate, even though there "were giants in those days;" as Secretary of War he had proven himself the ablest the country has ever had, and had introduced reforms which are even now blessing the department and the service, which have refused to honor him dead; as a popular orator and able debater he had few equals and scarcely any superior—even in this land of orators; and as a chivalric, stainless, Christian gentleman, and an incomparable patriot, he won the respect and esteem of all who knew him, and has left behind a record of which his people are justly proud.

Besides all this, he suffered in the room of his people, went to prison for them, had indignity put upon him, and was hated, slandered, maltreated and ostracised in the land he had served so faithfully—all *for them*. No wonder, then, that the people in our Southland loved Jefferson Davis; that they felt the deepest interest in all that concerned him, as he spent the evening of his days in his home beside the Gulf; that they watched with breathless interest the news of his sickness; that there was mourning in palace and cottage alike when the wires flashed the tidings of his death, and that immense crowds attended his funeral; that memorial services were held and eloquent eulogies pronounced in every city, town and village in the South; and that now the people are profoundly interested in everything concerning his life, his character, his death, or his funeral obsequies.

In a speech delivered in Atlanta during the visit of Mr. Davis, at the unvelling of the monument of his friend, B. H. Hill, in May, 1886, the gifted and lamented Henry W. Grady, in his own matchless eloquence, spoke of "Jefferson Davis, the uncrowned King of his people." Thank God, he is no longer "uncrowned." His people have crowned him with loving hearts, and redeemed by the blood of that Saviour in whom he humbly trusted, he has come off "conqueror—aye, more than conqueror," and the Captain of our Salvation has given him "palms of victory" and a "crown" of rejoicing—

"That crown with peerless glories bright,
Which shall new lustre boast
When victor's wreaths and monarch's gems
Shall blend in common dust."

Marion House
Jan 16th 1890.

Rev Dr J. William Jones.

My dear Sir

My children and I
have been anxious to have the res-
olutions of respect for Mr Davis enacted
throughout the Southern States col-
lected and embodied in a book form
so that they may not be perishable,
with a description of the honors
accorded to him by his countrymen.

We look forward with great satis-
faction therefore to the compilation
you are making for that end, and
wish you every success, which we
doubt not you will achieve.

Believe me

Very sincerely yours.

D. Jefferson Davis

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Tribute to the Leader of a "Lost Cause"—He Lives in the Hearts of a Grateful People—Success does not make Right, nor Failure Wrong—Bishop Wilmer's Retort—Mr. Davis True to Country, God and Truth—Soldier, Statesman, Orator, Patriot, Christian Gentleman, Martyr, He is no Longer an "Uncrowned King" of His People.	vii-ix
---	--------

PART I.

OUTLINE OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

CHAPTER I.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.—Birth—Boyhood—College Student—Cadet at West Point—Young Officer—Marriage—Cotton Planter—Member of Congress—Enters Mexican War as Colonel of Mississippi Rifles—Monterey—Buena Vista—In the United States Senate—Candidate for Governor—Secretary of War under President Pierce—Again Elected to the Senate, and Service until February 18, 1861—Farewell to the Senate—Election as President of the Southern Confederacy—Service through the War—Capture—Imprisonment—Release on Bond—Residence in Canada—Visit to Europe—Life at Beauvoir.	27-42
---	-------

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE.—His Devotion to Kentucky—Gift of His Birthplace as the Site of a Church—His Speech at the Dedication of the Church.	43-44
---	-------

CHAPTER III.

THE COLLEGE BOY.—At Transylvania University—Reminiscences of His Old Collegemate, General George W. Jones, of Iowa—Recollections of Judge Peters, of Mt. Sterling, Ky.	45-54
--	-------

CHAPTER IV.

THE WEST POINT CADET.—Appointed by President Monroe, through Secretary Calhoun—Recollection of a Fellow-Cadet—List of His Class—Sketch of Some of His Fellow-Cadets who were Afterwards Distinguished.	55-53
--	-------

CHAPTER V.

THE YOUNG OFFICER.—Second Lieutenant in the Sixth and then in the First Infantry—Reporting for Duty to Major Riley—The Black Hawk War—Severe Test of Loyalty to Principle—First Lieutenant and Adjutant of the First Cavalry—Marriage to Miss Taylor, Daughter of General Zachary Taylor—Not a Runaway Marriage. 69-82

CHAPTER VI.

IN RETIREMENT.—Briarfield—Death of His Wife—Wide Reading and Profound Study. 83-84

CHAPTER VII.

HIS ENTRANCE INTO POLITICS.—Candidate for the Legislature—His own Account of His Discussion with S. S. Prentiss—Defeated—Democratic Elector in 1844—His Second Marriage to Miss Varina Howell—Election to Congress where He took his Seat in December, 1845—His Brilliant Career in the House. 86-70

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MEXICAN WAR.—In Favor of the Annexation of Texas—Speech on Resolutions of Thanks to General Taylor and His Army—He Resigns His Seat in Congress to Accept the Command of the First Mississippi Rifles—His Rigid Discipline—His Distinguished Services at Monterey—One of the Commissioners to Receive the Surrender of the City—Adventure of Albert Sidney Johnston and Colonel Davis—Buena Vista—The Hero of the Day—Description of Hon. J. F. H. Claiborne—Gen. Taylor's Report—Col. Davis's own Report—Hon. Caleb Cushing's Mention of the "V Movement"—Account of Gen. A. H. Colquitt—"Steady Mississippians"—His Return Home and Enthusiastic Reception—Refuses a Commission as Brigadier-General because He thought the President had no Legal Right to Confer the Commission. 71-102

CHAPTER IX.

IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.—Appointed by the Governor and Approved by the People—The Peer of "The Giants"—John Quincy Adams's Opinion—Dyer's Estimate in His "Great Senators of the United States"—Pen-Picture of "The Southern Triumvirate," Davis, Hunter, and Toombs—Recollections of the Old Stenographer of the Senate, E. V. Murphy—Estimate of Prescott, the Historian—Estimate of Frank H. Alfriend—Sketch of the New Orleans "Times-Democrat"—Mr. Davis's Own Modest Account. 103-130

CHAPTER X.

SECRETARY OF WAR UNDER FRANKLIN PIERCE.—Reluctant Acceptance of the Position—Thorough Qualifications—Able Administration—Important Reforms and New Measures—The Officering of the Two New Regiments—A Brilliant Galaxy—Recollections of Judge James A. Campbell, of Philadelphia, who was in the Cabinet with Mr. Davis—His Own Account of His Administration of the War Department—The Degeneracy of the Administration since Mr. Davis's Day 131-142

CHAPTER XI.

AGAIN IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.—Mississippi Returns Him to the Senate—Difficulties and Dangers of Mr. Buchanan's Administration—Mr. Davis's Able and Patriotic Efforts to Avert Sectional Issues—Letter to Senator Pearce, of Maryland—

His Opposition to "Squatter Sovereignty" and Debates with Senator S. A. Douglas—Mr. Alfriend's Contrast between Davis and Douglas—His Reception and Speech in Portland, Maine—At Faneuil Hall, Boston—Introduction of General Caleb Cushing—Mr. Davis's Great Speech—Speech in New York—Reply to an Invitation to a "Webster Birthday Festival"—His States' Rights Resolutions—Conclusion of His Reply to Mr. Douglas—Not an Aspirant for the Nomination for President—Efforts to Heal the Breach and Solidify the Opposition to Lincoln . . . 143-195

CHAPTER XII.

HIS EFFORTS TO PRESERVE THE UNION.—Not a "Secession Conspirator"—His Devotion to the Union—His Own Summary of the Events which Led up to the Final Catastrophe—Letter of November 10th, 1860, to Hon. R. B. Rhett, Jr.—Conference with the Governor of Mississippi and the Mississippi Delegation in Congress—He is Considered "too Slow"—Letter from Hon. O. R. Singleton—He Favored the "Crittenden Compromise"—Close of an Eloquent Speech—No "Cabal of Southern Senators"—Conclusive Vindication of Mr. Davis by Hon. C. C. Clay—Letter of January 20th, 1861, to ex-President Franklin Pierce—His "Farewell to the Senate" January 21st, 1861 . . . 196-222

CHAPTER XIII.

"WAS DAVIS A TRAITOR?"—Reader Referred to Authorities—Able Statement of the Case by Benjamin J. Williams, of Massachusetts—Clear and Conclusive Paper by Commodore Mathew F. Maury—The "Botetourt Resolutions" by Judge John J. Allen—The Secession of Virginia—A Reply to Mr. Rossiter Johnson by J. Wm. Jones—Letter of Mr. Davis to the North Carolina Centennial Committee—The Great Oration of Senator John W. Daniel Before the Virginia Legislature . . . 223-300

CHAPTER XIV.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR.—Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Mississippi Forces—President of the Confederacy—Inaugural Address—The Confederate Cabinet—Confederate Commissioners to Washington—"Faith as to Sumter fully kept"—Perfidy of the Washington Government—"Who Fired the First Gun?"—Immense Odds Against the Confederacy in Both Numbers and Resources—Statistics Showing this—Removal to Richmond—The "White House of the Confederacy"—First Battle of Manassas—Mr. Davis on the Field—His Dispatch—His order to Advance—His Election as President of the "Permanent Government"—His Inaugural Address.

301-324

CHAPTER XV.

THREE YEARS OF CARNAGE.—Victories and Disasters—Incident given by Gen. Richard Taylor—Promotion of Gen. Pender—Mr. Davis to Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston—Gen. Johnston's Reply—Col. Jack's Account of His Interview with Mr. Davis—Another Letter to Gen. Johnston—Mr. Davis's Message to Congress on the Battle of Shiloh and Death of Albert Sidney Johnston—Letters of Gen. Lee to Mr. Davis and Mr. Davis to Gen. Lee after Gettysburg—Recollections of United States Senator John H. Reagan—Speech of Hon. Geo. Davis, Confederate Attorney-General—Reminiscences of Ex-Governor F. R. Lubbock, Member of the President's Staff—The Conduct of the War—Treatment of Prisoners—Discussion Between Hon. James Blaine and Hon. B. H. Hill—The Question Discussed and Points Established in Southern Historical Society Papers—Proud Record of the Confederacy on the Conduct of the War—Prof. Worsely's poem and Gen. Lee's Reply—Gen. Sherman's Charge and Mr. Davis's Scathing and Conclusive Reply . . . 325-375

CHAPTER XVI.

CLOSE OF THE WAR.—CAPTURE AND IMPRISONMENT.—When the Confederacy was nearest Success—First Manassas—"Within a Stone's Throw of Independence at Gettysburg"—After Cold Harbor, in June, 1861—Did Mr. Lincoln think that "the Time had Come for Negotiation" after Grant's dismal Failure in the Campaign of 1861? The "Attrition" Campaign and its Results—Army of Northern Virginia Starved in the Trenches and Frittered Away, until Lee had only 35,000 Men to Guard Forty Miles of Breastworks, and Oppose 140,000 of Grant's splendidly equipped Army—Disasters in the South—Mr. Davis Calm, Brave, Determined—His Last Message to Congress—Calmly and candidly States the Dangers and Perils of the Country, but Expresses the Confident Hope that with Proper Sacrifice, Wise Measures, and Persevering, Brave Effort the Independence of the Confederacy can still be Established—The Measures he Proposes for Recruiting the Army, and Securing Needed Supplies—On the Suspension of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*—Mr. Lincoln's Proposal of "Unconditional Surrender"—General Grant's Refusal to have a "Military Convention" with General Lee in Reference to Peace—Mr. Davis's eloquent appeal to Congress and to the Confederacy—Extract from a Letter of President Davis to Governor Vance, in which he details the measures the Confederate Government had repeatedly taken to secure peace, and shows that *unconditional surrender* was the one condition of peace always insisted on by the Government at Washington—President Davis's Message to Congress transmitting the report of the commissioners to the Hampton Roads "Peace Conference"—Report of the Commissioner—The Telegram handed him in St. Paul's Church on Sunday morning, April 2d—Sensational Stories Refuted—His Own Account of what Occurred—About the rations Gen. Lee wished placed at Amelia C. H.—No fault of Mr. Davis nor of Commissary-General St. John—Headquarters at Danville—His Proclamation—First news of Lee's Surrender—His refusal of a bag of gold, when he had nothing but Confederate currency—Secretary Mallory's account of the Meetings of the President and Cabinet with Generals Johnston and Beauregard at Greensboro', N. C.—Letter from Rev. Dr. H. A. Tupper, showing Mr. Davis's calm, brave bearing at Washington, Ga., when his capture seemed imminent—His capture—Sensational slanders concerning it refuted—Statement of James H. Parker, of Maine, one of his captors—Account given in letter of Col. Wm. Preston Johnston of his Staff, who was present—Account of Ex-Governor Lubbock, one of his Aids, who was also present—Reference to account of Postmaster-General Reagan, Attorney-General George Davis, and President Davis's own account in his book, and in letters to his old cadet room-mate, Col. Crafts J. Wright—The Confederate Treasury, and what became of it—His Imprisonment at Fortress Monroe—General Richard Taylor's account of his visit to him—Tender, and eloquent address of Rev. Dr. Charles Minnegerode, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Richmond, in which he gives deeply interesting reminiscences of his friendship with Mr. Davis, his confirmation and strong Christian character, his efforts to obtain the privilege of visiting Mr. Davis in prison, his final success, his interviews with him, his communion with him, his final release on bail, the meeting with his family and friends, prayer of thanksgivings, &c., &c.—Efforts to hang him on trumped-up charges of complicity in the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, and cruelty to prisoners—Failure to "make out a case"—*Nolle prosequi* entered on the charge of "Treason" because the ablest lawyers in the country advised that it could not be sustained 376-427

CHAPTER XVII.

HIS LIFE AFTER THE WAR.—Allusion to His Stay in Canada, His Visits to Europe, His Life in Memphis, and the Death there of Yellow Fever of His Son Jefferson Davis, Jr.—Beauvoir—Vivid Description of the House, the Grounds, Mr. Davis, Mrs.

Davis, and Miss Winnie, 'The Daughter of the Confederacy,' in a Letter by "Catherine Cole"—A Visit to Beauvoir—President Davis and Family at Home, as Described in a Letter by J. Wm. Jones—Presentation of the Badge of Lee Camp Confederate Veterans, Richmond, Va., to "The Daughter of the Confederacy"—Governor Lee's Presentation, and Dr. J. Wm. Jones's Response in Behalf of the Recipient—Mr. Davis Speaks at the Lee Memorial Meeting in Richmond in November, 1870, at the Convention which Re-organized the Southern Historical Society in August, 1874, at the Unveiling of the Stonewall Jackson Monument at New Orleans, at the Great Southern Historical Society Meeting there, at the Unveiling of the Albert Sidney Johnston Monument, at the Laying of the Corner-Stone of the Confederate Monument at Montgomery, at Atlanta, Savannah, Macon, and other Places—Full Text of Eloquent and Conservative Speech at Army of Northern Virginia Banquet, December 6th, 1878, made when Reporters were All Excluded and Never Before in Print—Letter to Ladies' Confederate Monument Association of Mississippi—Letter Correcting Mistakes in Biographical Sketch of Himself—Full Text of His Address Before the Mississippi Legislature, March 10th, 1884, in which He Explains why He had Never Applied to the United States Government for a Pardon 428-451

CHAPTER XVIII.

ANALYSIS OF HIS CHARACTER.—The Christian Soldier, Statesman, Orator and Patriot—Reminiscences of Him at First Manassas—Seven Days Around Richmond—His Appearance—A. P. Hill—Ordering President Davis and General Lee to the Rear—His Speech at the Old African Church in Richmond after the Return of the "Peace Commissioners," and Its Impression—His Speech at the Great Lee Memorial Meeting—His Speech at the Unveiling of the Jackson Monument in New Orleans—A Peerless Orator—As a Writer of Classic English—A Patriot—Hon. B. H. Hill's Estimate—Illustrations of His Lack of Bitterness and Uniform Courtesy—His Humble, Evangelical Piety—A Specimen of His Fast Day Proclamations—A Personal Recollection—A Tribute of Bishop Kenner—Incident Given by Senator John H. Reagan—His Letter to Two Little Boys—His Kind Treatment of His Slaves and Illustrations of their Devotion to Him—Incidents Told by S. A. Ashe, Editor *Raleigh News and Observer* 452-468

PART II.

HIS SICKNESS, DEATH AND FUNERAL OBSEQUIES, AND THE WORLD'S TRIBUTE TO HIS MEMORY.

HIS SICKNESS AND DEATH—Taken Sick at Briarfield—Brought to the Residence of Judge Charles E. Fenner, New Orleans—Description of the House—Mrs. Davis His Constant Nurse—Her Account of His Sickness—Better—A Congestive Chill from which He never Rallied—Friends at His Bedside—"Pray Excuse Me"—The End—Profound Grief at His Death—Editorial in the "State"—Editorial Announcement of the "Times-Democrat"—Editorial in "City Item"—THE DAY OF HIS DEATH: Mayor Shakspeare's Proclamation—Proclamation of Governor Nicholls—Tolograms of Condolence Received from All Quarters by Mrs. Davis—PREPARATIONS FOR THE FUNERAL: Meeting at the Mayor's Parlor—Remarks by Mayor Shakspeare, Associate Justice Fenner and Others—Letter to Gover-

nor Nicholls and Telegrams to the Southern Governors—Appointment of Committees—Draping the Houses—Descriptions of the Decorations of the City Hall—AT THE FENNER MANSION: "After Death"—Mrs. Davis's Christian Resignation—Crowds of Visitors—Touching Incident of the Old Slave who Came to See "Marse Jeff."—REMOVAL OF THE BODY: The "Pleasure's" Vivid Description of Converting the Council Chamber into "Mortuary Hall"—The Catafalque—The Casket Removed from the Fenner Mansion to the City Hall at Midnight—The Washington Artillery Acting as Escort and Guard of Honor—THE CAUSE OF HIS DEATH: Interesting statements by Justice Fenner and the attending physicians, Drs. Stanford E. Chaille, and Dr. Charles J. Bickham—LYING IN STATE: Immense crowds view the body—General George W. Jones, of Iowa—Commodore Hunter—Mrs. Wheat, the mother of Maj. Wheat, of the "Louisiana Tigers"—Incidents—Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Hayes visit the chamber at midnight—Mr. Orion Frazee takes a death mask—Telegrams continue to pour in from every quarter—The text of many of them—Proclamations from Governors Nicholls of Louisiana, Lowry of Mississippi, Seay of Alabama, Fleming of Florida, and Ross of Texas—Mrs. Davis's graceful response to telegrams of condolence—Estimated that 150,000 people viewed the body while lying in state—The *Times-Democrat* on the popular demonstration of respect and love shown our dead President—Telegraphic correspondence between Mayor Shakespeare and Secretary-of-War Proctor—Two Poems—Meeting of the Army of Tennessee Association—Full text of an eloquent eulogy by Rev. Dr. T. R. Markham—Brief speeches made by Gen. Geo. W. Jones of Iowa, Gen. S. B. Buckner of Kentucky, Gen. T. T. Munford of Virginia, Dr. J. Wm. Jones of Atlanta, Gen. S. W. Ferguson of Mississippi, Gen. S. D. Lee of Mississippi, and Judge Walter H. Rogers of New Orleans—THE FLORAL OFFERINGS: Vivid description of the *Times-Democrat*—The display magnificent in the number, variety, and beauty of the designs—THE NEW ORLEANS RESOLUTIONS: The Bench and Bar—The Veteran Confederate Cavalry Association—The Board of Trade—Law class of Tulane University—The Stock Exchange—Colored Citizens—Faculty of Tulane University—Medical Students of Tulane University—The Civil District Court—The City full of Delegations and Visitors from every Quarter—THE FUNERAL OBSEQUES—A Cloudless Sky—An Immense Crowd—A Stream of Visitors to Mortuary Hall from 7 A. M. to 10—The Bier Borne at 12 O'clock from the Council Chamber to the Stone Portico of the City Hall—The Bishops, the Clergy, the Chorists, the Immense Crowd—The Service Begun—Chaste and Eloquent but Brief Address of Bishop John N. Galleher—The Benediction—Father Hubert's Prayer—Bearing the Remains to the Funeral Car—LAID TO REST—The Immense Procession—The Services at the Tomb—THE FUNERAL PROCESSION—The Organizations Comprising the Six Divisions in Line—Detailed List of the Organizations, Officers, &c., in Each Division—AT MERTREE—The Remains Deposited in the Tomb of the Army of Northern Virginia—Full List of Pall-Bearers—Some Notable Men who were in the Procession—The North Carolina Delegation—Registered at the Continental Armory—The Kentucky Delegation—Delegation from Richmond, Va.—The Tennessee Delegation—Large Delegation from Alabama—The Maryland Representation—Four Military Companies and Over 1,000 Citizens from Mississippi—Names—The Florida Delegation—Delegation from South Carolina—Ladies' Memorial Association of Columbia, Texas Delegation—Arkansas—THE FLORAL TRIBUTE—Vicksburg's—The Misses Stringfellow—Lee Association, of Mobile—Florida's—Richmond Howitzer's—Girls' High School—Louisiana Rifles—THE SALUTES—Battery B, Louisiana Field Artillery. NOTES—Floral Ship of State from Ladies of Dallas, Texas—Capt. Jack White—The Davis Guards—MASS MEETING OF THE UNITED CONFEDERATE VETERANS—Address of Gen. Jno. B. Gordon—Vice-Presidents—Resolutions and Remarks of Gen. S. D. Lee—Gen. W. L. Cabell—Governor Lowry, "the Soldier-Governor" of Mississippi—Governor Powle, Governor Nickolls, Governor Buckner, Governor Fleming, Governor Eagle, Governor Lubbock. Hon. J. Taylor Ellyson. 471-585

VIRGINIA'S TRIBUTE: Proclamation of Governor Fitzhugh Lee—Proclamation of the Mayor of Richmond—Letters of Gen. Dabney H. Maury and Gen. W. H. Payne—Memorial Windows in St. Paul's—Memorial services at the various Churches—Resolutions of the General Assembly—Minute Guns by the Richmond Howitzers—Meeting at the Academy of Music—Resolutions—Meeting of Members of Legislature to hear the Oration of Senator Daniel—Remarks of Hon. R. H. Cardwell, Speaker of the House of Delegates—Norfolk and Portsmouth—Meeting of Pickett-Puchanan and Stonewall Camp Confederate Veterans—Religious Services—"Memorial Day" in Petersburg—Mass Meeting at Opera House under Auspices of A. P. Hill Camp Confederate Veterans—Resolutions—Letters of Mrs. Davis to the Mayor of Richmond—Lexington—Virginia Military Institute and Washington and Lee University—Extract from Oration of Hon. J. Randolph Tucker—Danville—Maury Camp of Fredericksburg—Williamsburg—Other Points . . . 685-601	
ALABAMA'S TRIBUTE: Montgomery's Mourning—Editorial in the <i>Montgomery Advertiser</i> —Meeting of Confederate Veterans—Poem by Rev. Dr. M. B. Wharton—Proclamation of Mayor Graham—"Rufus Sanders" in the <i>Advertiser</i> —Memorial Day in Montgomery—Editorial in the <i>Advertiser</i> —Grand Mass Meeting on December 19th—Resolutions—Speeches by Gen. Holtzelaw, Gov. Watts, Gen. John A. Sanders, Gen. Geo. P. Harrison, and Capt. B. H. Screws—Extracts from speech of Gov. Watts, the old Attorney-General of the Confederacy—The Observance of the Day at Other Points all over the State . . . 601-607	
GEORGIA'S TRIBUTE: Henry W. Grady's Graceful and Touching Announcement of the Death and Tribute to the Memory of "Our Dead President"—Poem by Montgomery M. Folsom on "Davis is Dead—The Message Read"—Proclamation by Gov. Gordon—By the Mayor of Atlanta—By Judge W. L. Calhoun, President Confederate Veterans—Large Meeting of Veterans—The Resolutions—Speeches—Poem by Mrs. J. Wm. Jones read at the Meeting—Arrangements to Raise Funds for the Family and for a Monument—Telegraphic Correspondence Between Col. John A. Cockrell, of the New York <i>World</i> , and Henry W. Grady, of Atlanta—Memorial Day in Atlanta—A Procession, a Mass Meeting, and addresses by Judge Calhoun, Mayor Glenn, Rev. Dr. Strickler, Hon. A. H. Cox, and Judge Howard Van Epps—Grady's Telegram from New York—Atlanta's Warm Tribute Finds its Equal all over the State—Augusta's Tribute—Action of the Confederate Survivors' Association—Memorial Day—Oration of Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr.—Extracts from His Eloquent Address—Macon's Tribute—Editorial in the <i>Telegraph</i> —Tribute of the Veterans—At the Churches—Memorial Day—Editorial in <i>Wesleyan Christian Advocate</i> —Savannah's Tribute—In the Churches—The Veterans—Gen. Henry R. Jackson's Brief but Eloquent Tribute—The Resolutions—Gen. Lawton in Calling the Vast Crowd to Order—The Prayer—At Other Towns in Georgia . . . 608-623	
KENTUCKY'S TRIBUTE: In Louisville—Meeting of Confederate Veterans—Resolutions by Rev. Dr. J. A. Broadus—Speeches by Hon. H. W. Bruce, Col. J. Stoddard Johnston, Maj. E. H. McDonald, Gen. Thomas H. Taylor, and Col. B. H. Young—Editorial in the <i>Courier-Journal</i> —Editorial in <i>Western Recorder</i> —Elsewhere in Kentucky—At Paris—At Lexington—Characteristic Letter from Mr. Davis—At Stanford—Offer of a Burial Place on the Spot of His Birth . . . 624-629	
MISSISSIPPI'S TRIBUTE: Throb of Mississippi's Heart in Unison with the General Grief—Resolutions of the University of Mississippi—Resolutions from all over the State—Action of the State Legislature—Full report in the <i>Clarion</i> —Resolutions—Speeches—Mutual Love of Mr. Davis and Mississippi . . . 629-633	
ARKANSAS'S TRIBUTE: Tributes all over the State—Memorial Day at Little Rock—Meeting at the State Capitol—Resolutions—Meetings at the Hot Springs, Helena, and Other Places—Arkansas no Whit Behind Her Southern Sisters in Her Loving Tribute . . . 633-635	
FLORIDA'S TRIBUTE: Gov. Fleming's Estimate in the N. Y. <i>World</i> —Letter from Dr. R. B. Burroughs of Jacksonville, to Mrs. Davis, transmitting Resolutions—Florida's Tribute not unworthy Her Gallant "Men in Gray" . . . 635-637	

MARYLAND'S TRIBUTE: Gallant Marylanders in the Confederate Army and Loyal Hearts at Home—Their Tribute to Their Chief—"Memorial Day" in Baltimore—The Meeting at the Armory of the Fifth Maryland Regiment—The Officers—Prayer by Rev. Dr. (Confederate Captain) McKim—Speeches by Mayor Davidson, Col. D. G. McIntosh, Col. Charles Marshall, Gen. Bradley T. Johnson, Rev. Dr. W. U. Murkland, and Hon. S. Teackle Wallis—Extracts from the Conclusion of Col. McIntosh's Speech, and Major Hall's Memorial—Tribute of Lieutenant Winfield Peters and Eloquent Speech of Hon. T. R. Stockdale, of Mississippi, at the Confederate Reunion and Banquet January 20th, 1890—Johns Hopkins University, Western College of Maryland, Lady Visitors of the Confederate Home, and Others, Swell Maryland's Tribute	637-646
NORTH CAROLINA'S TRIBUTE: The Governor, in His Proclamation and Speech, Voices the Feeling of the "Old North State"—A Meeting at Metropolitan Hall, Raleigh—Gov. Fowle's Telegram to the New York <i>World</i> —Memorial Day in Raleigh and an Eloquent Eulogy by Rev. Dr. Watkins—At Other Places in the State—Honor from the Men who Followed Him in War	640-648
SOUTH CAROLINA'S TRIBUTE: Action of the Legislature—Brief but Eloquent Speech by Col. McKissick—Charleston's Tribute—The Mayor's Proclamation—Various Meetings and Resolutions—Great Meetings on Memorial Day and Speeches by Col. Zimmerman Davis, Maj. T. G. Barker, Gen. B. H. Rutledge, Rev. Dr. Thompson, Gen. McCrady, Rev. R. C. Holland, Col. Henry E. Young, and Mr. J. P. K. Bryan—The Day in Columbia, Greenville, Newberry, and Other Points all over the State	643-646
TENNESSEE'S TRIBUTE: Memphis once the Home of Mr. Davis—Her Loving Tribute—Resolutions—Memorial Day in the Churches—Mass Meeting at the Theatre—Speeches—Poem by Mrs. Boyle—The Resolutions—Decking with Flowers the Grave of Jefferson Davis, Jr.—At Nashville—Elder Lin Cave, the Orator—At Other Points in the State	646-648
TEXAS'S TRIBUTE: Prairie Flowers on His Bier—Galveston's Tribute—Dallas—Austin—At Other Towns—An Enthusiastic and Loving Tribute—A Poem by Mrs. Mary Mitchell Brown	648-649
MISCELLANEOUS: Resolutions Received by Mrs. Davis—Editorials in Northern and English Papers—N. Y. <i>Examiner</i> —N. Y. <i>Sun</i> —N. Y. <i>Times</i> — <i>Advance Thought</i> , New York—London <i>Globe</i> — <i>Daily Telegraph</i> —Philadelphia <i>Times</i> —N. Y. <i>Herald</i> .—Conclusion—Address by Rev. Dr. S. A. Goodwin, of Richmond—Poem by Father A. J. Ryan	650-662
ADDRESS OF HON. J. A. P. CAMPBELL BEFORE THE MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE	663-672

PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

THE PUBLISHERS have, at great expense, and by exercising unusual care and patience, succeeded in securing a large number of beautiful and attractive illustrations for the DAVIS MEMORIAL VOLUME, many of which are of rare historical value. We are greatly indebted to W. L. Sheppard, whose intimate acquaintance and association with many of the characters and scenes presented in the book enabled him to not only draw for us many striking and interesting pictures, but to make suggestions that were exceedingly helpful to other artists engaged in preparing the illustrations for the book. Mr. W. W. Davies, of the Lee Gallery, Richmond, Virginia, also places us under lasting obligations to him by furnishing us many photographs taken during and soon after the war. We would note specially the Grand Jury, and Petit Jury, Members of Mr. Davis's Cabinet, photograph of Mrs. Davis in full dress, with the aid of which Mr. Sheppard was enabled to draw the charming picture entitled "A Reception at the White House by Mr. and Mrs. Davis." The originals of these and other photographs used in illustrating the book are now in possession of Mr. Davies, of the Lee Gallery, and copyrighted by us in producing this work.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page.
FRONTISPIECE.—STEEL PORTRAIT OF MR. DAVIS, from a photograph taken about the close of the war. Engraved by Illman Bros	4
PLATE II.—LETTER FROM MRS. DAVIS TO DR. JONES, authorizing the publication of the Memorial Volume . . .	10
III.—ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, RICHMOND, VA., where Mr. Davis worshipped—Washington Monument in the foreground	45
IV.—BATTLE OF THE BAD AXE. Scene in the Black Hawk War. W. L. Sheppard	61
V.—BRIARFIELD. J. D. Woodward.	65
VI.—YOUNG DAVIS LEADING HIS COMMAND AT MONTE-REY, MEXICO. Gilbert Gaul	81
VII.—DAVIS AND JOHNSTON NEGOTIATING WITH AMPUDIA. W. L. Sheppard	85
VIII.—"STEADY, MISSISSIPPIANS." W. L. Sheppard . . .	101
IX.—THE CONFEDERATE CAPITOL	105
X.—THE WHITE HOUSE OF THE CONFEDERACY	125
XI.—JEFFERSON DAVIS, JR. Died at Memphis, Tenn., of yellow fever. From a photograph furnished by Mrs. Davis	145
XII.—MR. AND MRS. ADDISON L. HAYES	167
XIII.—MRS. HAYES'S FOUR CHILDREN AND NURSE	177
XIV.—JEFFERSON HAYES DAVIS, aged five years	187
XV.—FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE. A. C. Redwood	217
XVI.—MEMBERS OF THE FIRST CONFEDERATE CABINET . .	297
XVII.—INAUGURAL AT MONTGOMERY. From a photograph.	302

	Page.
XVIII.—THE BIBLE USED IN TAKING THE OATH AT THE INAUGURAL. From an old photograph	307
XIX.—MRS. DAVIS IN FULL DRESS GIVING A RECEPTION AT THE "WHITE HOUSE." W. L. Sheppard . . .	313
XX.—"THERE COMES THE PRESIDENT." W. L. Sheppard	317
XXI.—MEMBERS OF THE SECOND CONFEDERATE CABINET. From a photograph furnished by W. W. Davies . .	323
XXII.—DAVIS, LEE AND JACKSON IN COUNCIL. W. L. Sheppard	325
XXIII.—GEN. A. P. HILL ORDERING PRESIDENT DAVIS AND GENERAL LEE TO THE REAR. W. L. Sheppard . .	341
XXIV.—FROM A BUST BY VOLCK. The original now in possession of W. W. Davies, Lee Gallery. The Confederate ten cent postage stamp was designed from this bust	351
XXV.—FIRST MEETING OF LEE AND DAVIS AFTER THE WAR	391
XXVI.—HIS CAPTURE.	403
XXVII.—PARTING WITH HIS FAMILY. W. L. Sheppard . . .	411
XXVIII.—VIEW OF FORTRESS MONROE. Exterior of the casement; inside view of the casement; Revolutionary relics. W. L. Sheppard	413
XXIX.—THE DAVIS BAIL BOND. An exact reproduction . .	423
XXX.—IN HIS LIBRARY. W. L. Sheppard	426
XXXI.—MR. DAVIS LEAVING THE COURT-ROOM. W. L. Sheppard	427
XXXII.—MRS. V. JEFFERSON DAVIS. From a recent photograph	434
XXXIII.—ON THE VERANDA AT BEAUVOIR. W. L. Sheppard.	437
XXXIV.—MISS WINNIE DAVIS, "THE DAUGHTER OF THE CONFEDERACY." From a photograph taken by Davis, Richmond, Va.	442
XXXV.—CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE AND JUDGE UNDERWOOD. From original photographs taken at the time by W. W. Davies, now in possession of Lee Gallery .	459
XXXVI.—STEEL PORTRAIT OF MR. DAVIS. From photograph taken not long before his death	469


	Page.
XXXVII.—"PRAY, EXCUSE ME." W. L. Sheppard	475
XXXVIII.—CITY HALL, NEW ORLEANS. From a photograph . .	479
XXXIX.—AFTER DEATH. From a photograph	493
XL.—BEARING THE REMAINS TO THE FUNERAL CAR	531
XLI.—THE TOMB OF THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA ASSOCIATION AT METARIE CEMETERY	535
XLII.—THE TEMPORARY INTERMENT	537
XLIII.—THE GRAND MARSHAL AND HIS AIDS	539
XLIV.—THE CATAFALQUE	543
XLV.—COUNCIL CHAMBER, NEW ORLEANS. From a photo- graph	545
XLVI.—THE LAST NIGHT'S VIGIL. From a photograph . .	553
XLVII.—THE EIGHT GOVERNORS WHO ATTENDED THE FUNE- RAL. From recent photographs	557
XLVIII.—PROMINENT CONFEDERATE GENERALS WHO ATTEND- ED THE FUNERAL, most of them acting as pall- bearers	567
XLIX.—MAYORS OF CITIES, and other prominent men in attendance on the funeral	577
L.—LITTLE JOE DAVIS'S GRAVE. W. L. Sheppard . .	589
LI.—HOUSE IN WHICH THE FIRST MEETING OF THE CON- FEDERATE CABINET WAS HELD	601
LII.—THE GRAND JURY WHICH INDICTED MR. DAVIS. The first mixed jury ever impaneled in the South ; the celebrated John Minor Botts, of Virginia, being the foreman. From a photograph taken at the time in possession of W. W. Davies, Lee Gallery	605
LIII.—MR. DAVIS'S RESIDENCE IN MONTGOMERY	621
LIV.—PETIT JURY, WHICH WAS TO HAVE TRIED HIM. The second mixed jury ever impaneled in the South. From a photograph in possession of W. W. Davies, Lee Gallery	625
LV.—BEAUVOIR. J. D. Woodward	631
LVI.—DISCUSSING MILITARY MATTERS WITH MISS WINNIE. W. L. Sheppard	641

PART I.

OUTLINE OF THE
LIFE AND CHARACTER
OF
PRESIDENT JEFFERSON DAVIS.

I.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

HE following brief autobiography of Mr. DAVIS appeared in the January, 1890, number of *Belford's Magazine*, and was dated "Beauvoir, Miss., November, 1889," having been written but a short time before his lamented death. The publishers state that it "was dictated by Mr. Davis as he lay sick in bed one morning at Beauvoir a few weeks before his death, and was taken down in shorthand by a Northern guest, whose manuscript was revised by the old statesman before it was mailed to the Belford Company, who had solicited it for a biographical cyclopædia they had undertaken."

"I was born June 3, 1808, in Christian county, Ky., in that part of it which, by a subsequent division, is now Todd county. At this place has since arisen the village of Fairview, and on the exact spot where I was born has been constructed the Baptist church of the place. My father, Samuel Davis, was a native of Georgia, and served in the war of the revolution, first in the 'mounted gunmen,' and afterward as captain of infantry at the siege of Savannah. During my infancy my father removed to Wilkinson county, Miss. After passing through the county academy I entered Transylvania college, Kentucky, and was advanced as far as the senior class when, at the age of 16, I was appointed to the United States Military Academy at West Point, which I entered in September, 1824. I graduated in 1828, and then, in accordance with the custom of cadets,

entered active service with the rank of lieutenant, serving as an officer of infantry on the northwest frontier until 1833, when, a regiment of dragoons having been created, I was transferred to it. After a successful campaign against the Indians, I resigned from the army, in 1835, being anxious to fulfill a long-existing engagement with a daughter of Col. Zachary Taylor, whom I married, not 'after a romantic elopement,' as has so often been stated, but at the house of her aunt, and in the presence of many of her relatives, at a place near Louisville, Ky. Then I became a cotton planter in Warren county, Miss. It was my misfortune, early in my married life, to lose my wife; and for many years thereafter I lived in great seclusion on the plantation in the swamps of the Mississippi. In 1843 I for the first time took part in the political life of the country. Next year I was chosen one of the presidential electors at large of the State, and in the succeeding year was elected to Congress, taking my seat in the House of Representatives in December, 1845. The proposition to terminate the joint occupancy of Oregon and the reformation of the tariff were the two questions arousing most public attention at that time, and I took an active part in their discussion, especially in that of the first.

"During this period, hostilities with Mexico commenced, and in the legislation which the contest rendered necessary my military education enabled me to take a somewhat prominent part.

"In June, 1846, a regiment of Mississippi volunteers was organized at Vicksburg, of which I was elected colonel. On receiving notice of the election, I proceeded to overtake the regiment, which was already on its way to Mexico, and joined it at New Orleans. Reporting to General Taylor, then commanding at Camargo, my regiment, although the last to arrive—having been detained for some time on duty at the mouth of the Rio Grande—was selected to move with the

advance upon the city of Monterey. The want of transportation prevented General Taylor from taking the whole body of volunteers who had reported there for duty. The Mississippi regiment was armed entirely with percussion rifles. And here it may be interesting to state that General Scott, in Washington, endeavored to persuade me not to take more rifles than enough for four companies, and objected particularly to percussion arms, as not having been sufficiently tested for the use of troops in the field. Knowing that the Mississippians would have no confidence in the old flint-lock muskets, I insisted on their being armed with the kind of rifle then recently made at New Haven, Conn.—the Whitney rifle. From having been first used by the Mississippians these rifles have always been known as the ‘Mississippi’ rifles.

“In the attack on Monterey General Taylor divided his force, sending one part of it by a circuitous road to attack the city from the west, while he decided to lead in person the attack on the east. The Mississippi regiment advanced to the relief of a force which had attacked Fort Lenaria, but had been repulsed before the Mississippians arrived. They carried the redoubt, and the fort which was in the rear of it surrendered. The next day our force on the west side carried successfully the height on which stood the bishop’s palace, which commanded the city.

“On the third day the Mississippians advanced from the fort which they held, through lanes and gardens, skirmishing and driving the enemy before them until they reached a two-story house at the corner of the Grand Plaza. Here they were joined by a regiment of Texans, and from the windows of this house they opened fire on the artillery and such other troops as were in view. But, to get a better position for firing on the principal buildings of the Grand Plaza, it was necessary to cross the street, which was swept by canister and grape, rattling on the pavement like hail, and, as the street was very narrow, it was

determined to construct a flying barricade. Some long timbers were found, and, with pack saddles and boxes, which served the purpose, a barricade was constructed.

"Here occurred an incident to which I have since frequently referred with pride. In breaking open a quartermaster's storehouse to get supplies for this barricade, the men found bundles of the much-prized Mexican blankets, and also of very serviceable shoes and pack saddles. The pack saddles were freely taken as good material for the proposed barricade; and one of my men, as his shoes were broken and stones had hurt his feet, asked my permission to take a pair from one of the boxes. This, of course, was freely accorded; but not one of the very valuable and much-prized Mexican blankets was taken.

"About the time that the flying barricade was completed, arrangements were made by the Texans and Mississippians to occupy houses on both sides of the street, for the purpose of more effective fire into the Grand Plaza. It having been deemed necessary to increase our force, the Mississippi sergeant-major was sent back for some companies of the First Mississippi which had remained behind. He returned with the statement that the enemy was behind us, that all our troops had been withdrawn, and that orders had been three times sent to me to return. Governor Henderson, of Texas, had accompanied the Texan troops, and on submitting to him the question what we should do under the message, he realized—as was very plain—that it was safer to remain where we were than (our supports having been withdrawn) to return across streets where we were liable to be fired on by artillery, and across open grounds where cavalry might be expected to attack us. But, he added, he supposed the orders came from the general-in-chief, and we were bound to obey them. So we made dispositions to retire quietly; but, in passing the first square, we found that our movement had been anticipated, and that a battery of artillery

was posted to command the street. The arrangement made by me for crossing it was that I should go first; if only one gun was fired at me, then another man should follow; and so on, another and another, until a volley should be fired, and then all of them should rush rapidly across before the guns could be reloaded. In this manner the men got across with little loss. We then made our way to the suburb, where we found that an officer of infantry, with two companies and a section of artillery, had been posted to wait for us, and, in case of emergency, to aid our retreat.

“Early next morning General Ampudia, commanding the Mexican force, sent in a flag and asked for a conference with a view to capitulation. General Taylor acceded to the proposition, and appointed General Worth, Governor Henderson and myself commissioners to arrange the terms of capitulation. General Taylor received the surrender of the city of Monterey, with supplies, much needed by his army, and shelter for the wounded. The enemy gained only the privilege of retiring peacefully, a privilege which, if it had not been accorded, they had the power to take by any one of the three roads open to them. The point beyond which they should withdraw was fixed by the terms of capitulation, and the time during which hostilities were to be suspended was determined on by the length of time necessary to refer to and receive answers from the two governments. A few days before the expiration of the time so fixed, the government of the United States disapproved of the capitulation, and ordered the truce to be immediately terminated. By this decision we lost whatever credit had been given to us for generous terms in the capitulation, and hostilities were to be resumed without any preparations having been made to enable General Taylor, even with the small force he had, to advance further into the enemy’s country. General Taylor’s letter to Mr. Marcy, Secretary of War, was a very good response to an unjust criticism; and in the *Washington Union* of that time I also pub-

lished a very full explanation of the acts of the commissioners, and of the military questions involved in the matter of capitulation in preference to continuing the siege and attack.

"General Taylor, assuming that it was intended for him to advance into the interior of Mexico, then commenced to prepare himself for such a campaign. To this end he made requisitions for the needful transportation, as well as munitions, including, among other supplies, large India rubber bags, in which to carry provisions for days, and which, being emptied before we reached the desert of sixty miles, would, by being filled with water, enable troops and horses to cross those desert plains. These and other details had been entered into under the expectation that the censure of the treaty of Monterey meant a march into the interior of Mexico. Another thing required was a new battery of field pieces to take the place of the old Ringgold battery, which by long service had become honeycombed. When all these arrangements were nearly completed it was decided to send General Scott, with discretionary powers, which enabled him to take nearly all the tried troops General Taylor had, including even the engineer then employed in the construction of a fort, and the battery of new guns to replace the old ones, which were deemed no longer safe, but which, under the intrepid Captain Bragg, afterward did good service in the battle of Buena Vista.

"General Taylor, with the main body of his army went to Victoria, and there made arrangements to send them all to report to General Scott, at Vera Cruz, except the small force he considered himself entitled to as an escort on his route back to Monterey through an unfriendly people. That escort consisted of a battery of light artillery, a squadron of dragoons, and the regiment of Mississippi riflemen. With these he proceeded through Monterey and Saltillo to Agua Nueva; where he was joined by the division of General Wool, who had made the campaign of Chihuahua.

"General Santa Anna, commanding the army of Mexico, was informed of the action which had been taken in stripping General Taylor of his forces, and was also informed that he had at Saltillo only a handful of volunteers, which could be easily dispersed on the approach of an army. Thus assured, and with the prospect of recovering all the country down to the Rio Grande, Santa Anna advanced upon Agua Nueva.

"General Taylor retired to the Angostura pass, in front of the hacienda of Buena Vista, and there made his dispositions to receive the anticipated attack. As sage as he was brave, his dispositions were made as well as the small force at his command made it possible. After two days of bloody fighting, General Santa Anna retired before this little force, the greater part of which had never before been under fire.

"The encounter with the enemy was very bloody. The Mississippians lost many of their best men, for each of whom, however, they slew several of the enemy. For, trained marksmen, they never touched the trigger without having an object through both sights; and they seldom fired without drawing blood. The infantry against whom the advance was made was driven back, but the cavalry then moved to get in the rear of the Mississippians, and this involved the necessity of falling back to where the plain was narrow, so as to have a ravine on each flank.

"In this position the second demonstration of the enemy's cavalry was received. They were repulsed, and it was quiet in front of the Mississippians until an aide came and called from the other side of the ravine, which he could not pass, that General Taylor wanted support to come as soon as possible to the protection of the artillery on the right flank. The order was promptly obeyed at double quick, although the distance must have been nearly a mile. They found the enemy moving in three lines upon the batteries of Captain Braxton Bragg and the section of artillery commanded by George H. Thomas

The Mississippians came up in line, their right flank opposite the first line of the advancing enemy, and at a very short range opened fire. All being sharpshooters, those toward the left of the line obliqued to the right, and at close quarters and against three long lines very few shots could have missed. At the same time the guns of Bragg and Thomas were firing grape. The effect was decisive; the infantry and artillery of the enemy immediately retired.

"At the close of the day Santa Anna bugled the retreat, as was supposed, to go into quarters, but when the next sun rose there was no enemy in our front.

"The news of this victory was received in the United States with a degree of enthusiasm proportionate to the small means with which it was achieved; and generosity was excited by the feeling that General Taylor had been treated with injustice. Thenceforward the march of 'Old Rough and Ready' to the White House was a foregone conclusion.

"In this battle, while advancing to meet the enemy, then pressing some of our discomfited volunteers on the left of the field of battle, I received a painful wound, which was rendered more severe in consequence of remaining in the saddle all day, although wounded early in the morning. A ball had passed through the foot, leaving in the wound broken bones and foreign matter, which the delay had made it impossible then to extract. In consequence I had to return home on crutches.

"In the meantime a Senator of Mississippi had died, and the governor had appointed me his successor. Before my return home President Polk had also appointed me brigadier-general of volunteers, an appointment which I declined on the ground that volunteers are militia, and that the constitution reserved to the State the appointment of all militia officers. This was in 1847. In January, 1848, the Mississippi legislature unanimously elected me United States Senator for the rest

of the unexpired term; and in 1850 I was re-elected for the full term as my own successor. In the United States Senate I was chairman of the Military Committee; and I also took an active part in the debates on the compromise measures of 1850, frequently opposing Senator Douglas, of Illinois, in his theory of 'squatter sovereignty,' and advocating, as a means of pacification, the extension of the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific. When the question was presented to Mississippi as to whether the State should acquiesce in the compromise legislation of 1850, or whether it should join the other Southern States in a convention to decide as to the best course to pursue in view of the threatened usurpations of the Federal government, I advocated a convention of the Southern States, with a view to such co-operation as might effectually check the exercise of constructive powers, the parent of despotism, by the Federal government.

"The canvass for governor commenced that year. The candidate of the democratic party was by his opponents represented to hold extreme opinions—in other words, to be a disunionist. For, although he was a man of high character and had served the country well in peace and war, this supposition was so artfully cultivated that, though the democratic party was estimated to be about 8,000 in majority, when the election occurred in September the democratic candidates for a convention were defeated by a majority of over 7,000, and the democratic candidate for governor withdrew.

"The election for governor was to occur in November, and I was called on to take the place vacated by the candidate who had withdrawn from the canvass. It was a forlorn hope, especially as my health had been impaired by labors in the summer canvass, and there was not time before the approaching election to make such a canvass as would be needed to reform the ranks of the democracy. However, as a duty to the party, I accepted the position, and made as active a campaign as the

time permitted, with the result that the majority against the party was reduced to less than 1,000. From this time, I remained engaged in quiet farm labors until the nomination of Franklin Pierce, when I went out to advocate his election, having formed a very high opinion of him as a statesman and a patriot from observations of him in 1837 and 1838, when he was in the United States Senate.

"On his election as President, I became a member of his cabinet, filling the office of Secretary of War during his entire term. During these four years I proposed the introduction of camels for service on the western plains, a suggestion which was adopted. I also introduced an improved system of infantry tactics, effected the substitution of iron for wood in gun carriages, secured rifled muskets and rifles and the use of minie balls, and advocated the increase of the defences of the sea-coast by heavy guns and the use of large-grain powder.

"While in the Senate I had advocated, as a military necessity and as a means of preserving the Pacific territory to the Union, the construction of a military railway across the continent; and, as Secretary of War, I was put in charge of the survey of the various routes proposed. Perhaps for a similar reason—my previous action in the Senate—I was also put in charge of the extension of the United States capitol.

"The administration of Mr. Pierce presents the single instance of an executive whose cabinet witnessed no change of persons during the whole term. At its close, having been re-elected to the United States Senate, I re-entered that body.

"During the discussion of the compromise measures of 1850 the refusal to extend the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific was early put on the ground that there was no constitutional authority to legislate slavery into or out of any territory, which was in fact and seeming intent a repudiation of the Missouri compromise; and it was so treated in the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

"Subsequently Mr. Douglas, the advocate of what was called 'squatter sovereignty,' insisted upon the rights of the first immigrants into the territory to decide upon the question whether migrating citizens might take their slaves with them; which meant, if it meant anything, that Congress could authorize a few settlers to do what it was admitted Congress itself could not do. But out of this bill arose a dissension which finally divided the democratic party, and caused its defeat in the presidential election of 1860.

"And from this empty, baseless theory grew the Iliad of our direst woes.

"When Congress met in the fall of 1860 I was appointed one of a Senate committee of thirteen to examine and report on some practicable adjustment of the controversies which then threatened the dissolution of the Union. I at first asked to be excused from the committee, but at the solicitation of friends agreed to serve, avowing my willingness to make any sacrifice to avert the impending struggle. The committee consisted of men belonging to the three political divisions of the Senate—the State Rights Men of the South, the Radicals of the North, and the Northern Democrats, with one member who did not acknowledge himself as belonging to any of the three divisions—Mr. Crittenden, an old-time Whig, and the original mover of the compromise resolutions. When the committee met it was agreed that unless some measure which would receive the support of the majority of each of the three divisions could be devised, it was useless to make any report; and after many days of anxious discussion and a multiplicity of propositions, though the Southern State Rights Men and the Northern Democrats, and the Whigs, Mr. Crittenden, could frequently agree, they could never get a majority of the Northern Radicals to unite with them in any substantive proposition. Finally, the committee reported their failure to find anything on which the three divisions could unite. Mr. Douglas, who was a member

of the committee, defiantly challenged the Northern Radicals to tell what they wanted. As they had refused everything, he claimed that they ought to be willing to tell what they proposed to do.

"When officially informed that Mississippi had passed the ordinance of secession, I took formal leave of the Senate, announcing for the last time the opinions I had so often expressed as to State sovereignty, and, as a consequence of it, the right of a State to withdraw its delegated powers. Before I reached home I had been appointed by the convention of Mississippi commander-in-chief of its army, with the rank of major-general, and I at once proceeded with the task of organization. I went to my home in Warren county in order to prepare for what I believed was to be a long and severe struggle. Soon a messenger came from the Provisional Confederate Congress at Montgomery, bringing the unwelcome notice that I had been elected Provisional President of the Confederate States. But, reluctant as I was to accept the honor, and carefully as I had tried to prevent the possibility of it, in the circumstances of the country, I could not refuse it; and I was inaugurated at Montgomery, February 18, 1861, with Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, as vice-president.

"From this time to the fall of the Confederate government my life was part of the history of the Confederacy, and of the war between the States. It is impossible, therefore, to follow it in detail.

"In the selection of a cabinet I was relieved from a difficulty which surrounds that duty by the president of the United States. for there were no 'sections' and no 'party' distinctions. All aspirations, ambitions, and interests had been merged in a great desire for Confederate independence.

"In my inaugural address I asserted that necessity, not choice, had led to the secession of the Southern States; that, as an agricultural people, their policy was peace and free commerce

with all the world; that the constituent parts, not the system of government, had been changed.

"The removal of the troops from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, the guns of which threatened the harbor of Charleston, and the attempt to throw re-enforcements into that fort—thus doubly breaking a pledge that matters should be kept *in statu quo*—constituted the occasion as well as the justification of the opening of fire upon Fort Sumter. Speedily following this event came the call for a large army by Mr. Lincoln, and the secession of other Southern States as the consequence of this unmistakable purpose of coercion.

"Virginia, which had led in the effort, by a peace conference, to avert national ruin, when she saw the constitution disregarded and the purpose to compel free states by military force to submit to arbitrary power, passed an ordinance of secession, and joined the Confederate States.

"Shortly after this, as authorized by the Provisional Congress, I removed the Confederate capital from Montgomery to Richmond.

"Among the many indications of good will shown when on my way to and after my arrival at Richmond was the purchase of a very fine residence in Richmond by leading citizens. It was offered as a present; but, following a rule that had governed my action in all such cases, I declined to accept it. I continued to live in Richmond until the Confederate forces were compelled to withdraw from the defences of the capital.

"That event was not quite unexpected, but it occurred before the conditions were fulfilled under which General Lee contemplated retreat. After General Lee was forced to surrender, and General Johnston consented to do so, I started, with a very few of the men who volunteered to accompany me, for the Trans-Mississippi; but, hearing on the road that marauders were pursuing my family, whom I had not seen since they left Rich-

mond, but knew to be en route to the Florida coast, I changed my direction, and, after a long and hard ride, found them encamped and threatened by a robbing party. To give them the needed protection I traveled with them for several days, until in the neighborhood of Irvinville, Ga., when I supposed I could safely leave them. But, hearing about nightfall, that a party of marauders were to attack the camp that night, and supposing them to be pillaging deserters from both armies, and that the Confederates would listen to me, I awaited their coming, lay down in my traveling clothes and fell asleep. Late in the night my colored coachman aroused me with the intelligence that the camp was attacked, and I stepped out of the tent where my wife and children were sleeping, and saw at once that the assailants were troops deploying around the encampment. I so informed my wife, who urged me to escape. After some hesitation I consented, and a servant woman started with me, carrying a bucket as if going to the spring for water. One of the surrounding troopers ordered me to halt and demanded my surrender. I advanced toward the trooper, throwing off a shawl which my wife had put over my shoulders. The trooper aimed his carbine, when my wife, who witnessed the act, rushed forward and threw her arms around me, thus defeating my intention, which was, if the trooper missed his aim, to try and unhorse him and escape with his horse. Then, with every species of petty pillage and offensive exhibition, I was taken from point to point until incarcerated in Fortress Monroe.* There I was imprisoned for two years before being allowed the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

"At length, when the writ was to be issued, the condition was imposed by the Federal executive that there should be bonds-

* For a fuller account of my arrest see statements of United States Senator Reagan; W. Preston Johnston, president Tulane University; F. R. Lubbock, Treasurer of Texas; B. N. Harrison, Esq., of New York city, all eye witnesses. Also "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," page 700, vol. II; and for my life at Fortress Monroe, "The Prison Life of Jefferson Davis," by Dr. L. J. J. Craven. New York: Carleton, 1866.

men influential in the 'republican' party of the north, Mr. Greeley being especially named. Entirely as a matter of justice and legal right, and not from motives of personal regard, Mr. Greeley, Mr. Gerrit Smith, and other eminent northern citizens went on my bond.

"In May, 1867, after being released from Fortress Monroe, I went to Canada, where my older children were, with their grandmother; my wife, as soon as permitted, having shared my imprisonment, and brought our infant daughter with her. From time to time I obeyed summonses to go before the Federal court at Richmond, until finally the case was heard by Chief-Justice Chase and District Judge Underwood, who were divided in opinion, which sent the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the proceedings were quashed, leaving me without the opportunity to vindicate myself before the highest Federal court.

"After about a year's residence in Canada I went to England with my family, under an arrangement that I was to have sixty days' notice whenever the United States court required my presence. After being abroad in England and on the continent about a year, I received an offer of an appointment as president of a life insurance company. Thereupon I returned to this country, and went to Memphis, and took charge of the company. Subsequently I came to the gulf coast of Mississippi, as a quiet place where I could prepare my work on 'The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.' A friend from her infancy, Mrs. Dorsey shared her home with me, and subsequently sold to me her property at Beauvoir, an estate of five or six hundred acres, about midway between Mobile and New Orleans. Before I had fully paid for this estate Mrs. Dorsey died, leaving me her sole legatee. From the spring of 1876 to the autumn of 1879 I devoted myself to the production of the historical work just mentioned. It is an octavo book, in two volumes of about 700 pages each. I have

also from time to time contributed essays to the North American Review and Belford's Magazine and have just completed the manuscript of 'A Short History of the Confederate States of America,' which is expected to appear early in 1890.

"Since settling at Beauvoir, I have persistently refused to take any active part in politics, not merely because of my disfranchisement, but from a belief that such labors could not be made to conduce to the public good, owing to the sectional hostilities manifested against me since the war. For the same reason I have also refused to be a candidate for public office, although it is well known that I could at any time have been re-elected a Senator of the United States.

"I have been twice married, the second time being in 1844, to a daughter of William B. Howell, of Natchez, a son of Governor Howell, of New Jersey. She has borne me six children—four sons and two daughters. My sons are all dead; my daughters survive. The elder is Mrs. Hayes, of Colorado Springs, Col., and the mother of four children. My youngest daughter lives with us at Beauvoir, Miss. Born in the last year of the war, she became familiarly known as 'the Daughter of the Confederacy.'

"JEFFERSON DAVIS.

"*Beauvoir, Miss., November, 1889.*"

The above exceedingly modest, but deeply interesting story of his eventful life will increase the public desire to see the fuller autobiography which he was writing, and deepen the regret that he was not spared to complete it.

But after all there are many things to be said about his life and character which *he* would never have said or even intimated, and while we cannot enter into full details, we must give some of the things concerning this great man that ought to be written and preserved.

II.

HIS BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE.

It is very certain that a love of liberty, a deep-toned patriotism, a willingness to sacrifice self for country, were inherited from the patriot soldier of the revolution, and that the brave Captain Samuel Davis, who fought for the colony of Georgia, and the other American colonies, against British oppression, was a fit progenitor of the chivalric Jefferson Davis, who led the Confederate States in their great struggle for constitutional freedom.

Although the father only remained in Kentucky a few years after the birth of his son Jefferson, Mr. Davis always cherished a real filial affection for the state of his birth, and early home, and Kentucky has been ever proud that she gave him birth, and counts him the greatest of all of her illustrious sons.

One of the most pleasant episodes in his life was his giving to the Baptist church in Fairview, Ky., the site of his birth place on which to erect a house of worship—his attendance at the dedication of this church, November 21, 1886—and the tender, appropriate, and eloquent speech, which he made on that occasion.

There was an immense crowd present; the services were of great solemnity and interest; all seemed touched by the presence of the veteran president of the Confederacy, and Mr. Davis himself was deeply moved by the occasion, and the hallowed memories which came trooping up from the past, as he saw this beautiful house of worship on the site of the humble cabin in which he was born.

I am indebted to Mrs. J. O. Rust, of Hopkinsville, Ky., for the following copy of a report of the brief address he made to the assembled multitude, when, after the sermon, which he seemed greatly to enjoy, he was called on to make some remarks.

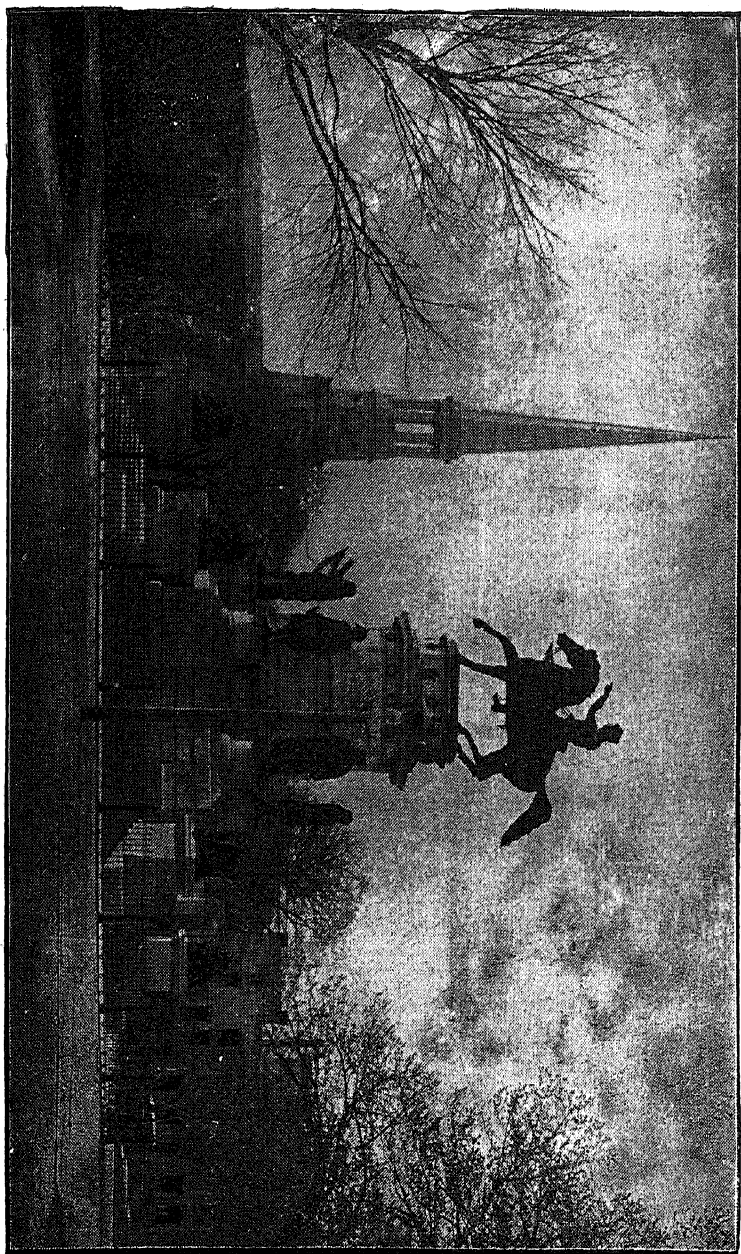
The report is not stenographic, but is said to be nearly his exact words. In his graceful style he spoke, in substance, as follows:

"Ladies and Gentlemen of the Congregation: My heart is always filled with gratitude to you, who extend to me so many kindnesses. I am thankful that I can give you this lot upon which to worship the triune God. It has been asked why I, who am not a Baptist, give this lot to the Baptist church? I am not a Baptist, but my father, who was a better man than I, was a Baptist.

"Wherever I go, when I come here, I feel 'that this is my own, my native land.' When I see this beautiful church it refills my heart with thanks. It shows the love you bear your creator; it shows your capacity for building to your God. The pioneers of this country, as I have learned from history, were men of plain, simple habits, full of energy and imbued with religious principles. They lived in a day before the dawn of sectarian disturbances and sectional strifes. In their rude surroundings and teachings it is no wonder that they learned that God was love.

"I did not come here to speak. I would not mar with speech of mine the effect of the beautiful sermon to which you have listened. I simply tender to you, through the trustees of Bethel, the site upon which this church stands. May the God of heaven bless this community forever, and may the Saviour of the world preserve this church to His worship for all time to come."

But in his early youth his father removed to the neighborhood of Woodville, Wilkinson Co., in what was then the territory of Mississippi, and henceforth Jefferson Davis became, *intus et in cute*, a Mississippian.



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, RICHMOND, VA.

III.

THE COLLEGE BOY.

He was prepared at home to enter Transylvania University Ky., at an earlier age than was usual, and he made rapid progress in his studies here, until, at the age of sixteen, he was appointed by President Monroe a cadet at the United States Military Academy at West Point.

At Transylvania University he formed an intimacy with George W. Jones, of Iowa, which continued unabated throughout his life, and one of the most touching incidents of his death was that when Mr. Jones learned of his illness he started from his home in the Northwest to see him, but only reached New Orleans after his death. He was one of the pall-bearers, and it was very touching to see the old man's deep grief, and to hear him say as he witnessed that outpouring of the people: "Oh! just see these vast crowds which come to do honor to my precious friend; Jefferson Davis."

During his visit to New Orleans the *Times-Democrat* published the following interview with him, and although much of it relates to other periods than his college days, it is of such deep interest that we insert the whole of it here as follows:

"Of the many who are bowed down with grief at the death of ex-President Davis, comparatively few feel it more keenly than General George Wallace Jones, of Dubuque, Iowa. His friendship for Mr. Davis dated back to boyhood, when he and the ex-President were college mates. The news of Mr. Davis's dangerous illness reached General Jones at his home in Dubuque, Iowa, and he at once determined to visit him once more

before he died. Hurrying South, he reached the city yesterday morning, too late by only a few hours to once more clasp the hand of his oldest and dearest friend. He was deeply pained and disappointed at the result of his long journey, but he consoles himself with the reflection that he has at least the opportunity of paying the last formal tribute to the ashes of one who was so dear to him in life.

"General Jones was yesterday so oppressed with grief that he could think of little but the present and its immediate concerns, and it was with some difficulty that he could sufficiently command his emotions to enable him to give anything like a succinct and consecutive story of his personal relations with the late ex-president.

"They were classmates at Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., in 1820. His acquaintance with Jefferson Davis commenced in October of that year. Young Davis was then considered by the faculty the brightest and most intelligent, and by his fellow-students the bravest and handsomest of all the college boys. In November, 1824, Jefferson Davis was appointed to a cadetship at West Point by President Monroe, and as Mr. Jones remained at the university and graduated in 1825, the friends drifted apart.

"The next I knew of 'Jeff,' as we used to call him," said General Jones, "was in 1828. He had graduated at West Point and had been assigned to duty as second lieutenant in a United States cavalry command at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien, then Michigan Territory, but now the State of Wisconsin. It was late in the year, and late one night, when a cavalry lieutenant and a sergeant rode up to my log cabin at Sinsinawa Mound, about fifty miles from Fort Crawford and inquired for Mr. Jones. I told him that I answered to that name. The lieutenant then asked me if they could remain there all night. I told him that they were welcome to share my buffalo robes and blankets, and that their horses could be coralled with mine on the prairie.

"The officer then asked me if I had ever been at the Transylvania University. I answered that I had been there from 1820 to 1825.

"Do you remember a college boy named Jeff. Davis?"

"Of course, I do."

"I am Jeff."

"That was enough for me. I pulled him off his horse and into my cabin, and it was hours before either of us could think of sleeping. I could never forget that night if I were to live a thousand years. Lieutenant Davis remained at my cabin for some days, and after the unconstrained manner of early frontier life we had a delightful time.

"In 1832 we became associated in the famous Black Hawk war, he as lieutenant of infantry, and I as aid-de-camp to General Henry Dodge, commanding the militia of Michigan Territory. I often accepted his invitation to partake of his hospitality, as well as that of General (then Captain) William S. Harney and Colonel Zachariah Taylor, who often divided their rations with me, as we volunteers were often in want of suitable food.

"The regulars were much better provided for than we volunteers were at that time. They were not only furnished with better rations and more of them, but they had tents while we had none, and I shall never forget the generous hospitality of Lieutenant Davis, Captain W. S. Harney, Colonel Zachariah Taylor, and others of my brave and generous comrades of those days.

"In the winter of 1832-3, Lieutenant Davis was sent to the Dubuque lead mines, which at the termination of the trouble had been occupied by squatters. He was directed by the War Department, through Colonel Zachariah Taylor, to remove these squatters. Lieutenants Gardner and Wilson, who preceded him, having failed to drive the people off.

"Lieutenant Davis, by his conciliatory efforts and kindness, soon got them to leave under an assurance that their claims

would be recognized as soon as the treaty made with the Sacs and Fox Indians should be ratified by the United States Senate, which he felt confident would be the case. He induced all the men to leave, but permitted one woman to remain in her husband's cabin, as the winter was excessively severe. She remained ever afterward his devoted friend, up to her death, about two years ago.

"While Lieutenant Davis was encamped opposite Dubuque, my present home, he often visited me. He was a great favorite with my boys, whom he used to hold on his knees and fondle as if they had been his own. Two of them afterward served under him in the cause of the Confederacy.

"As soon as my youngest son, Captain G. R. G. Jones, learned of the firing on Fort Sumter he hurried to Nashville, where he and his brothers had graduated from the Western Military Institute. My son offered his services, and Governor Isham G. Harris (now a senator in Congress, and with whom I had served in the United States Senate) sent for him and appointed him a captain. My son was taken prisoner at the surrender of Fort Henry, sent for a few days for safe keeping to the penitentiary at Alton, Ill., with other prisoners of war, and removed thence to Johnson's island in Lake Erie.

"The story of the service of my eldest son, Charles S. D. Jones, under Jefferson Davis, is as follows: In the spring or summer of '62, after my return from Bogota, he left Dubuque and went with his young wife to Frankfort, Ky., and thence to Richmond, Va. He did not tell me where he was going when he left. At Richmond he applied to President Davis for a position. Mr. Davis having written to Bushrod Johnson, under whom my son had graduated, the latter appointed him one of his adjutant-generals. He served in this capacity till he was taken prisoner somewhere in Virginia, when he was sent to Fort Delaware, near Wilmington.

"On one occasion, I believe I saved Mr. Davis's life. It was in 1838, when I was the first delegate to Congress from Wisconsin territory. Jefferson Davis reached Washington in the winter, and immediately called to see me where I was staying, at Dawson boarding-house, not more than one hundred yards northeast of the present Senate chamber.

"Among the prominent men staying at the same house were Senators Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri; Dr. Lewis F. Linn, William Allen, of Ohio, and forty or fifty others. I introduced Lieutenant Davis to my friends. He was then on his way to his home in Mississippi from Havana, whither he had gone for his health. He soon won the high esteem and respect of all the foremost men at the national capital. He was my guest when I seconded Jonathan Cilley, of Maine, in the great duel with William J. Graves, of Kentucky, in which Cilley was killed.

"On one occasion that winter Davis and I accompanied Dr. Linn, the 'model senator' from Missouri, and Senator Allen, of Ohio, to a reception given by the Secretary of War. Dr. Linn and I returned home, leaving Senator Allen and Davis to return home with John J. Crittenden of Ky., and Calhoun, at Crittenden's request. After Dr. Linn and I got to bed we heard the voice of Allen at a distance. He and Davis soon entered our room.

"Mr. Davis was bleeding profusely from a deep cut in his head, and the blood was streaming down over his face, and upon his white tie, shirt front, and white waistcoat.

"Mr. Allen, missing the bridge (Mr. Allen being supposed to be familiar with the road), they had both fallen into the Tiber, a small stream which they had to cross. Allen had alighted on his feet, but Mr. Davis, who was perfectly sober, had pitched head foremost into the creek and cut his head badly. He was covered with blood, and his clothes were drenched with water and stained with mud. Mr. Davis was

on the verge of fainting from loss of blood, when Dr. Linn and myself applied the proper restoratives, and soon, as we thought, brought him around all right. The next morning I went into his room and found him almost dead. I informed Dr. Linn of his condition, and after several hours' hard work we restored him to consciousness. Dr. Linn remarked that he would have been dead had I been five minutes later in reaching him.

"My next meeting with Mr. Davis was in 1846, when I visited Washington as surveyor-general of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, and put up at the same house as did Mr. Davis and his accomplished wife.

"One day as I sat by his side in the House of Representatives talking to him, he turned suddenly and said: 'General, General Dodge says you are financially embarrassed and in need of money.' I answered that I was, there being a judgment against me for \$400. He immediately drew a draft on his friend and commission merchant, J. U. Payne, of New Orleans, payable to my order for \$1,000. I then wrote out and handed him my note for \$1,000, with interest at 10 per cent. He tore it up and threw it on the floor, saying: 'Jones, when you have more money than you know what to do with you may pay this, and not before.'

"In 1853, when Franklin Pierce became president, I, as the first Senator from Iowa, recommended my old friend and companion for Secretary of War, and he was also endorsed by the prominent men of the times.

"In 1861, while I was minister at Bogota, at the suggestion of General W. S. Harney, I wrote a letter to Jefferson Davis, requesting him to use his best efforts to have my son restored to his commission as lieutenant in the Second United States cavalry, he having resigned. That letter was intercepted by W. H. Seward, then Secretary of State under Mr. Lincoln. I was recalled, and on my arrival was given a diplomatic dinner by Seward. Six days after I was imprisoned in Fort Lafayette,

December 22, on a telegram sent by W. H. Seward to Colonel Kennedy, chief of the detective force in New York. On February 22, 1862, I was released by order of Secretary of War Stanton, who informed me that he could see no reason why I had been imprisoned."

"You, of course, have vivid recollections of your college days together. What were Mr. Davis's distinguishing traits at college?"

"At college Mr. Davis was much the same as he was in after life. Always gay and brimful of buoyant spirits, but without the smallest tendency toward vice or immorality. He had that innate refinement and gentleness that distinguished him through life. He was always a gentleman in the highest sense of the word. Aside from the high moral tone and unswerving devotion to conscience which characterized his whole career, Mr. Davis was always too gentle and refined to have any taste for vice or immorality in any form. He never was perceptibly under the influence of liquor and he never gambled.

"This statement concerning him, though based primarily on my personal knowledge of Mr. Davis, is not unsupported by the testimony of others who were equally intimate with him.

"About four years and a half ago, I paid a delightful visit to the South, where I divided my time between the houses of my dear old friends and comrades, Jefferson Davis, at Beauvoir, and William S. Harney, at Pass Christian. One day while talking to General Harney, the conversation turned upon a canard I had seen in a western newspaper which professed to relate an incident that took place at a gaming table at which Mr. Davis had been playing.

"'It is an infamous, cowardly lie,' shouted General Harney, in his vigorous, impetuous way. 'Why, everybody who knows Jefferson Davis knows that he never gambled in his life. He always looked upon gaming with especial aversion. Jefferson

Davis never gambled for stakes large or small and never was under the influence of liquor in his life. I wish I could find the man who told that story and I'd make him swallow it."

"General Jones also alluded to the story of Mr. Davis's elopement with Miss Knox Taylor.

"Of course, the story of the elopement was a ridiculous falsehood; but I will go further than this and assure you that there never was the slightest unpleasantness between Colonel Taylor and Lieutenant Davis. I have the facts from H. L. Dousman, who was intimate with Colonel Zach. Taylor when the latter was stationed at Fort Crawford. When Lieutenant Davis proposed for the hand of Miss Knox Taylor, Colonel Taylor said to Mr. Dousman that, while he had nothing but the kindest feeling and warmest admiration for Mr. Davis, he was in a general way opposed to having his daughter marry a soldier. Nobody better than he knew the trials to which a soldier's life was subjected. His own wife and daughter had complained so bitterly of his almost constant absence from home and of their own torturing anxieties for his safety, he had once resolved that his daughter should never marry a soldier with his approval. Aside from this, however, there was no reason why the proposal of Lieutenant Davis should not meet with his warmest approbation."

"General Jones left Dubuque on Monday night, and reaching here at 11 o'clock on Thursday night he went at once to the St. Charles Hotel, and knew nothing of the death of the friend whom he had traveled so far to see till yesterday morning, when he saw the announcement in the newspapers. Later in the day, General Jones visited the Fenner residence, and though Mrs. Davis had declined to see any one she unhesitatingly made an exception in favor of so old and dear a friend of her late husband as General Jones. The General was immediately ushered into the darkened room where, all alone, close beside the ashes of her dead husband, sat the widow, who

received him with that gentle and cordial demeanor that has won the hearts of all who have met Mrs. Davis. After a long interview General Jones withdrew, promising to write Mrs. Davis very fully the reminiscences of Lieutenant Davis, and his services on what was once the northwestern frontier.

"General Jones, though eighty-five years old, looks very much younger. Erect and soldier-like in bearing, rather spare in form, modestly but faultlessly dressed, he is essentially a gentleman of the good old school. A light, elastic step, a fresh, ruddy complexion, and a luxuriant growth of silver-white hair and beard, combine to make General Jones a striking figure in any assembly of gentlemen. He will remain till after the funeral."

The *Louisville Courier Journal* says:

"Judge Peters, of Mount Sterling, and the late Jefferson Davis were classmates for two years at Transylvania. The judge has set down some recollections of the Southern statesman, though it is more than sixty-five years since they saw each other. He says:

"When I was with him he was a good student, always prepared with his lessons, very respectful and polite to the president and professors. I never heard him reprimanded for neglecting his studies or for misconduct of any sort during his stay at the university. He was amiable, prudent and kind to all with whom he was associated, and beloved by teachers and students. He was rather taciturn in disposition. He was of good form, indicating a good constitution; attractive in appearance, a well-shaped head, and of manly bearing, especially for one of his age. He did not often engage in the sport of the students, which was playing at foot-ball, perhaps because he did not choose to lose the time from his studies."

IV.

THE WEST POINT CADET.

As has been said he left Transylvania in 1824, when only 16 years old, to accept an appointment as cadet at the United States Military Academy, which was conferred on him by President Monroe, through Secretary John C. Calhoun, whose disciple he was to become, and with whom he was to serve in the United States Senate.

His cadet life at West Point presented no very marked characteristics, or incidents, except that it brought him in contact with many bright young fellows who were afterwards to figure in the annals of the army, and developed his own manhood and military zeal.

A fellow-cadet thus wrote of him: "Jefferson Davis was distinguished in the corps for his manly bearing, his high-toned and lofty character. His figure was very soldier-like and rather robust; his step springy, resembling the tread of an Indian 'brave' on the war path."

Cullom's "West Point Register" gives the names of his class and the order of their graduation in June, 1828, as follows:

1. Albert E. Church, of Connecticut;
2. Richard C. Tilghman, of Maryland;
3. Hugh W. Mercer, of Virginia;
4. Robert E. Temple, of Vermont;
5. Charles O. Collins, of New York;
6. I. J. Austin, of Massachusetts;
7. Edmund French, of Connecticut;
8. Joseph L. Lock, of Maine;
9. George E. Chase, of Massachusetts;
10. John F. Lane, born in Kentucky, appointed from Indiana;
11. William Palmer, born in Pennsylvania, appointed from Indiana;
12. Thomas

B. Adams, of Massachusetts; 13. Robert E. Clary, of Massachusetts; 14. Robert Sevier, of Tennessee; 15. William W. Mather, of Connecticut; 16. Enos G. Mitchell, of Connecticut; 17. James F. Izard, of Pennsylvania; 18. Thomas Cutt, born in the District of Columbia, appointed from Maine; 19. William H. Baker, born in Michigan, appointed from Vermont; 20. James L. Thompson, of Tennessee; 21. Gustave S. Rousseau, of Louisiana; 22. Benjamin W. Kinsman, of Maine; 23. Jefferson Davis, born in Kentucky, appointed from Mississippi; 24. William L. E. Morrison, Missouri, appointed from Illinois; 25. Samuel K. Cobb, South Carolina, appointed from Alabama; 26. Samuel Torrence, born in Pennsylvania, appointed from Ohio; 27. Amos Foster, of New Hampshire; 28. Thomas F. Drayton, of South Carolina; 29. Thomas C. Brockaway, of Connecticut; 30. John R. B. Gardenier, of New York; 31. Crafts J. Wright, New York, appointed from Ohio; 32. James W. Penrose, of Missouri; 33. Philip R. Van Wyck, of New Jersey.

The best sketch of Mr. Davis of all of the newspaper sketches which we have seen, appeared in the *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, and it gives so admirable a statement of his associations at West Point, and his career as a young officer, that we cannot do better than to quote from it freely :

“Among his classmates at West Point were Albert E. Church, afterward distinguished as a mathematician and for many years professor of that department at West Point; Hugh W. Mercer, and Thomas F. Drayton, who became general officers in the Confederate army, and J. R. B. Gardenier, who, in addition to no little active service in the army, had achieved some reputation in light literature before his death in 1850. Several of the class died very young—among them James F. Izard, an intimate friend of Davis, and an officer of great promise, who died of wounds received in a skirmish with the Indians while yet a subaltern, in 1836, during the Seminole

war. With the exception, however, of Jefferson Davis himself, but few of his class have attained special eminence—none any brilliant or historic reputation—either in civil or military pursuits.

“And yet—although now long recognized as *facile princeps* among his fellow-cadets of that period—his class rank in the academy was relatively low. He graduated in 1828, No. 23, in a class of thirty-three. It would be interesting to know (what, perhaps the records of the academy might show,) in what particular departments of study or discipline the deficiencies were found, which operated to reduce his academical rank.

“Although, as above stated, Mr. Davis’s own class has furnished but few distinguished names, yet among his associates at West Point, in the classes above and below him, were many who have since become famous. Alexander Dallas Bache was three years ahead of him, and graduated, first of his class, in 1825. Of the same date were Alexander H. Bowman, who, as an engineer officer, had a leading part in the construction of Fort Sumter, and was afterwards superintendent of the Military Academy; Benjamin Huger, major-general in the Confederate army; and Robert Anderson, who made the memorable defense of Fort Sumter in 1861.

“Albert Sidney Johnston, the lifelong personal friend of Davis, and regarded by him as the ablest of Confederate generals, was an older man by five years, but only two years his senior in cadetship, graduating number eight of his class, in 1826. In the same class of 1826 were Samuel P. Heintzelman, Martin P. Parks, afterwards an eminent clergyman, chaplain and professor at West Point, Amos P. Eaton, late Commissary-General of the United States army, Silas Casey, Leonidas Polk, the warrior-bishop, Gabriel J. Rains and Philip St. George Cooke were among the graduates of the class of 1827, immediately senior to that of Davis.

“Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston, the most illustrious of his associates, though older by birth, were both his juniors at West Point by one year. Among others of the three classes junior to his own were O. M. Mitchell, more distinguished in after years as an astronomer than as a general officer of the Federal army during the late war; Charles W. Hockley, Francis Vinton and William N. Pendleton—all afterward eminent clergymen of the Episcopal church, and the last named brigadier-general of artillery in the Confederate army; Sidney Burbank, William Hoffman, Albert G. Blanchard, of Louisiana, a general officer of the Confederate army; Caleb C. Sibley, Theophilus H. Holmes, William S. Basingen (a brilliant young officer, who graduated second in the class of 1830, and was killed in the massacre of Dade’s command by the Seminoles in 1835); John Bankhead Magruder (‘Prince John,’ of the United States army before the war and afterward of the Confederate army); Albert T. Bledsoe, Assistant Secretary of War in the Confederate government, and eminent in theology, literature and political science; Lloyd J. Beall, Robert C. Buchanan, George W. Patten, soldier and poet; Henry Clay, Jr., who was killed at Buena Vista; Samuel C. Ridgely and George H. Talcott, both artillery officers of much distinction in the Seminole and Mexican wars; Andrew A. Humphreys, Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army; William H. Emory, Lucius B. Northrop, Confederate Commissary-General during the greater part of the late war; Samuel R. Curtis, Charles Whittlesey, geologist, author and journalist, and others of more or less note.”

V.

THE YOUNG OFFICER.

"On his graduation young Davis (then twenty years of age) was breveted second lieutenant in the Sixth regiment of infantry and soon after transferred to the First infantry, with a full commission of the same grade.

"Mr. Davis gave in private conversation an amusing account of his first report for duty in active service. Being (as he said) something of a martinet, he arrayed himself in full uniform and made his way to the regimental headquarters. The colonel and lieutenant-colonel being both absent—or perhaps one or both of those positions being vacant—the command of the regiment had devolved upon Major (afterward colonel and brevet-major-general) Bennett Riley. The major was not in, and the young officer was directed to the quarters of the commissary to find him. Repairing to the place indicated, he found Major Riley alone, seated at a table, with a pack of cards before him, intently occupied in a game of solitaire. In response to Davis's formal salute, he nodded, invited him to take a seat, and continued his game. Looking up after a few minutes, he inquired, 'Young man, do you play solitaire? Finest game in the world! You may cheat as much as you please, and have nobody to detect it.'

"Major Riley, who was a blunt soldier of the old school, afterward became very fond of the young lieutenant, habitually addressing him when off duty as 'My son!' They met eighteen years afterward, when Davis, with his regiment of Mississippians, joined the army of General Taylor on the Mexican

frontier. 'Well, my son,' said the old soldier, 'here we are again. Good luck to you, my boy! As for me—six feet of Mexican soil, or a yellow sash!' He won the yellow sash—the distinctive mark of a general officer—by a double right, and left his share of the Mexican soil unoccupied.

"In this latter regiment he served for several years, chiefly in what was then the northwestern frontier. During this period occurred the 'Black Hawk war,' in both campaigns of which he took an active part. The surrender of Black Hawk, which closed the war, in 1832, although actually made to a party of Winnebago Indians, allies of the whites, was tendered to them in order to avoid capture by a detachment under command of Lieutenant Davis, who had pursued Black Hawk's party to an island in the Mississippi and cut off their intended retreat to the western bank of that river. Black Hawk and his principal warriors were retained for some time as hostages. They were sent to St. Louis under charge of Lieutenant Davis, whose soldierly bearing and considerate courtesy of treatment made a deeply favorable impression upon the captive chief.

"The services of Lieutenant Davis in these operations were handsomely recognized by his official superiors, but his own often avowed opinion was that the true heroes of that so-called 'war' were the Indians, both men and women, to whose courage, fortitude, endurance of hardships, fertility of resources, and constancy of purpose under the most appalling trials, difficulties and privations, he bore witness in terms of unqualified admiration.

"To this period of his life belongs the mention of a severe test to which his fidelity to principle was subjected—or at least threatened with subjection—and to which he himself sometimes referred as an illustration of the early formation of those convictions which governed his political course in maturer years. The circumstance derives its chief interest from the fact that we are enabled to present it in Mr. Davis's own words,



BATTLE OF BAD AXE.

Scene in the Black Hawk War. It is worthy of note that Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln were both in the United States Army, and at this battle Davis in the active and Lincoln in the reserve force.

as written in a manuscript never heretofore published. In this he says:

“The nullification by South Carolina in 1832 of certain acts of Congress, the consequent proclamation of President Jackson, and the ‘Force Bill’ soon afterwards enacted, presented the probability that the troops of the United States would be employed to enforce the execution of the laws in that State, and it was supposed that the regiment to which I belonged would in that event be ordered to South Carolina.

“By education, by association, and by preference, I was a soldier, then regarding that profession as my vocation for life. Yet, looking the issue squarely in the face, I chose the alternative of abandoning my profession rather than be employed in the subjugation of, or coercion of, a State of the Union, and had fully determined and was prepared to resign my commission immediately on the occurrence of such a contingency. The compromise of 1833 prevented the threatened calamity, and the sorrowful issue was deferred until a day more drear, which forced upon me the determination of the question of State sovereignty or federal supremacy—of independence or submission to usurpation.’

“The language of this brief statement of the case combines the expression of resolute and inflexible adherence to duty, with a touching and almost pathetic sense of the magnitude of the responsibility involved and of the sacrifice required, the unaffected sincerity of which will be doubted by none who knew the character of Jefferson Davis.

“Early in the year of 1833 Lieutenant Davis, having been selected as one of the officers of the newly organized First regiment of dragoons, was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant and transferred to that regiment, in which he was immediately assigned to duty as adjutant. In this capacity he took part in an expedition of somewhat extensive scope among the Indian tribes of the great Western plains, some of whom were

disaffected or unfriendly. The object of the expedition, however, was to avert rather than to suppress hostilities, by exhibiting to them something of the military power of the United States and cultivating their respect and good-will.

"After some further service, chiefly in garrison duty on the northwestern frontier, Lieutenant Davis resigned his commission in the army in June, 1835, to engage in cotton planting in the Mississippi Valley. About the same time he married Miss Sarah Knox Taylor, daughter of Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterwards President of the United States.

"[There is no truth whatever in the often repeated story that this marriage was effected in opposition to the wishes of the young lady's family, by means of an elopement. The only semblance of foundation for it is the fact that a breach of friendly relations had existed for some time between Colonel Taylor and Lieutenant Davis. Its origin was in a purely military question, which had arisen between the former as commander and the latter as adjutant, of a post. It involved nothing affecting the personal character of either, although it was serious enough to cause a suspension of personal intercourse between them. Mr. Davis wrote to Colonel Taylor, informing him of the engagement and intended marriage. The young lady was legally of age, and his consent was not formally asked, but no opposition was expressed. Colonel Taylor was a widower, on duty as commander of a frontier post, but the marriage took place at the house of a near kinswoman of the bride, in Kentucky, openly and without concealment, and in the presence of several friends and relations of her family.]"

VI.

IN RETIREMENT.

The retirement of the young officer to the shades of private life seemed to his friends at the time the throwing away of a splendid opportunity, if not the cutting short of a brilliant career. But it was really the entering of the best school in which to make careful preparation for the grand life before him, and his quiet years of study and of thought at Briarfield were the necessary prelude to those after years of active participation in the most stirring debates of Congress, and the most stupendous events ever enacted on this continent.

The facile pen and accurate statement of the writer above quoted may best give the story of his retirement, and of the circumstances under which he afterwards entered public life:

"Briarfield, the estate to which Mr. Davis retired on his marriage and resignation from the army, is situated in Warren county, Mississippi, on the Mississippi river, some twenty miles or more below Vicksburg. It was generally understood to be a gift from his elder brother, Joseph Emory Davis, from whose larger estate, 'Hurricane,' it had been cut off for the purpose. It was in a remote and isolated neighborhood, but the young ex-soldier and planter applied himself with assiduity to its cultivation and improvement.

"Mr. Davis's wife died a few months after marriage. After this misfortune he lived for some years in great seclusion and retirement. His brother was his only habitual associate. This brother was many years his senior, being the oldest, as Jefferson was the youngest, of the ten children of their parents.

A warm attachment existed between them. Jefferson Davis, in the unpublished memoranda already referred to, speaks of him as having stood *in loco parentis* with regard to himself after the death of their father, which occurred in the boyhood of the younger son, and adds, perhaps with something of fraternal partiality: 'He was a profound lawyer, a wise man, a bold thinker, a zealous advocate of the principles of the constitution, as understood by its founders, with a wide-spreading humanity, which manifested itself especially in a patriarchal care of the many negroes dependent upon him, not merely for the supply of their physical wants, but also for their moral and mental elevation, with regard to which he had more hope than most men of his large experience. To him, materially, as well as intellectually, I am more indebted than to all other men.'

"These years of retirement afforded also large opportunities for reading, in the course of which the practical details of his West Point education and earlier military pursuits were supplemented by a wider and more liberal range of studies, and by the acquisition of a store of general information, which were an admirable outfit for his subsequent career as a statesman."



BRIARFIELD.

VII.

HIS ENTRANCE INTO POLITICS.

“It was in 1843, when 35 years of age, and eight years after his resignation from the army, that Mr. Davis was somewhat suddenly and unexpectedly called from his retirement to take an active part in politics, in the service of the democratic (or State rights) party, as a candidate for the representation of his county (Warren) in the legislature of Mississippi. His own account of the circumstances is, for several reasons, of special interest. We give it in his own words:

“The canvass had advanced to a period within one week of the election, when the democrats became dissatisfied with their candidate and resolved to withdraw him, and I was requested to take his place. The whigs had a decided majority in the county, and there were two whig candidates against the one democrat. When I was announced, one of the whig candidates withdrew, which seemed to render my defeat certain; so, at least, I regarded it. Our opponents must have thought otherwise, for they put into the field for the canvass—though himself not a candidate—the greatest popular orator of the State—it is not too much to say the greatest of his day—Sargent S. Prentiss; and my first public speech was made in opposition to him. This led to an incident perhaps worthy of mention.

“An arrangement was made by our respective parties for a debate between Mr. Prentiss and myself on the day of election, each party to be allowed fifteen minutes alternately. Before the day appointed I met Mr. Prentiss to agree upon the ques-

tions to be discussed, eliminating all those with regard to which there was no difference between us, although they might be involved in the canvass. Among these was one which had already been decided by the legislature of Mississippi, and had thus become in some measure an historical question, but which was still the subject of political discussion, viz.: that of 'repudiation.' On this question there was a slight difference between us. He held that the 'Union bank bonds' constituted a debt of the State. I believed that they were issued unconstitutionally, but that, as the fundamental law of the State authorized it to be issued, the question of debt or no debt was one to be determined by the courts; and if the bonds should be adjudged to be a debt of the State, I was in favor of paying them. As, therefore, we were agreed with regard to the principle that the State might create a debt, and that in such case the people are bound to pay it, there was no such difference between us as to require a discussion of the so-called question of 'repudiation,' which turned upon the assumption that a State could not create a debt, or, in the phraseology of the period, that one generation could not impose such obligations upon another.

"There was another set of obligations known as the 'Planters' bank bonds,' the legality of which I never doubted, and for which I thought the legislature was bound to make timely provision.

"To return to the incident spoken of. Mr. Prentiss and I met at the court-house on the day of the election, improvised a stand at the foot of the stairs, up which the voters passed to the polling room, and there spent the day in discussion. There was but one variation from the terms originally agreed upon. Mr. Prentiss having said that he could not always condense his argument so as fully to state it within fifteen minutes, I consented that the time should be extended, provided he would strictly confine himself to the point at issue. He adhered tenaciously to the limitation thus imposed, argued closely and

powerfully, and impressed me with his capacity for analysis and logical induction more deeply than any other effort that I ever knew him to make.

“The result of the election, as anticipated, was my defeat. As this was the only occasion on which I was ever a candidate for the legislature of Mississippi, it may be seen how utterly unfounded was the allegation that attributed to me any part in the legislative enactment known as the ‘Act of Repudiation.’”

“To this statement it may be added that not only was it Mr. Davis’s first appearance in the political arena as a candidate for the Legislature, subsequent to the repudiation of the bonds, but that he never, at any time, before or afterward, held any civil office, legislative, executive or judicial, in the State government. Furthermore, that his supposed sympathy with the advocates of the payment of the debt by the State was actually (though ineffectually) employed among the repudiators as an objection to his election to Congress in 1845. The idea of attaching any share of responsibility to him for the repudiation of the bonds was of later origin. In his latter years he felt, and sometimes expressed, strong indignation at the remark of General Scott (in a note to his autobiography, vol. I, page 148,) relative to the ‘Mississippi bonds, repudiated mainly by Mr. Jefferson Davis.’ He spoke in terms of still severer censure of the late Robert J. Walker, whom he believed to have propagated the same calumny while financial agent of the United States in Europe during the war, although he was personally familiar with all the facts of the true history of the transaction.

“The political career of Mr. Davis was now fairly begun, and whatever reluctance or hesitancy he may have shown in entering upon it, once begun, it was pursued with characteristic ardor. In 1844 he made an extensive canvass of the State as a candidate for the electoral college on the Democratic

ticket (which was elected), and his ability as a public speaker became generally known to the people of Mississippi.

"In February, 1845, he contracted a second marriage with Miss Varina Howell, a daughter of William B. Howell, Esq., of Natchez.

"In the course of the same year he was elected to Congress (as a representative from the State "at large") and took his seat in the House soon after the opening of the first session of the Twenty-ninth Congress, in December, 1845.

"This was the first session of Congress under Mr. Polk's administration, and several questions of serious importance presented themselves for consideration. Among these were that of the modification of the tariff of 1842, the 'Oregon question,' and that of the relations with Mexico, then involved in difficulty growing out of the annexation of Texas, and ultimately resulting in war. In all these Mr. Davis manifested a lively interest. He advocated a tariff based upon the necessities of the government only, and favored *ad valorem* rather than specific duties. Both of these principles were recognized, if not fully and exclusively applied, as the basis of the tariff of 1846, in the framing of which he bore a more influential part than usually falls to the share of so young a member.

"He took a conspicuous part also in the debates on the two questions of foreign policy above referred to. With regard to Oregon he differed from the administration and from the majority of his political associates, without, however, fully coinciding with the opposition. He advocated a continuance of the joint occupancy of the disputed territory and opposed the proposition to give notice to Great Britain of a termination of the treaty which authorized it. In the course of a speech on this question he gave eloquent expression to that strong devotion to the principles of the original union and repugnance to everything savoring of sectional feeling, which eminently distinguished his whole political career.

"Speaking for the South, he said: 'As we have shared in the toils, so we have gloried in the triumphs of our country. In our hearts, as in our history, are mingled the names of Concord, and Camden, and Saratoga, and Lexington, and Plattsburg, and Chippewa, and Erie, and Moultrie, and New Orleans, and Yorktown, and Bunker Hill. Grouped all together, they form a record of the triumphs of our cause, a monument of the common glory of our Union. What Southern man would wish it less by one of the Northern names of which it is composed? Or where is he who, gazing on the obelisk that rises from the ground made sacred by the blood of Warren, would feel his patriot's pride suppressed by local jealousy?'"

VIII.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

The annexation of Texas, which Mr. Davis heartily favored, and the subsequent events leading up to the Mexican war had elicited the deepest interest of the young statesman.

He had ably advocated the recognition of the young republic of Texas, and its reception as a State of the Union by an enactment of Congress, without regard to the wishes or claims of Mexico. He heartily favored an aggressive policy on the Rio Grande, and was in warm sympathy with "Old Rough and Ready" in the bold and successful policy which he pursued.

On the 28th of May, 1846, he delivered the following speech in favor of a resolution of thanks to General Taylor and his army for the successes they had recently gained in operations on the Rio Grande :

"As a friend to the army, he rejoiced at the evidence, now afforded, of a disposition in this House to deal justly, and to feel generously toward those to whom the honor of our flag has been intrusted. Too often and too long had we listened to harsh and invidious reflections upon our gallant little army and the accomplished officers who command it. A partial opportunity had been offered to exhibit their soldierly qualities in their true light, and he trusted these aspersions were hushed—hushed now forever. As an American, whose heart promptly responds to all which illustrates our national character, and adds new glory to our national name, he rejoiced with exceeding joy at the recent triumph of our arms. Yet

it is no more than he expected from the gallant soldiers who hold our post upon the Rio Grande—no more than, when occasion offers, they will achieve again. It was the triumph of American courage, professional skill, and that patriotic pride which blooms in the breast of our educated soldier, and which droops not under the withering scoff of political revilers.

"These men will feel, deeply feel, the expression of your gratitude. It will nerve their hearts in the hour of future conflicts, to know that their country honors and acknowledges their devotion. It will shed a solace on the dying moments of those who fall, to be assured their country mourns their loss. This is the meed for which the soldier bleeds and dies. This he will remember long after the paltry pittance of one month's extra pay has been forgotten.

"Beyond this expression of the nation's thanks, he liked the *principle* of the proposition offered by the gentleman from South Carolina. We have a pension system providing for the disabled soldier, but he seeks well and wisely to extend it to all who may be wounded, however slightly. It is a reward offered to those who seek for danger, who first and foremost plunge into the fight. It has been this incentive, extended so as to cover all feats of gallantry, that has so often crowned the British arms with victory, and caused their prowess to be recognized in every quarter of the globe. It was the sure and high reward of gallantry, the confident reliance upon their nation's gratitude, which led Napoleon's armies over Europe, conquering and to conquer; and it was these influences which, in an earlier time, rendered the Roman arms invincible, and brought their eagle back victorious from every land on which it gazed. Sir, let not that parsimony (for he did not deem it economy) prevent us from adopting a system which in war will add so much to the efficiency of troops. Instead of seeking to fill the ranks of your army by increased pay, let the soldier feel that a liberal pension will relieve him from the

fear of want in the event of disability, provide for his family in the event of death, and that he wins his way to gratitude and the reward of his countrymen by periling all for honor in the field.

"The achievement which we now propose to honor richly deserves it. Seldom, sir, in the annals of military history has there been one in which desperate daring and military skill were more happily combined. The enemy selected his own ground, and united to the advantage of a strong position a numerical majority of three to one. Driven from his first position by an attack in which it is hard to say whether professional skill or manly courage is to be more admired, he retired and posted his artillery on a narrow defile, to sweep the ground over which our troops were compelled to pass. There, posted in strength three times greater than our own, they waited the approach of our gallant little army.

"General Taylor knew the danger and destitution of the band he left to hold his camp opposite Matamoras, and he paused for no regular approaches, but opened his field artillery, and dashed with sword and bayonet on the foe. A single charge left him master of their battery, and the number of slain attests the skill and discipline of his army. Mr. Davis referred to a gentleman who, a short time since, expressed extreme distrust in our army, and poured out the vials of his denunciation upon the graduates of the Military Academy. He hoped now the gentleman will withdraw these denunciations; that now he will learn the value of military science; that he will see, in the location, the construction, the defenses of the bastioned field-works opposite Matamoras, the utility, the necessity of a military education. Let him compare the few men who held that with the army who assailed it; let him mark the comparative safety with which they stood within that temporary work; let him consider why the guns along its ramparts were preserved, whilst they silenced the batteries of

the enemy; why that intrenchment stands unharmed by Mexican shot, whilst its guns have crumbled the stone walls in Matamoras to the ground, and then say whether he believes a blacksmith or tailor could have secured the same results. He trusted the gentleman would be convinced that arms, like every occupation, requires to be studied before it can be understood; and from these things to which he had called his attention, he will learn the power and advantage of military science. He would make but one other allusion to the remarks of the gentleman he had noticed, who said nine-tenths of the graduates of the Military Academy abandoned the service of the United States. If he would take the trouble to examine the records upon this point, he doubted not he would be surprised at the extent of his mistake. There he would learn that a majority of all the graduates are still in service; and if he would push his inquiry a little further, he would find that a large majority of the commissioned officers who bled in the action of the 8th and 9th were graduates of that academy.

"He would not enter into a discussion on the military at this time. His pride, his gratification arose from the success of our arms. Much was due to the courage which Americans have displayed on many battle-fields in former times; but this courage, characteristic of our people, and pervading all sections and all classes, could never have availed so much had it not been combined with military science. And the occasion seemed suited to enforce this lesson on the minds of those who have been accustomed, in season and out of season, to rail at the scientific attainments of our officers.

"The influence of military skill—the advantage of discipline in the troops—the power derived from the science of war, increases with the increased size of the contending armies. With two thousand we had beaten six thousand; with twenty thousand we would far more easily beat sixty thousand, because the general must be an educated soldier

who wields large bodies of men, and the troops, to act efficiently, must be disciplined and commanded by able officers. He but said what he had long thought and often said, when he expressed his confidence in the ability of our officers to meet those of any service—favorably to compare, in all that constitutes the soldier, with any army in the world; and as the field widened for the exhibition, so would their merits shine more brightly still.

“With many of the officers now serving on the Rio Grande he had enjoyed a personal acquaintance, and hesitated not to say that all which skill, and courage, and patriotism could perform, might be expected from them. He had forborne to speak of the general commanding on the Rio Grande on any former occasion; but he would now say to those who had expressed distrust, that the world held not a soldier better qualified for the service he was engaged in than General Taylor. Trained from his youth to arms, having spent the greater portion of his life on our frontier, his experience peculiarly fits him for the command he holds. Such as his conduct was in Fort Harrison, on the upper Mississippi, in Florida, and on the Rio Grande, will it be wherever he meets the enemy of his country.

“Those soldiers, to whom so many have applied depreciatory epithets, upon whom it has been so often said no reliance could be placed, they too will be found, in every emergency, renewing such feats as have recently graced our arms, bearing the American flag to honorable triumphs, or falling beneath its folds, as devotees to our common cause, to die a soldier’s death.

“He rejoiced that the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Black) had shown himself so ready to pay this tribute to our army. He hoped not a voice would be raised in opposition to it—that nothing but the stern regret which is prompted by remembrance of those who bravely fought and nobly died will

break the joy, the pride, the patriotic gratulation with which we hail this triumph of our brethren on the Rio Grande."

What followed we may best give from the sketch which we have already quoted so frequently:

"As a member of Congress, he voted in accordance with the views of the administration. When the battles of the Rio Grande occurred, he supported the declaration that hostilities existed by the act of Mexico. Although in this vote he sustained the position taken by the President, yet it required, perhaps, a higher exercise of independence than if he had taken the contrary part, for it was in opposition to the earnest remonstrances of Mr. Calhoun, the recognized head of the school of statesmanship of which Mr. Davis was a zealous disciple, and probably the only man that he would ever have acknowledged as a political leader. He voted also for raising a volunteer army and for the appropriations requisite for a vigorous prosecution of the war. He opposed, however, as unconstitutional, the authority conferred upon the President to appoint the general officers of the volunteer forces, holding that it had been reserved exclusively to the States.

"The regiment called for from Mississippi was organized at Vicksburg, and elected its field officers with Jefferson Davis at their head as colonel. A messenger was sent to Washington to notify him. He was found in the House of Representatives, then having the tariff bill under consideration. The offer of the command of the regiment was promptly accepted. The President, on being informed of his acceptance and of his intention to leave Washington as soon as the necessary arms and equipments could be procured, insisted on his remaining in Congress a few days until the tariff bill could be completed and passed, promising to instruct the Secretary of War in the meantime to have all his requisitions filled, so that no time should be lost.

"He made a requisition for one thousand percussion rifles of the model manufactured by Whitney, of New Haven. This was considered a startling innovation on usage. The rifle had not then been introduced into the army. Even the percussion lock was only partially in use, and General Scott is said to have preferred the flint lock, considering it as involving too much risk to rely upon so untried a weapon as the percussion lock musket for a campaign in an enemy's country. Certain it is that he objected to the proposition of Colonel Davis to supply his regiment with the rifle indicated by his requisition and, in yielding a partial consent to the experiment, coupled with it the condition that at least six of the ten companies should be armed with the old-fashioned musket already in use. Davis, however, who knew the familiarity of his men with the rifle and their distrust of the army musket, insisted upon the entire fulfillment of the President's promise, and eventually succeeded in obtaining it. Such was the original introduction into the service of the weapon afterward so celebrated as the 'Mississippi rifle.'

"Resigning his seat in Congress, in June or July, 1846, Colonel Davis hastened to join his regiment, which had already set out for the seat of war. He overtook it and assumed command in New Orleans, from which place they were transported by sea to Point Isabel. Here they were subjected to a delay of several weeks, awaiting transportation up the Rio Grande. This opportunity was employed by the commander in drilling and training his men, very few of whom had received any military instruction. A serious difficulty presented itself at the very outset. No system of tactics then in existence had any provision for a manual of arms adapted to the rifle, with which the Mississippians were armed. In this exigency Colonel Davis set to work and prepared a manual of his own, in which he took personal charge of the instruction of his officers, requiring them to communicate it to the men of their com-

mands. As he took these officers out for their daily drill, it became an habitual joke with the soldiers looking on to exclaim in tones just loud enough to be overheard. 'There goes the Colonel, with the awkward squad!' Yet, though good-natured pleasantries, such as this, were freely tolerated, the discipline exacted was rigorous, and the regiment became in that regard a model for the volunteer troops of General Taylor's army.

"Transportation being at length furnished, Colonel Davis, with his regiment, ascended the Rio Grande and reported to General Taylor then encamped at Camargo. It was probably the first time they had met since their parting, in alienation if not in anger, many years before on the northwestern frontier. Meanwhile time, and a common sorrow, had, no doubt, wrought their healing influences. Moreover, in debate on the floor of the House of Representatives, on the resolution of thanks to General Taylor and the officers and men of his command, after the battles of the Rio Grande, the eloquent Mississippian, in supporting it, had warmly eulogized both the army and its commander, declaring of the latter that 'the world had not a soldier better qualified for the service he was engaged in than General Taylor.' It may well be assumed, therefore, that there were no remains of former misunderstandings or estrangement to disturb the harmony attending the renewal of their old relations as chief and subordinate in command. These relations were marked throughout the campaign by entire friendliness and cordiality.

"Very soon after the arrival of the Mississippi regiment at Camargo the army set out on its march for the interior of Mexico. The strength of the column put in motion, as reported by the commanding general, was but little more than 6,000 men—a force which, familiarized as we have since become with movements of troops on a much larger scale, seems singularly inadequate to the magnitude of the objects of the expedition. It consisted of two divisions of regular troops, commanded

respectively by Brigadier-Generals Twiggs and Worth, and one of volunteers, commanded by Major-General Butler. To these were afterwards added (overtaking them on the march) two regiments of Texas volunteers, under the immediate command of the Governor of that State, J. Pinckney Henderson, serving with the military rank of major-general; his command constituting, nominally, a fourth division, though in respect of strength equivalent only to a small brigade. Davis's regiment was one of the two of which Quitman's brigade, of Butler's division, was composed.

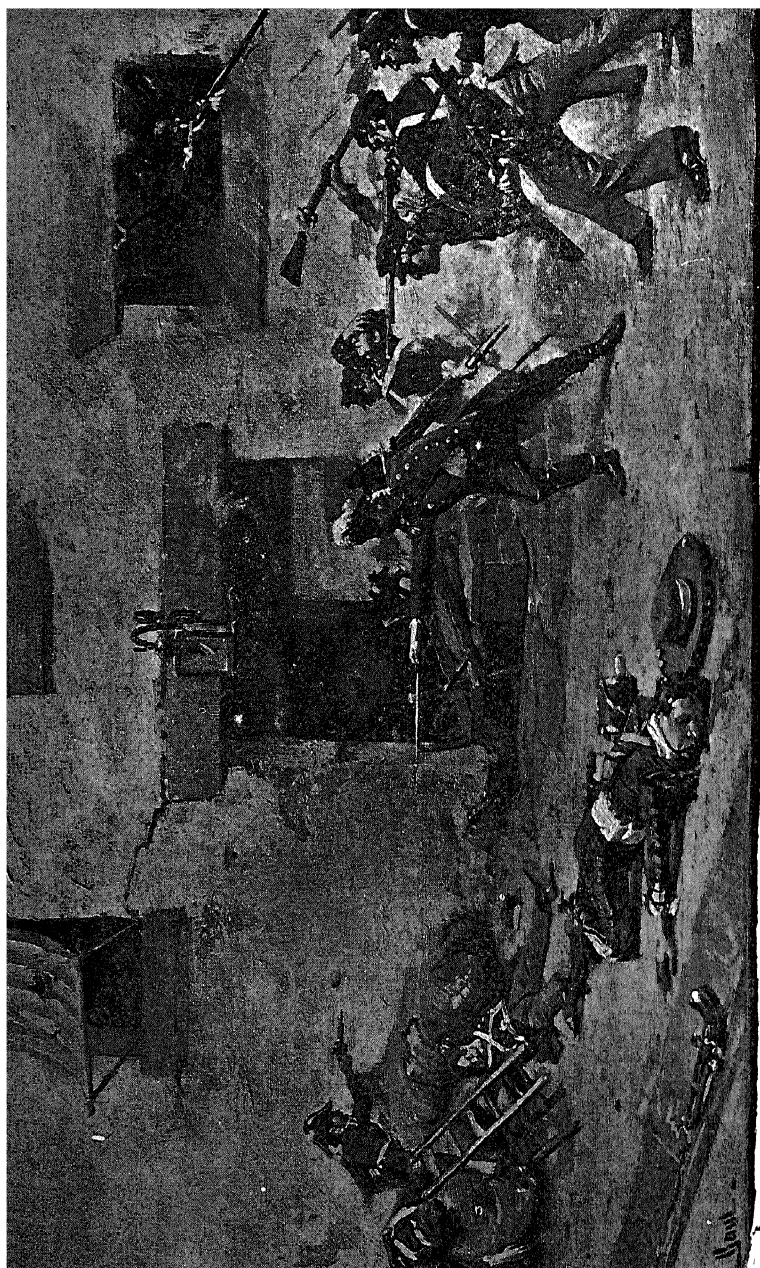
"No serious resistance was encountered until Monterey, a strongly fortified city on the slope of the Sierra Madre, garrisoned by a force of regular and volunteer troops, variously estimated at from 9,000 to 15,000 men, under command of General Ampudia. The attack on Monterey was opened early on the morning of the 21st of September. It is not our purpose to describe it, or to enter into the details of any other operations of the campaigns beyond such as directly concern the actions of the subject of this little memoir. Even as to these, we can mention only some of the most salient and striking incidents.

"What was intended to be the main attack was made upon the fortified heights on the western side or rear of the town, as approached by the United States forces. The conduct of this attack was entrusted to General Worth. At the same time a diversion in favor of Worth's movement was to be made on the eastern or northeastern side by Butler's and Twiggs's divisions, under the immediate direction of General Taylor himself. The two attacks were entirely detached and separate from each other—communication between them requiring a *détour* of at least six miles—and, although the movement in front seems to have been meant to be only subsidiary to that in the rear of the city, it is hard to determine which of them, in the end, was of the greater importance in contributing to the general result.

"The defences in front were found to be stronger than had been expected. The regular troops (First, Third and Fourth infantry) of Twiggs's command suffered severely in leading the attack upon them.

"Quitman's brigade, consisting of Davis's Mississippians and Campbell's Tennesseans, was ordered to the support of Twiggs. These regiments moved with impetuous courage upon the most advanced position of the Mexicans—a strong stone building, known as *La Tanería* (the Tannery), which had been converted into a fort, occupied by infantry, and covered by a redoubt with artillery. The redoubt was carried by assault, Lieutenant-Colonel McClung, of Davis's regiment, with Lieutenant Patterson, of the same command, being the first to mount the breastworks. The defenders of the redoubt hastily withdrew to the stone building in the rear, but were closely pursued by the Mississippians, led by Colonel Davis in person, who reached the gate just as they were closing it and forced it open. The Mexicans at hand immediately surrendered, and the officer in command of the post delivered his sword to Colonel Davis, who soon afterwards handed it to his friend, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, then serving as Inspector-General on the staff of General Butler.

"Meantime, the greater part of the garrison of *La Tanería*, were endeavoring to escape to the other fortified positions accessible to them. They were pursued by Davis, who was about to lead his regiment to the attack of a fort known as *El Diablo*, some 300 yards from the works already captured, when he was ordered back by General Quitman and directed to rejoin the main body of the division. This order was very distasteful to him; even in after years, on the rare occasions when he could be induced to speak freely of these events, he would manifest some traces of still lingering dissatisfaction in mentioning it. For some time the troops were left in a state of inaction, protected by a long wall in their front, but exposed



YOUNG DAVIS LEADING HIS COMMAND AT THE ASSAULT ON MONTEREY, MEXICO.
(Drawn by Gilbert Gaul.)

to the fire of artillery from the Mexican salients on their left flank. Chafing with impatience at the delay and useless exposure of his men, Colonel Davis addressed himself to Colonel A. S. Johnston, of the division staff—whose chief, General Butler, had been wounded and was about this time obliged to retire from the field—and suggested the query that, if not permitted to attack the salient on the left, why not move upon the right? Johnston's answer (as given in a letter from ex-President Davis to Colonel W. P. Johnston, from which this incident is taken), was: 'We can get no orders, but if you will move your regiment to the right place, the rest may follow you.' Colonel Davis appears to have waited for no further orders, but moved off immediately toward a *tête-de-pont* covering the approach to a bridge on the right.

"Meeting here Major Mansfield, Chief Engineer, and Captain Field, of the Third infantry, with his company, both of whom promptly consented to co-operate with him, preparations were made for an immediate attack upon the *tête-de-pont*. Before this could be executed, however, he was ordered by General Hamer—who, as senior brigadier, had succeeded General Butler in command of the division—to desist and withdraw from his position. His own remonstrances and those of Major Mansfield were unavailing, and for the second time that day he found his enterprises thwarted by the orders of his military superiors. It was, no doubt, some compensation for his disappointment that, in retiring from the field, he had opportunity for the execution, on his own responsibility, of a brief but brilliant movement of a very unusual sort. This was the attack and rout of a body of lancers who were inflicting much annoyance upon the main body of the division. Resistance by foot soldiers to charges of cavalry is no uncommon thing in war, but the novelty of this aggressive and successful attack upon light cavalry by riflemen on foot

did not escape the special notice of Colonel Johnston and other old soldiers who witnessed it.

"Nothing important occurred the next day (22nd September) in front of the city, though in the rear the capture of the defences on the Saltillo road, begun by Worth the day before, was completed by the storming of the "Bishop's Palace" and works adjacent. The position captured on the 21st (Fort Taneria and its outworks) was still held, and on the 22nd was occupied by Quitman's brigade, but the operations of the day in that quarter consisted mainly of an exchange of artillery firing.

"Early in the morning of the 23d it was ascertained that the Mexicans had evacuated most of his works in the lower part of the city and withdrawn toward the citadel and grand plaza. Colonel Davis was ordered to take possession of 'El Diablo' and the works around it. A little later General Quitman was authorized by the commanding general, at his own discretion, to advance into the interior of the city. Davis, with part of his own command, and part of the Tennessee regiment, took the lead in this movement, which was one altogether congenial to the adventurous, though cool, discreet and wary daring of his disposition. The performance of the duty was beset with difficulties. Barricades had been built across the streets. Posted behind these barricades at the windows and on the battlemented roofs of houses, and availing themselves of other 'coigns of vantage,' the Mexicans were enabled with little exposure of themselves, to pick off the assailants as they advanced, while their artillery swept the streets. While Colonel Davis and his men were slowly contending against these obstacles, Lieutenant (soon afterward captain) Scarritt, a brilliant young engineer of General Taylor's staff, came up and proposed that instead of following the streets they should bore their way through the houses, offering himself to obtain the necessary tools and to render his personal assistance in the

execution of the plan. Colonel Davis recognized at once the expediency of the suggestion, and promptly agreed to it. In after years he spoke with much admiration of the skill and ability of Scarritt and the value of the services rendered by him on that occasion.

"They were soon afterward joined by a detachment of dismounted Texan volunteers, led by General Henderson in person, who, although superior in rank, was content to co-operate with Davis in his movements. The greater part of the day was occupied in slowly making their way, in the manner above indicated, from house to house and from square to square, dislodging the defenders from their positions as they advanced. At one place Colonel Davis was completely buried by the explosion of a shell in a mass of earth and rubbish, and was reported killed by a frightened soldier who was with him, though really unhurt. At another, when it became necessary to cross a street commanded by one of the Mexican batteries, he took the lead and crossed alone, after instructing his men to follow, two or three at a time, until the fire of the enemy was drawn, on which they were immediately to rush across en masse. By this means the crossing was effected without loss.

"As evening drew on, they had made their way to a point within less than two squares of the main plaza. Their position was now so advanced that it had become unsafe to continue the fire of Bragg's and Ridgeley's batteries, which had been co-operating with them from the rear. They were, therefore, ordered 'gradually and slowly to retire to the defences taken in the morning.' This order was reluctantly obeyed, both by Davis and Henderson.

"Early in the morning of the 24th, a communication was sent by flag of truce from General Ampudia to General Taylor, proposing to surrender the city on certain conditions. A cessation of fire until noon was ordered. The commanding

generals had a personal interview, which resulted in the appointment of commissioners by each party to draw up articles of capitulation. The commissioners appointed by General Taylor, on the part of the United States, were Generals Worth and Henderson and Colonel Jefferson Davis. On the part of the Mexicans were two general officers of the army and the governor of the State of New Leon, of which Monterey is the capital.

"The terms agreed upon by the commissioners provided for the surrender, on the next day, of the city and its defences, with all the artillery, munitions of war, and other public property, except the arms and accoutrements of the infantry and cavalry and one field battery. The Mexican troops were to retire beyond a certain specified line, which was not thereafter to be passed by armed forces from either side for eight weeks, or until otherwise ordered by one or both of the two governments concerned.

"Connected with the ratification of these terms by the respective commanding generals, was a personal adventure of Colonels Davis and A. S. Johnston, which has been graphically described in a letter from the former to Colonel W. P. Johnston, son of the latter. Although this letter has already been published in the life of General Johnston, by his son, yet its intrinsic interest and the subsequent celebrity of the two parties chiefly concerned, furnish sufficient reason for the reproduction here of the greater part of it. Mr. Davis writes ;

"When the commissioners had completed their labors, and written out the terms of capitulation in English and Spanish, each to be signed by both of the commanding generals, there was a manifest purpose on the part of General Ampudia to delay and to chaffer. I left him, after an unpleasant interview, with a promise on his part to give me General Taylor's draft with his (Ampudia's) signature as early in the morning as I would call for it. At dawn of day I mounted my horse and



DAVIS AND JOHNSTON NEGOTIATING WITH AMPUDIA.

started for the town, about three miles distant. General Taylor, always an early riser, heard the horse's feet as I passed by the tent and called to me, asking where I was going, then inviting me to take a cup of coffee with him. The question was answered and the invitation declined, having already had coffee. Your father seeing me on horseback, came from his tent to learn the cause of it, and proposed to go with me. General Taylor promptly said that he wished he would do so; and as soon as his horse could be saddled he joined me, and we rode on for General Ampudia's headquarters at the grand plaza of Monterey.

“As we approached the entrance to the plaza the flat roofs of the houses were seen to be occupied by infantry in line and under arms. The barricade across the street, behind which was artillery, showed the gunners in place, and the port-fires blazing. It may well be asked, Why should they fire on us? The only answer is, the indications are strong that they intended to do so. We were riding at a walk and continued to advance at the same gait. Your father suggested that we should raise our white handkerchiefs; and thus we rode up to the battery. Addressing the captain, I told him that I was there by appointment to meet General Ampudia, and wished to pass. He sent a soldier to the rear with orders which we could not hear. After waiting a due time, the wish to pass was stated as before. Again the captain sent off a soldier; and a third time was this repeated, none of the soldiers returning. In this state of affairs we saw the Adjutant-General of Ampudia coming on horseback. We knew that he spoke English, and that as the chief of the commander's staff, he was aware of my appointment and could relieve us of our detention. There was a narrow space between the end of the breastwork and the wall of the house, barely sufficient for one horse to pass at a time. We were quite near to this passage, and as the Adjutant-General advanced, evidently with the intention

to ride through, I addressed him, stating my case, and remonstrated on the discourtesy with which we had been treated. He turned to the captain and speaking in Spanish, and with such rapid utterance that we could not comprehend the meaning, he put his horse in motion to go through. Quick and daring in action as slow and mild in speech, your father said, Had we not better keep him with us? We squared our horses so as to prevent his passing, and told him it would much oblige us if he would accompany us to the quarters of General Ampudia. He appreciated both his necessity and our own; and feigning great pleasure in attending us, he turned back and conducted us to his chief.

“Whether the danger of being fired on was as great as it seemed, cannot be determined; but the advantage of having the well-known chief of staff exposed to any fire which should be aimed at us, will be readily perceived. On this as on many other occasions during our long acquaintance, your father exhibited that quick perception and decision which characterize the military genius. The occasion may seem small to others; it was great to us. Together we had seen the sun rise; and the chances seemed to both, many to one, that neither of us would ever see it set. Ampudia received us with the extravagant demonstrations of his nation, ordered our horses to be taken care of, and invited us to breakfast with him. Declining the invitation, he was reminded of the object of our visit, and the desire to avoid further delay in exchange of the articles of capitulation. He promptly delivered the duplicate left with him, which he had signed, and we took formal leave of him.’

“There can scarcely be a doubt, under the light thrown upon the subject by subsequent discussion, that the terms of capitulation accorded were as judicious as they were liberal, but they were severely criticised in some quarters as too favorable to the Mexicans. It was disapproved by the government at

home, but before the necessary correspondence could be exchanged between General Taylor and the War Department, and notice given the Mexican commander, only six days remained of the eight weeks originally allowed for the duration of the armistice. There were some animated discussion of the subject afterwards both in Congress and in the newspapers, and the action of General Taylor and the commissioners was warmly defended by Colonel Davis.

"Saltillo, the capital of the State of Coahuila, was occupied by the United States forces immediately after the conclusion of the armistice, and Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, some weeks later. General Taylor was now in almost full possession of the States of Tamaulipas, New Leon and Coahuila. The greater part of the winter passed, however, without any very important or memorable operations, and in the course of it Taylor's force was much reduced by the withdrawal of a large portion of it, including nearly all the regular troops, to participate in the campaign of General Scott, about to be opened from Vera Cruz as a base against the City of Mexico. Meantime Santa Anna, who had succeeded to the chief command of the Mexican army and soon after to the Presidency of the Republic, had assembled a large force at San Luis Potosi, and in the latter part of February, 1847, moved forward to meet the invading troops of Taylor.

"General Taylor's headquarters were at Saltillo, though his advance had been pushed forward as far as Aqua Nueva, some eighteen miles beyond. On information of the advance of the Mexicans, he selected a strong defensive position, about seven miles south of Saltillo, near an estate, or hacienda, known as Buena Vista. Here he posted his little army of about 5,000 men, to await the approach of the enemy. The road at Buena Vista entered a deep and narrow valley, protected on the right, or western side, by a network of deep gullies, impassible by cavalry or artillery, while on the left a 'suc-

cession of rugged ridges and precipitous ravines' extended back toward the mountain bounding the valley.

"The Mexicans made their appearance on the morning of the 22nd of February, 20,000 strong, as asserted by Santa Anna in his note of that date to Taylor, demanding an unconditional surrender. It is quite likely, however, that he exaggerated their numbers. The official returns of his forces, a few days before the battle (according to the statement of General Scott), exhibit an aggregate of about 14,000. On the other hand, General Wool estimates their number at 22,000. In any case the odds were fearful enough, though, as General Taylor says in his official report, 'the features of the ground were such as to nearly paralyze the artillery and cavalry of the enemy, while his infantry could not derive all the advantage of its numerical superiority.'

"The laconic answer of Taylor to Santa Anna's communication, granting him an hour to make up his mind to surrender, is well known.*

"An attack was soon after made by the Mexicans, and some heavy skirmishing occurred in the course of the evening, but the battle was not fairly opened until the next morning. General Taylor himself returned for the night to Saltillo, which was threatened by a large body of cavalry, taking with him the Mississippi regiment and a squadron of dragoons.

"The battle had already begun, next morning (23rd), when the Mississippians arrived on the field, with some advantage to the Mexicans. Colonel Davis in his report says: 'As we approached the scene of action, horsemen, recognized as of our troops, were seen running, dispersed and confusedly, from the

*HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION, }
Near Buena Vista, Feb. 22, 1847. }

Sir,—In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request.

With high respect, I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Major-General U. S. A., commanding.

Senor General D. Anto Lopez de Santa Anna, Commander-in-Chief, Encantada.

field; and our first view of the line of battle presented the mortifying spectacle of a regiment of infantry flying disorganized from before the enemy.' He adds, however, that, instead of dispiriting, the sight served only to nerve the resolution of the men of his command.

"They soon became warmly engaged with a force vastly superior to their own. Ascending under fire, and firing, the slope of the ridge from the upper part of which the enemy were operating, it became necessary to cross a deep ravine that united obliquely with one still larger on the right, which ran nearly parallel with the line of their movement. Into this lesser ravine Colonel Davis descended alone, to find a favorable place for the passage of his men. While riding along the bottom he was fired upon by a squadron of Mexican cavalry from the bank above, but they fired over his head and both he and his horse escaped unhurt. The regiment crossed under a galling fire and drove the enemy back upon their reserves. Being unsupported, however, and observing a movement of the Mexican cavalry beyond the large ravine on the right, as if to cross it and attack his rear, Colonel Davis retired his regiment just in time to prevent this movement and disperse the assailants with the loss of their leader.

"He was now joined by the Third Indiana regiment of the same brigade, and by a piece of artillery under Lieutenant Kilburn, and again moved forward to the ground previously occupied under a heavy fire of artillery. A large body of cavalry was seen to issue from their cover, as if for the purpose of making an attack, and preparations were at once made to receive it.

"Just here occurred what has become so celebrated as the famous 'V' formation of his troops by Colonel Davis. The story, as generally told, is that, seeing the impending charge, he drew up his men in the form of the letter specified, so as to receive the enemy between its two converging lines under a flanking fire from both. Much graphic but illusory narration

and injudicious eulogy have been expended upon the subject by writers and speakers but little versed in tactics, theoretical or practical. The truth is that, under ordinary circumstances, such a formation would have been an exceedingly weak one, directly contrary to the plainest principles of defense against cavalry. No cavalry commander of ordinary intelligence could be expected to lead his men into the gaping jaws of a bifurcate snare so manifestly fraught with deadly peril, when it would be so much easier and safer to turn its corners and attack his enemy in the rear. No such formation as that of the 'V' is mentioned by General Taylor in his report of the battle—unless an obscure and incidental allusion to that part of the line as forming 'a crochet perpendicular to the first line of battle' can be understood as indicating it. It is not mentioned by General Wool, the second in command in the field, or by General Lane, who commanded the brigade to which the Mississippi and Indiana regiments both belonged. The explanation may be found in a single sentence of Colonel Davis's own report, in which he says: 'The Mississippi regiment was filed to the right (they were retiring by the left flank), and fronted in line across the plain; the Indiana regiment was formed on the bank of the ravine by which a re-entering angle was presented to the enemy.' From this statement it is not at all presumable that the re-entrant angle was one of such acuteness as to entitle it to be likened in form to the letter 'V'. Moreover, the dispositions made were evidently suggested by the conformation of the ground occupied, and the genius of the commander shown by the promptness and sagacity with which he took advantage of it. The Indiana regiment, constituting the right of his line, was drawn up along the brink of the main ravine, by which its rear was completely covered. His own regiment extended 'across the plain,' presumably to the other ravine, leaving the enemy no possible means of approach, except in front and under the fire of both wings. These dispositions were brilliant

in conception and execution, but not in the way in which they are generally represented. The merit consisted in the ready intuition and consummate skill with which the strongest possible formation was made of what in most cases would have been one of the very weakest.

"Colonel Davis soon afterwards received orders to move his regiment to a point some distance to the right for the protection of Bragg's battery, which was hotly engaged and entirely unsupported. Reaching the brow of the slope that led to the plateau on which the battery was stationed, they found the Mexican infantry advancing upon it, within about 100 yards. A destructive fire upon their right flank checked their progress and saved the battery from impending and otherwise inevitable capture or destruction.

"This was the last conflict of the day in which they were engaged. Colonel Davis had been severely wounded on first going into action by a musket ball through the foot, near the ankle joint. Although keeping the field, he had suffered severely, and at the close of battle retired to a tent for surgical treatment.

"[It is an interesting reminiscence that he was nursed and waited on during the ensuing night by Mr. T. L. Crittenden, then serving as a volunteer aid on the staff of General Taylor, without military rank, who served with distinction in the Federal army during the late war, and has since attained the rank of brigadier-general by brevet. To him Colonel Davis attributed his escape from lockjaw, which was threatened, and probably the saving of his life, by continually pouring cold water upon the wounded limb.]

"The general appreciation in the army of the brilliant services rendered at Buena Vista by Davis and his Mississippians was shown by the praises lavished upon them in the official reports of his superiors and the officers directly associated with him during the battle. These notes of admi-

ration and approval were caught up and re-echoed by press and people at home. Few soldiers have ever received from their countrymen a more generous recognition of distinguished services than that awarded them."

The following description of the part borne by "Davis and his Mississippi Rifles" in the battle of Buena Vista, is from the pen of Honorable J. F. H. Claiborne, who has written much to illustrate the history of Mississippi and her sons:

"The battle had been raging sometime with fluctuating fortunes, and was setting against us, when General Taylor, with Colonel Davis and others, arrived on the field. Several regiments (which were subsequently rallied and fought bravely) were in full retreat. O'Brien, after having his men and horses completely cut up, had been compelled to draw off his guns, and Bragg, with almost superhuman energy, was sustaining the brunt of the fight. Many officers of distinction had fallen. Colonel Davis rode forward to examine the position of the enemy, and concluding that the best way to arrest our fugitives would be to make a bold demonstration, he resolved at once to attack the enemy, there posted in force, immediately in front, supported by cavalry, and two divisions in reserve in his rear. It was a resolution bold almost to rashness, but the emergency was pressing. With a handful of Indiana volunteers, who still stood by their brave old colonel (Bowles) and his own regiment, he advanced at double-quick time, firing as he advanced. His own brave fellows fell fast under the rolling musketry of the enemy, but their rapid and fatal volleys carried dismay and death into the adverse ranks. A deep ravine separated the combatants. Leaping into it, the Mississippians soon appeared on the other side, and with a shout that was heard over the battle-field, they poured in a well-directed fire, and rushed upon the enemy. Their deadly aim and wild enthusiasm was irresistible. The Mexicans fled in confusion to their reserves, and Davis seized the commanding position

they had occupied. He next fell upon the party of cavalry and compelled it to fly, with the loss of their leader and other officers. Immediately afterwards a brigade of lancers, one thousand strong, were seen approaching at a gallop, in beautiful array, with sounding bugles and fluttering pennons. It was an appalling spectacle, but not a man flinched from his position. The time between our devoted band and eternity seemed brief indeed. But conscious that the eye of the army was upon them, that the honor of Mississippi was at stake, and knowing that, if they gave way, or were ridden down, our unprotected batteries in the rear, upon which the fortunes of the day depended, would be captured, each man resolved to die in his place sooner than retreat. Not the Spartan martyrs at Thermopylæ—not the sacred battalion of Epaminondas—not the Tenth Legion of Julius Cæsar—not the Old Guard of Napoleon—ever evinced more fortitude than these young volunteers in a crisis when death seemed inevitable. They stood like statues, as frigid and motionless as the marble itself. Impressed with this extraordinary firmness, when they had anticipated panic and flight, the lancers advanced more deliberately, as though they saw, for the first time, the dark shadow of the fate that was impending over them. Colonel Davis had thrown his men into the form of re-entering angle, (familiarily known as his famous V movement,) both flanks resting on ravines, the lancers coming down on the intervening ridge. This exposed them to a converging fire, and the moment they came within rifle range each man singled out his object, and the whole head of the column fell. A more deadly fire never was delivered, and the brilliant array recoiled and retreated, paralyzed and dismayed.

“Shortly afterwards the Mexicans, having concentrated a large force on the right for their final attack, Colonel Davis was ordered in that direction. His regiment had been in action all day, exhausted by thirst and fatigue, much reduced

by the carnage of the morning engagement, and many in the ranks suffering from wounds, yet the noble fellows moved at double-quick time. Bowles's little band of Indiana volunteers still acted with them. After marching several hundred yards they perceived the Mexican infantry advancing, in three lines, upon Bragg's battery, which though entirely unsupported, held its position with a resolution worthy of his fame. The pressure upon him stimulated the Mississippians. They increased their speed and when the enemy was within one hundred yards of the battery and confident of its capture, they took him in flank and reverse, and poured in a raking and destructive fire. This broke his right line, and the rest soon gave way and fell back precipitately. Colonel Davis was severely wounded."

General Taylor in his official report of the battle, says: "The Mississippi riflemen, under Colonel Davis, were highly conspicuous for their gallantry and steadiness, and sustained throughout the engagement, the reputation of veteran troops. Brought into action against an immensely superior force, they maintained themselves for a long time, unsupported and with heavy loss, and held an important part of the field until re-enforced. Colonel Davis, though severely wounded, remained in the saddle until the close of the action. His distinguished coolness and gallantry, at the head of his regiment on this day, entitle him to the particular notice of the government."

Several sentences from Colonel Davis's report have been given above, but we quote it more fully:

"SALTILLO, MEXICO, 2d March, 1847.

"SIR: In compliance with your note of yesterday, I have the honor to present the following report of the service of the Mississippi riflemen on the 23d ultimo:

"Early in the morning of that day the regiment was drawn out from the headquarters encampment, which stood in advance of and overlooked the town of Saltillo. Conformably to in-

structions, two companies were detached for the protection of that encampment, and to defend the adjacent entrance of the town. The remaining eight companies were put in march to return to the position of the preceding day, now known as the battle-field of Buena Vista. We had approached to within about two miles of that position, when the report of artillery firing, which reached us, gave assurance that a battle had commenced. Excited by the sound the regiment pressed rapidly forward, manifesting, upon this, as upon other occasions, their more than willingness to meet the enemy. At the first convenient place the column was halted for the purpose of filling their canteens with water; and the march being resumed, was directed toward the position which had been indicated to me, on the previous evening, as the post of our regiment. As we approached the scene of action, horsemen, recognized as of our troops, were seen running, dispersed and confusedly from the field; and our first view of the line of battle presented the mortifying spectacle of a regiment of infantry flying disorganized from before the enemy. These sights, so well calculated to destroy confidence and dispirit troops just coming into action, it is my pride and pleasure to believe, only nerved the resolution of the regiment I have the honor to command.

"Our order of march was in column of companies, advancing by the centers. The point which has just been abandoned by the regiment alluded to, was now taken as our direction. I rode forward to examine the ground upon which we were going to operate, and in passing through the fugitives, appealed to them to return with us and renew the fight, pointing to our regiment as a mass of men behind which they might securely form.

"With a few honorable exceptions, the appeal was as unheeded as were the offers which, I am informed, were made by our men to give their canteens of water to those who complained of thirst, on condition that they would go back. Gen-

eral Wool was upon the ground making great efforts to rally the men who had given way. I approached him and asked if he would send another regiment to sustain me in an attack upon the enemy before us. He was alone, and, after promising the support, went in person to send it. Upon further examination, I found that the slope we were ascending was intersected by a deep ravine, which, uniting obliquely with a still larger one on our right, formed between them a point of land difficult of access by us, but which, spreading in a plain toward the base of the mountain, had easy communication with the main body of the enemy. This position, important from its natural strength, derived a far greater value from the relation it bore to our order of battle and line of communication with the rear. The enemy, in number many times greater than ourselves, supported by strong reserves, flanked by cavalry and elated by recent success, was advancing upon it. The moment seemed to me critical and the occasion to require whatever sacrifice it might cost to check the enemy.

"My regiment, having continued to advance, was near at hand. I met and formed it rapidly into order of battle; the line then advanced in double-quick time, until within the estimated range of our rifles, when it was halted, and ordered to 'fire advancing.'

"The progress of the enemy was arrested. We crossed the difficult chasm before us, under a galling fire, and in good order renewed the attack upon the other side. The contest was severe—the destruction great upon both sides. We steadily advanced, and, as the distance diminished, the ratio of loss increased rapidly against the enemy; he yielded, and was driven back on his reserves. A plain now lay behind us—the enemy's cavalry had passed around our right flank, which rested on the main ravine, and gone to our rear. The support I had expected to join us was nowhere to be seen. I therefore ordered the regiment to retire, and went in person to

find the cavalry, which, after passing round our right, had been concealed by the inequality of the ground. I found them at the first point where the bank was practicable for horsemen, in the act of descending into the ravine—no doubt for the purpose of charging upon our rear. The nearest of our men ran quickly to my call, attacked this body, and dispersed it with some loss. I think their commander was among the killed.

“The regiment was formed again in line of battle behind the first ravine we had crossed; soon after which we were joined upon our left by Lieutenant Kilbourn, with a piece of light artillery, and Colonel Lane’s (the Third) regiment of Indiana volunteers. . . . We had proceeded but a short distance when I saw a large body of cavalry debouche from his cover upon the left of the position from which he had retired, and advance rapidly upon us. The Mississippi regiment was filed to the right, and fronted in line across the plain; the Indiana regiment was formed on the bank of the ravine, in advance of our right flank, by which a re-entering angle was presented to the enemy. Whilst this preparation was being made, Sergeant-Major Miller, of our regiment, was sent to Captain Sherman for one or more pieces of artillery from his battery.

“The enemy, who was now seen to be a body of richly-caparisoned lancers, came forward rapidly, and in beautiful order—the files and ranks so closed as to look like a mass of men and horses. Perfect silence and the greatest steadiness prevailed in both lines of our troops, as they stood at shouldered arms waiting an attack. Confident of success, and anxious to obtain the full advantage of a cross-fire at a short distance, I repeatedly called to the men not to shoot.

“As the enemy approached, his speed regularly diminished, until, when, within eighty or a hundred yards, he had drawn up to a walk, and seemed about to halt. A few files fired with-

out orders, and both lines then instantly poured in a volley so destructive that the mass yielded to the blow and the survivors fled. . . . At this time, the enemy made his last attack upon the right, and I received the General's order to march to that portion of the field. The broken character of the intervening ground concealed the scene of action from our view; but the heavy firing of musketry formed a sufficient guide for our course. After marching two or three hundred yards, we saw the enemy's infantry advancing in three lines upon Captain Bragg's battery; which, though entirely unsupported, resolutely held its position, and met the attack with a fire worthy the former achievements of that battery, and of the reputation of its present meritorious commander. We pressed on, climbed the rocky slope of the plain on which this combat occurred, reached its brow so as to take the enemy in flank and reverse when he was about one hundred yards from the battery. Our first fire—raking each of his lines, and opened close upon his flank—was eminently destructive. His right gave way, and he fled in confusion.

“In this, the last contest of the day, my regiment equaled—it was impossible to exceed—my expectations. Though worn down by many hours of fatigue and thirst, the ranks thinned by our heavy loss in the morning, they yet advanced upon the enemy with the alacrity and eagerness of men fresh to the combat. In every approbatory sense of these remarks I wish to be included a party of Colonel Bowles's Indiana regiment, which served with us during the greater part of the day, under the immediate command of an officer from that regiment, whose gallantry attracted my particular attention, but whose name, I regret, is unknown to me. When hostile demonstrations had ceased, I retired to a tent upon the field for surgical aid, having been wounded by a musket ball when we first went into action. Every part of the action having been fought under the eye of the Commanding General, the importance and

manner of any service it was our fortune to render will be best estimated by him. But in view of my own responsibility, it may be permitted me to say, in relation to our first attack upon the enemy, that I considered the necessity absolute and immediate. No one could have failed to perceive the hazard. The enemy, in greatly disproportionate numbers, was rapidly advancing. We saw no friendly troops coming to our support, and probably none except myself expected re-enforcement. Under such circumstances, the men cheerfully, ardently entered into the conflict; and though we lost, in that single engagement, more than thirty killed and forty wounded, the regiment never faltered nor moved, except as it was ordered. Had the expected re-enforcement arrived we could have prevented the enemy's cavalry from passing to our rear, results more decisive might have been obtained, and a part of our loss have been avoided.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JEFFERSON DAVIS,

"Colonel Mississippi Rifles."

MAJOR W. W. S. BLISS, *Assistant Adjutant-General."*

We have quoted the above report, and shall quote other documents and statements, from the "Life of Jefferson Davis," by Frank H. Alfriend, a book which was published in 1868, under many difficulties in its preparation, but which has many strong points of interest and value, and deserves a place in our libraries.

Hon. Caleb Cushing, in an address on "The Expatriated Irish," delivered in Boston, February 11th, 1858, thus speaks of Davis at Buena Vista:

"In another of the dramatic incidents of that field, a man of Celtic race (Jefferson Davis) at the head of the Rifles of Mississippi, had ventured to do that of which there is, perhaps, but one other example in the military history of modern times.



"STEADY, MISSISSIPPIANS!"

As Davis was leading into the battle of Buena Vista his Mississippi Volunteers, they met the Indiana regiment in full retreat, and the men were subjected to that most demoralizing position of having retreating troops rushing through their lines. Mr. Davis ordered them to open lines and allow the retreating men to pass, and above the confusion and roar of the battle his firm voice rang out, "Mississippians, stand firm."

In the desperate conflicts of the Crimea, at the battle of Inkermann, in one of those desperate charges, there was a British officer who ventured to receive the charge of the enemy without the precaution of having his men formed in a hollow square. They were drawn up in two lines, meeting at a point like an open fan, and received the charge of the Russians at the muzzle of their guns, and repelled it. Sir Colin Campbell, for this feat of arms, among others, was selected as the man to retrieve the fallen fortunes of England in India. He did, however, but imitate what Jefferson Davis had previously done in Mexico, who, in that trying hour, when, with one last desperate effort to break the line of the American army, the cavalry of Mexico was concentrated in one charge against the American line; then, I say, Jefferson Davis commanded his men to form in two lines, extended as I have shown, and receive that charge of the Mexican horse, with a plunging fire from the right and left from the Mississippi Rifles, which repelled, and repelled for the last time, the charge of the hosts of Mexico."

I have recently heard United States Senator A. H. Colquitt, of Georgia, give a very vivid description of what he witnessed of the conduct of Colonel Davis and his gallant Mississippians at Buena Vista. He says that as Davis advanced, his men were subjected to that most demoralizing experience of having another regiment, in full retreat, rush through them; but that Colonel Davis, who had been very severely wounded, but refused to leave the field, called out repeatedly, in his clear voice, which rang out above the din of the conflict: "Steady, Mississippians! Steady, Mississippians! Let those people who are running to the rear pass through, but hold your ground." And when the retreating men had passed through the ranks of his regiment, Colonel Davis gave the short, crisp order: "Forward, Mississippians! Forward to victory!" and his noble

fellows sprang forward to meet the onset and turn the tide of battle.

I regret that I am not able to give this in the exact language of General Colquitt, the hero of two wars, whose statements are accurate and whose opinions about military movements are so valuable. He does not hesitate to declare that Colonel Davis and his regiment saved the day at Buena Vista, and says that this was the general opinion of the army, and that General Taylor himself said to him (Senator Colquitt), "Napoleon never had a Marshal who behaved more superbly than did Colonel Davis to-day."

"The battle of Buena Vista virtually closed the war, so far as the field of General Taylor's operations was concerned. Early in the ensuing summer, the term of enlistment of Colonel Davis's regiment having expired, he returned with it to Mississippi. He was met on the way, at New Orleans, by a very friendly and complimentary letter from President Polk, accompanying a commission as brigadier-general. The offer was no doubt exceedingly tempting to one of his military instincts, tastes and habits, but he had already—more than a year before—avowed his belief that the President had no power, under the constitution, to make such an appointment for volunteer troops, and on that ground respectfully declined it.

"A public reception was given to Colonel Davis and his regiment at New Orleans, and Sargent S. Prentiss, his former adversary on the hustings, who had then become a citizen and member of the bar of that city, was selected to make an address of welcome. Still more enthusiastic demonstrations awaited them at Natchez and Vicksburg."

IX.

IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

Returning from Mexico "covered with glory," and refusing, as we have seen, a commission as brigadier-general because he did not think the President had the constitutional right to make the appointment, Colonel Davis received on all hands the highest honors, and when soon after he was appointed by the Governor of Mississippi to fill a seat in the United States Senate, made vacant by the death of Senator Speight, the hearty verdict of the people approved of the appointment, and the next ensuing legislature unanimously elected him to fill out the term of Mr. Speight, which expired on the 3d of March, 1851. His senatorial career, thus auspiciously begun, and continuing, with the intervals we shall mention, until his resignation on the secession of his State in 1861, was indeed a brilliant one. In those days men were sent to the Senate because of their ability and their purity of character, and not because of great wealth or capacity as political tricksters and successful partisans. And among all of the intellectual giants that graced the Senate during the period of his service, it is but simple justice to say that in ripe scholarship, wide and accurate information on all subjects coming before the body, native ability, readiness as a debater, true oratory, and stainless character, Jefferson Davis stood in the very front rank, and did as much to influence legislation and leave his mark on the Senate and the country as any other man who served in his day.

There might be quoted at great length expressions of opinion as to Mr. Davis in the Senate, but we have space for only several notable ones.

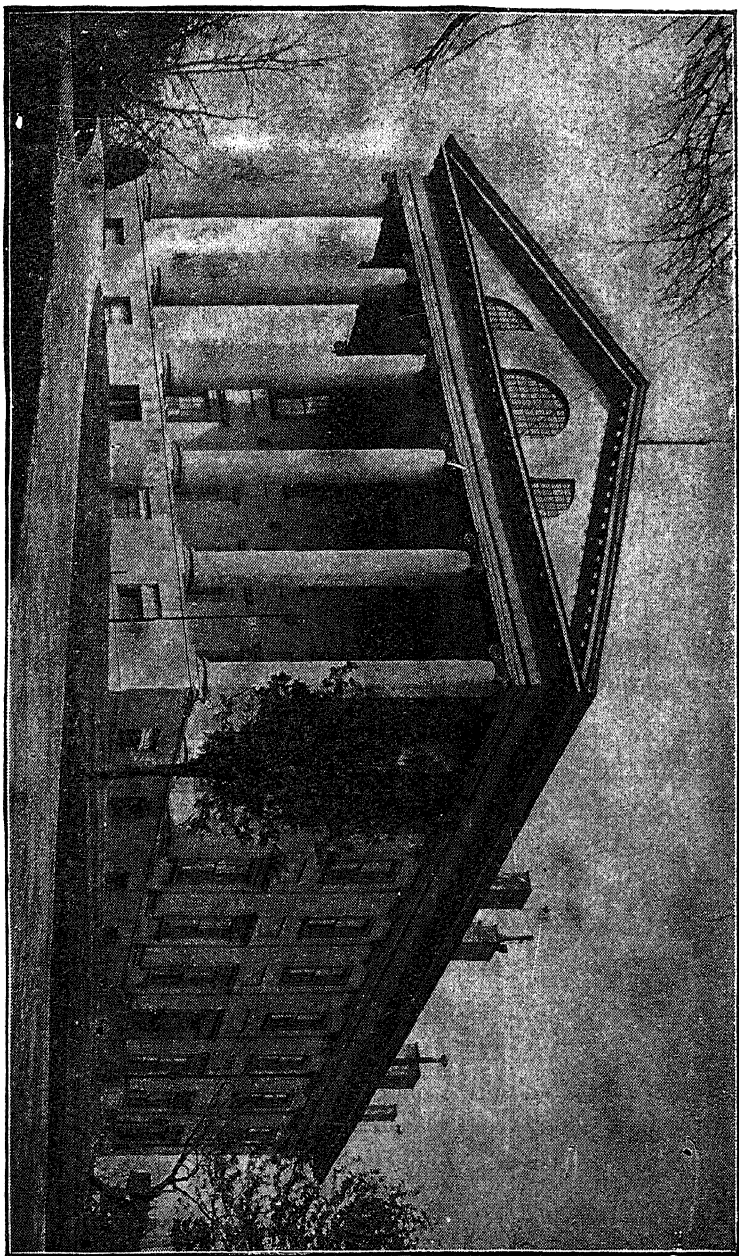
Mr. John Savage, in his "Living Representative Men," gives the following incident of Mr. Davis's first speech in the House of Representatives, which was a true prophecy of his after career in the House and Senate:

"John Quincy Adams had a habit of always observing new members. He would sit near them on the occasion of their Congressional *debut*, closely eyeing and attentively listening if the speech pleased him, but quickly departing if it did not. When Davis first arose in the House, the ex-president took a seat close by. Davis proceeded, and Adams did not move. The one continued speaking and the other listening; and those who knew Mr. Adams's habits were fully aware that the new member had deeply impressed him. At the close of the speech the 'Old Man Eloquent' crossed over to some friends and said, 'That young man, gentleman, is no ordinary man. He will make his mark yet, mind me.'"

In Dyer's recently published book on "Great Senators of the United States," the author, a republican of the straightest sect, has a very appreciative sketch of Mr. Davis in which he says:

"I often thought of Mr. Davis's kind personal traits in after years, and especially during the war when any of us Northern men would have had him slain as an enemy of the country, which sentiment he doubtless fully and naturally reciprocated. But now that all that is past, and the asperities of war have given place to the amenities of peace, I find only friendly feelings in my heart towards Jefferson Davis, and would gladly reciprocate if opportunity should offer, the kindness which all those years ago he showed to me an obscure young man, when he was a distinguished and powerful senator of the United States."

A correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat*, himself an earnest political antagonist of Mr. Davis, writing to his paper during the debate on the Kansas question, gave a very vivid pen



THE CONFEDERATE CAPITOL.

picture of "*The Southern Triumvirate*"—Davis, Hunter, and Toombs—from which we make the following extract :

"WASHINGTON CITY, January 21.

"Yesterday, when Hale was speaking, the right side of the chamber was empty (as it generally is during the delivery of an anti-slavery speech), with the exception of a group of three who sat near the centre of the vacant space. This remarkable group, which wore the air if not the ensigns of power, authority, and public care, was composed of Senators Davis, Hunter, and Toombs. They were engaged in an earnest colloquy, which, however, was foreign to the argument Hale was elaborating; for though the connection of their words was broken before it reached the gallery, their voices were distinctly audible, and gave signs of their abstraction. They were thinking aloud. If they had met together, under the supervision of some artist gifted with the faculty of illustrating history and character by attitude and expression, who designed to paint them, in fresco, on the walls of the new Senate chamber, the combination could not have been more appropriately arranged than chance arranged it on this occasion. Toombs sits among the opposition on the left, Hunter and Davis on the right; and the fact that the two first came to Davis's seat—the one gravitating to it from a remote, the other from a near point—may be held to indicate which of the three is the preponderating body in the system, if preponderance there be; and whose figure should occupy the foreground of the picture if any precedence is to be accorded. Davis sat erect and composed; Hunter, listening, rested his head on his hand; and Toombs's, inclining forward, was speaking vehemently. Their respective attitudes were no bad illustration of their individuality. Davis impressed the spectator, who observed the easy but authoritative bearing with which he put aside or assented to Toomb's suggestions, with the notion of some slight superiority, some hardly-acknowledged leadership; and Hunter's attentiveness

and impassibility were characteristic of his nature, for his profundity of intellect wears the guise of stolidity, and his continuous industry that of inertia; while Toombs's quick utterance and restless head bespoke his nervous temperament and activity of mind. But, though each is different from either of the others, the three have several attributes in common. They are equally eminent as statesmen and debaters; they are devoted to the same cause; they are equal in rank and rivals in ambition, and they are about the same age, and none of them—let young America take notice—wears either beard or mustache. I come again to the traits which distinguish them from each other. In face and form, Davis represents the Norman type with singular fidelity, if my conception of that type be correct. He is tall and sinewy, with fair hair, gray eyes, which are clear rather than bright, high forehead, straight nose, thin, compressed lips and pointed chin. His cheek bones are hollow, and the vicinity of his mouth is deeply furrowed with intersecting lines. Leanness of face, length and sharpness of feature, and length of limb, and intensity of expression, rendered acute by angular, facial outline, are the general characteristics of his appearance."

The following Washington dispatch, sent on the day on which the death of Mr. Davis was announced, gives some pleasant reminiscences:

"WASHINGTON, December 6.

"There are not many persons about the capitol now who were there when Jefferson Davis was in the Senate, thirty years ago. E. V. Murphy, one of the official stenographers of the Senate, was a boy just beginning shorthand work during the latter part of Mr. Davis's political career under the national government. He remembers Mr. Davis well, and speaks of him very highly. 'He was,' said Mr. Murphy, 'a nervous, energetic speaker, and very impressive. He spoke rapidly and forcibly and as if he were thoroughly in earnest. This earnestness and force made him highly effective. He was a leading man in the Senate, and

gave every one who saw him the impression that he was a born leader. He was not a demagogue, and would always take the unpopular side of any question when he believed he was right. In his speeches in the Senate he was not nearly so outspoken a secessionist as his colleague, Mr. Brown, of Mississippi. Mr. Brown appeared to fear that Mr. Davis would stand better with the people of Mississippi than himself, and for that reason took a very radical tone in his Southern speeches. But when the time for secession came, he could not make a farewell address. Mr. Brown burst into tears in the office of the secretary of the Senate, and said he could not do it.

"The galleries were crowded with young Southern men and boys when Mr. Davis made his farewell address. Mr. Davis was the leader of the South and Judah P. Benjamin was its orator. Those were exciting times; but there was never such a scene as when Mr. Benjamin made his farewell speech. The galleries were packed, and when Mr. Benjamin ended by saying: 'The South will never surrender! never, never, never!' handkerchiefs were waved and thrown into the Senate chamber, and there was an outbreak such as I have never seen since in the Senate.

"Speaking of Mr. Davis's personal qualities, Mr. Murphy said that he was courteous and kind to all. He gave strangers, said Mr. Murphy, the impression that he was reserved and unapproachable; but this was not so. His quick, nervous temperament made him easily nettled, and when he was disturbed he would sometimes make a sharp retort, but he would apologize for it the next moment. He stood very high in the estimation of the Senators on both sides of the chamber. His long and varied service, and his practice of entertaining gave him a wide acquaintance. In those days most of the Senators and members lived in hotels and boarding-houses. Money was not so abundant, and many of them lived in quarters which a government clerk would not

now occupy. Messrs. Davis, Slidell and a few others were the only Southern men who kept house, and they entertained in a luxurious manner for those days, although it would not be thought so now. I recollect, particularly, how kind Mr. Davis was to all the employees about the Senate. He knew them all personally, and would ask after them, and after their families where they had any. He complimented the stenographic reports of the Senate. He was a favorite with all the employees, for another reason, and that was because he would always endeavor to secure extra compensation for them.

"Several years ago Mr. Murphy wrote to Mr. Davis in regard to two pictures which a friend had secured at the sale of the collection of a picture dealer named Lamb. The history of the pictures made it probable that they had belonged to Mr. Davis. A letter from him was received by Mr. Murphy in which he said that the pictures had been stolen from him, and that he had had too much experience with pillage during the war to buy back his property twice.

"Representative Spinola, of New York, is one of the few persons now in Congress who was acquainted with Mr. Davis when he was a Senator of the United States and member of the cabinet. He says that at that time Mr. Davis was looked upon as one of the leading men of the country. He was of bright intellect, of great determination and firmness, and a leader always. For his conduct preceding and during the war he is generally condemned in the North, but condemnation could not efface his previous record."

The *Macon (Ga.) Telegraph and Messenger* published several days after the death of Mr. Davis the following sketch, bringing out the opinion of Prescott, the historian, concerning Mr. Davis as Senator, which is of such interest that we give it in full:

"*Editor Telegraph*: In the sketch of Mr. Jefferson Davis, in the *Telegraph* of December 7, it is said: 'The historian, Pres-

cott, pronounced him the most accomplished man in that body when it was full of giants.' Reference in the above is had to Mr. Davis and the United States Senate of 1850. That body was, indeed, 'full of giants' in those days. It was then at the acme of its glory; it was in its palmyest days. Never before at one time did so many illustrious men sit in the highest council of the nation. The States sent their foremost men to the Senate. Few were sent to the Senate for their wealth, or family or party influence. Ability, experience and integrity were the tests by which the respective States tried the men who were to represent them in that then truly venerable and venerated august body. To that body of 'giants' such as it was in 1850, Ohio sent Salmon P. Chase; Virginia, R. M. T. Hunter; Texas, Sam Houston; Tennessee, John Bell; Georgia, John McPherson Berrien; Alabama, William R. King; Missouri, Thomas H. Benton; North Carolina, Willie P. Mangum; Louisiana, Pierre Soule; Michigan, Lewis Cass; Illinois, Stephen A. Douglass; Kentucky, Henry Clay; Massachusetts, Daniel Webster; South Carolina, John C. Calhoun; and Mississippi, Jefferson Davis.

"Such were the giants of the Senate of 1850, among whom, according to Mr. Prescott, Mr. Davis was 'the most accomplished.' Coming from such a source, it was indeed a great compliment to the then Mississippi Senator and the subsequent chief of the Southern Confederacy.

"After the writer of this read the sketch of Mr. Davis in the *Telegraph* it was a wonder to him how the author of the sketch came by the facts to which he alludes. Had he ever seen them in print? If not, from whom did he get them? That he might know, the writer called at the office of the *Telegraph* and asked the questions above propounded. To the writer's inquiries it was, in substance, replied that the author of the sketch had seen them in print years ago; that, according to his recollection, he found them in Mr. Prescott's letters,

in which the latter presented some reminiscences of the Senate of 1850; that they made a deep impression on his mind, and hence were fixed in his memory. Upon hearing this, the writer proceeded to narrate the following facts, which he now, at the editor's request, gives to the public.

"In March, 1850, the writer, then a student in the Brown University, Providence, R. I., was returning to college after a brief visit to his home in Georgia. Passing through Washington city, he made it his pleasure to remain at the capital for the purpose of visiting the houses of Congress and seeing the celebrities of the nation. One of the most exciting periods in the history of the United States Congress had just been closed by the passage of the celebrated compromise measures of 1850. The capital and all the public buildings were draped in mourning. The remains of one of the greatest statesmen this country ever produced were lying in state in the nation's capitol. The eloquent voice of the great South Carolina 'nullifier,' as he was contemptuously called by his enemies, had just been hushed in death, and his body was waiting transportation to the State which honored him above all others living or dead. It was then the writer made his way to the Senate chamber to see its great men and to listen to its debates. On one of the front seats of the gallery he sat with a printed page in his hand, which gave the names of the Senators and told the seats which they respectively occupied.

"It was an occasion of special interest, and perhaps every senator was in his place. But this was not his first visit to the Senate chamber. He had been there several times, and had so learned how to distinguish the most illustrious of that great body of illustrious men that he could point them out to others. There, on the day mentioned, he sat, eagerly looking down upon the splendid array below him, and listening to their brief addresses. There stood Webster, with the head of 'Jupiter Tonans,' the most impressive looking man of the whole

body. The writer, when a boy in the schools of Boston, had heard the greatest speech of his life on the completion of the Bunker Hill monument. Therefore Webster was not new to him. But what shall he say of the slogan of the Douglas, the little giant of the West? Of the rough but massive speech of Benton, the blunt and burly senator of Missouri? Of our own silver-tongued Berrien? Of the matchless and seductive eloquence of Clay, Kentucky's great orator and the pride of his party? One after another many of the great senators were on their feet with something to say on the matter before the Senate. They impressed the writer—deeply impressed him, one and all. Years have passed since then. He has looked on many deliberative bodies in America and in England. Not the House of Lords, with the Earl of Granville on the wool-sack; not the House of Commons, with Gladstone on the opposition bench, impressed him half so much. Nor among the great men whom he saw and heard in the United States Senate of 1850 did any one so impress him as the senator from Mississippi. Nor was he alone in this. By his side was one who was as seemingly interested as he was. This stranger showed that he was looking with interest and with unmistakable emotion on the scene before him. And yet he was not looking, for he was blind—or too blind to see with his visual organs. Some 'thick drop serene,' as in Milton, had 'quenched,' or 'dim suffusion veiled his orbs.' But not blinded was his interior eye; it supplied the lack of the outer, and, as Milton saw visions that were hid to those whose eyes were open to the light of day, the intellectual eye of the stranger saw farther and deeper into men than many whose orbs were neither 'quenched' nor 'veiled.' As senator after senator would arise and address the Senate the stranger would turn to the writer and ask his name. Each time when he learned the name he would make some remark about the speaker, evincing such sense and judgment that it would attract the writer of this to

the stranger himself, a manifestly remarkable man, by his side. In person he was tall and slender, but commanding. His face was cast in the most intellectual mould and was lighted up by fires of the highest order of genius. Never before, the writer thought, had he conversed with one so pre-eminently charming and fascinating. His attention was frequently drawn from some senator before him to the gentleman who was profoundly interesting him by his questions and startling him by his appropriate and brilliant replies. The writer's young mind feasted on the conversation of the stranger. It was indeed a treat and a feast, which he can never forget to his latest day. At length Mr. Davis rose to address the Senate. One could not help marking the increased interest which the Mississippi senator seemed to arouse in the stranger. He was evidently intensely interested in the senator from first to last. It was manifest that Mr. Davis had made on him a profound impression. Nor was it surprising when the gentleman, speaking with considerable emotion, and with great emphasis, said at the conclusion of the speech of the senator from Mississippi: 'He impressed me more by dignity of manner and speech with what a model senator should be than any other I have heard address the Senate.' Such in substance were his words, with more to the same effect.

"This conversation the writer has often related since those days. Having never seen them in print, he was surprised to read what was so recently told in the *Telegraph*, and to learn that this high estimate of Jefferson Davis as a senator had appeared in print over the name of Mr. Prescott.

"No one was more capable of forming a correct judgment of men than the author of the 'Conquest of Mexico.' No one among us was more versed in the history of great men and of great deliberative bodies. Perhaps, while listening to the debates of the American Senate, he was thinking of that senate before which Cicero 'pleaded the cause of Cicily against Ver-

res,' and before which Tacitus 'thundered against the oppression of Africa.'

"Macon, Ga., December 7th, 1889.

J. O. A. CLARK."

Mr. Frank H. Alfriend, in his interesting "Life of Jefferson Davis," gives so just an estimate of his senatorial career that we quote it as follows:

"A peculiar feature in the public career of Mr. Davis was its steady and consecutive development. He has accepted service, always and only, in obedience to the concurrent confidence of his fellow-citizens in his peculiar qualifications for the emergency. From the beginning he gave the promise of those high capacities which the fervid eulogy of Grattan accorded to Chatham—to 'strike a blow in the world that should resound through its history.' His first election to Congress was the spontaneous acknowledgment of the profound impression produced by his earliest intellectual efforts. The consummate triumph of his genius and valor at Buena Vista did not exceed the anticipations of his friends, who knew the ardor and assiduity of his devotion to his cherished science, and now in the noble arena of the American Senate his star was still to be in the ascendant.

"At the first session of the Thirtieth Congress, Jefferson Davis took his seat as a Senator of the United States from the State of Mississippi. The entire period of his connections with the Senate, from 1847 to 1851, and from 1857 to 1861, scarcely comprises eight years; but those were years pregnant with the fate of a nation, and in their brief progress he stood in that august body the equal of giant intellects, and grappled with the power and skill of a master, the great ideas and events of those momentous days. Mr. Davis could safely trust, whatever of ambition he may cherish for the distinguished consideration of posterity, to a faithful record of his service in the Senate. His senatorial fame is a beautiful harmony of the

most pronounced and attractive features of the best parliamentary models. He was as intrepid and defiant as Chatham, but as scholarly as Brougham; as elegant and perspicuous in diction as Canning, and often as profound and philosophical in his comprehension of general principles as Burke; when roused by a sense of injury, or by the force of his earnest conviction, as much the incarnation of fervor and zeal as Grattan, but, like Fox, subtle, ready, and always armed *cap-a-pie* for the quick encounters of debate.

"Among all the eminent associates of Mr. Davis in that body, there were very few who possessed his peculiar qualifications for its most distinguished honors. His character, no less than his demeanor, may be aptly termed senatorial, and his bearing was always attuned to his noble conception of the Senate as an august assemblage of the ambassadors of sovereign States. He carried to the Senate the loftiest sense of the dignity and responsibility of his trust, and convictions upon political questions, which were the result of the most thorough and elaborate investigation. Never for one instant varying from the principles of his creed, he never doubted as to the course of duty; profound, accurate in information, there was no question pertaining to the science of government or its administration that he did not illuminate with a light clear, powerful and original.

"It has been remarked of Mr. Davis's style as a speaker, that it is 'orderly rather than ornate,' and the remark is correct so far as it relates to the mere statement of the conditions of the discussion. For mere rhetorical glitter, Mr. Davis's speeches afford but poor models, but for clear logic and convincing argument, apt illustration, bold and original imagery, and genuine pathos, they are unsurpassed by any ever delivered in the American Senate. Though the Senate was, undoubtedly, his appropriate arena as an orator, and though it may well be doubted, whether he was rivaled in senatorial eloquence by any contemporary, Mr. Davis is hardly less gifted in the attri-

butes of popular eloquence. Upon great occasions he will move a large crowd with an irresistible power. As a popular orator, he does not seek to sway and toss the will with violent and passionate emotion, but his eloquence is more a triumph of argument aided by an enlistment of passion and persuasion to reason and conviction. He has less of the characteristics of Mirabeau, than of that higher type of eloquence, of which Cicero, Burke and George Canning were representatives, and which is pervaded by passion, subordinated to the severer tribunal of intellect. It was the privilege of the writer, on repeated occasions, during the late war, to witness the triumph of Mr. Davis's eloquence over a popular assemblage. Usually the theme and the occasion were worthy of the orator, and difficult indeed would it be to realize a nobler vision of the majesty of intellect. To a current of thought, perennial and inexhaustible, compact, logical and irresistible, was added a fire that threw its warmth into the coldest bosom, and infused a glow of light into the very core of the subject. His voice, flexible and articulate, reaching any compass that was requisite, attitude and gestures, all conspired to give power and expression to his language, and the hearer was impressed as though in the presence of the very transfiguration of eloquence. The printed efforts of Mr. Davis will not only live as memorials of parliamentary and popular eloquence, but as invaluable stores of information to the political and historical student. They epitomize some of the most important periods of American history, and embrace the amplest discussion of an extended range of subjects pertaining to almost every science.

"The development in Mr. Davis of the high and rare qualities, requisite to parliamentary leadership, was rapid and decisive. His nature instinctively aspires to influence and power, and under no circumstances could it rest contented in an attitude of inferiority. Independence, originality, and intrepidity, added to earnest and intelligent conviction; unwaver-

ing devotion to principle and purpose; a will stern and inexorable, and a disposition frank, courteous, and generous, are features of character which rarely fail to make a representative man. After the death of Mr. Calhoun, he was incomparably the ablest exponent of States' Rights principle, and even during the life of that great publicist, Mr. Davis, almost equally with him, shared the labors and responsibilities of leadership. His personal courage is of that knightly order, which in an age of chivalry would have sought the trophies of the tourney, and his moral heroism fixed him immovably upon the solid rock of principle, indifferent to the inconvenience of being in a minority and in no dread of the storms of popular passion. His faith in his principles was no less earnest than his confidence in his ability to triumphantly defend them. In the midst of the agitation and excitement of 1850, Henry Clay, the Great Compromiser, whose brilliant but erring genius so long and fatally led astray, from the correct understanding of the vital issue at stake between the North and South, a numerous party of noble and true-hearted Southern gentlemen, furnished the occasion of an impressive illustration of this quality. Turning, in debate to the Mississippi senator, he notified the latter of his purpose, at some future day, to debate with him elaborately, an important question of principle. 'Now is the moment,' was the reply of the intrepid Davis, ever eager to champion his beloved and imperiled South, equally against her avowed enemies, and the not less fatal policy of those who were but too willing to compromise upon an issue vital to her rights and dignity. And what a shock of arms might then have been witnessed, could Clay have dispelled thirty years of his ripe three-score and ten! Each would have found a foeman worthy of his steel. In answer to this bold defiance, Clay, like Hotspur, would have rushed to the charge, with visor up and lance *couchant*; and Davis, another Saladin, no less frank than his adversary; but

far more dexterous, would have met him with a flash of that Damascus scymetar, whose first blow severed the neck of the foeman.

"That would have been a bold ambition that could demand a formal tender of leadership from the brilliant array of gallant gentlemen, ripe scholars, distinguished orators and statesmen, who, for twenty years before the war, were the valiant champions in Congress of the principles and aspirations of the South. Yet few will deny the pre-eminence of Mr. Davis, in the eye of the country and the world, among States' Rights leaders. Equally with Mr. Calhoun, as the leader of a great intellectual movement, he stamped his impress upon the enduring tablets of time.

"Like Mr. Calhoun, too, Mr. Davis gave little evidence of capacity or taste for mere party tactics. Neither would have performed the duties of drill-sergeant, in local organizations, for the purposes of a political canvass, so well as hundreds of men of far lighter caliber and less stability. Happily, both sought and found a more congenial field of action.

"The unexpired term, for which Mr. Davis had been elected in 1847, ended in 1851, and, though he was immediately re-elected, in consequence of his subsequent resignation his first service in the Senate ended with the term for which he had first been elected. A recurrence to the records of Congress will exhibit the eventful nature of this period, especially in its conclusion. In the earlier portion of his senatorial service, Mr. Davis participated conspicuously in debate and in the general business of legislation. Here, as in the House of Representatives, his views upon military affairs were always received with marked respect, and no measure looking to the improvement of the army failed to receive his cordial co-operation."

The high debates of those stirring times are well worthy of careful study, and no unprejudiced man can give them even a

casual reading without seeing that the Senator from Mississippi was the peer of any of his colleagues.

The excellent sketch in the *Times-Democrat*, from which we have quoted so freely, thus gives this part of Mr. Davis's career :

"The new senator took his seat at the opening of the first session of the Thirtieth Congress, in December, 1847, and held it during the four sessions next ensuing. The reputation which he had achieved as a soldier gave special weight to his opinions on questions relating to the army, and he was made chairman of the committee on military affairs. It was not as a specialist, however, that he became chiefly distinguished. While never neglectful of the subjects with which he was especially charged, his most earnest attention was given to questions of statesmanship involving great constitutional principles.

"It was while serving as chairman of the military committee of the Senate that a controversy arose with General Scott, growing out of his real or supposed opposition to the measures proposed in Congress for conferring additional rank and pay upon that distinguished officer. The misunderstanding that ensued led afterward to an unfriendly and somewhat embittered correspondence, and no restoration of harmony between them was ever fully effected.

"In the canvass of 1848 General Taylor, the father-in-law and late military chief of Colonel Davis, was the Whig candidate for the presidency, and General William O. Butler, his division commander at Monterey, the Democratic candidate for vice-presidency. As a member of the Democratic party, Colonel Davis supported Cass and Butler, but without any rupture of his personal friendly relations with Taylor, who was elected.

"General Taylor succeeded Mr. Polk in the presidency on the 4th of March, 1849. In the next ensuing Congress (the

Thirty-first) occurred the culmination of the controversies arising out of the recent acquisitions of new territory after the war with Mexico. In these Colonel Davis took an active and leading part. He opposed the plan of compromise proposed by Mr. Clay and eventually adopted, after some modification of its details. Although opposed to the principles on which the Missouri compromise was originally adopted, yet he favored, as a measure of conciliation, the extending of the compromise line, already agreed upon, through the newly acquired territory to the Pacific. This proposition, however, was defeated by a sectional majority.

"In 1850 the legislature of Mississippi re-elected him to the Senate, as his own successor, for the full term ensuing—from 1851 to 1857. The legislature, at the same session, provided for the call of a convention, in the course of the ensuing year, to consider the questions then agitating the country.

"Meantime certain modifications of party lines had been taking place. A portion of the democratic party, alarmed by what they regarded as indications of a rupture of the Union, had united with the whigs in some of the Southern States—notably in South Carolina and Mississippi—in the formation of a Union party—so styled by its organizers—while a smaller section of whigs, on the other hand, under apprehension of intolerable Federal encroachments upon the rights of the States, had combined with the majority of the democrats, for the maintenance of State rights at all hazards. Of this latter party Mr. Davis had become, since the death of Mr. Calhoun, in March, 1850, if not the head, at least one of the most eminent and conspicuous leaders, especially in his own State. He always, however, earnestly, and, no doubt, sincerely, disavowed any sympathy with disunion sentiment, and on one occasion had declared on the floor of the Senate that if any respectable man should call him a disunionist, he would 'answer him in monosyllables.'"

But we cannot better portray the senatorial career of Mr. Davis at this period than by quoting his own modest account of it as given in his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government." He says:

"The first session of the Thirty-first Congress (1849-'50) was a memorable one. The recent acquisition from Mexico of New Mexico and California required legislation by Congress.¹ In the Senate the bills reported by the Committee on Territories were referred to a select committee, of which Mr. Clay, the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, was chairman. From this committee emanated the bills which, taken together, are known as the compromise measures of 1850.

"With some others, I advocated the division of the newly acquired territory by an extension to the Pacific Ocean of the Missouri compromise line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude. This was not because of any inherent merit or fitness in that line, but because it had been accepted by the country as a settlement of the sectional question which, thirty years before, had threatened a rupture of the Union, and it had acquired in the public mind a prescriptive respect which it seemed unwise to disregard. A majority, however, decided otherwise, and the line of political conciliation was then obliterated, as far as it lay in the power of Congress to do so. An analysis of the vote will show that this result was effected almost exclusively by the representatives of the North, and that the South was not responsible for an action which proved to be the opening of Pandora's box.*

"However objectionable it may have been in 1820 to adopt that political line as expressing a geographical definition of different sectional interests, and however it may be condemned

¹ "The vote in the Senate on the proposition to continue the line of the Missouri compromise through the newly acquired territory to the Pacific was twenty-four yeas to thirty-four nays. Reckoning Delaware and Missouri as Southern States, the vote of the two sections was exactly equal. The yeas were all cast by Southern Senators; the nays were all Northern, except two from Delaware, one from Missouri, and one from Kentucky."

as the assumption by Congress of a function not delegated to it, it is to be remembered that the act had received such recognition and *quasi*-ratification by the people of the States as to give it a value which it did not originally possess. Pacification had been the fruit borne by the tree, and it should not have been recklessly hewed down and cast into the fire. The frequent assertion then made was that all discrimination was unjust, and that the popular will should be left untrammelled in the formation of new States. This theory was good enough in itself, and as an abstract proposition could not be gainsaid; but its practical operation has but poorly sustained the expectations of its advocates, as will be seen when we come to consider the events that occurred a few years later in Kansas and elsewhere. Retrospectively viewed under the mellowing light of time, and with the calm consideration we can usually give to the irremediable past, the compromise legislation of 1850 bears the impress of that sectional spirit so widely at variance with the general purposes of the Union, and so destructive of the harmony and mutual benefit which the constitution was intended to secure.

“The refusal to divide the territory acquired from Mexico by an extension of the line of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific was a consequence of the purpose to admit California as a State of the Union before it had acquired the requisite population, and while it was mainly under the control of a military organization sent from New York during the war with Mexico and disbanded in California upon the restoration of peace. The inconsistency of the argument against the extension of the line was exhibited in the division of the Territory of Texas by that parallel, and payment to the State of money to secure her consent to the partition of her domain. In the case of Texas, the North had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the application of the practice of geographical compromise on a arbitrary line. In the case of California, the

conditions were reversed; the South might have been the gainer and the North the loser by a recognition of the same rule.*

"The compensation which it was alleged that the South received was a more effective law for the rendition of fugitives from service or labor. But it is to be remarked that this law provided for the execution by the general government of obligations which had been imposed by the Federal compact upon the several States of the Union. The benefit to be derived from a fulfillment of that law would be small in comparison with the evil to result from the plausible pretext that the States had thus been relieved from a duty which they had assumed in the adoption of the compact of union. Whatever tended to lead the people of any of the States to feel that they could be relieved from their constitutional obligations by transferring them to the general government, or that they might thus or otherwise evade or resist them, could not fail to be like the tares which the enemy sowed amid the wheat. The union of States, formed to secure the permanent welfare of posterity and to promote harmony among the constituent States, could not, without changing its character, survive such alienation as rendered its parts hostile to the security, prosperity, and happiness of one another.

"It was reasonably argued that, as the legislatures of fourteen of the States had enacted what were termed 'personal liberty laws,' which forbade the co-operation of State officials in the rendition of fugitives from service and labor, it became necessary that the general government should provide the

*NOTE.—While the compromise measures of 1850 were pending, and the excitement concerning them was at its highest, I one day overtook Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, and Mr. Berrien, of Georgia, in the Capitol grounds. They were in earnest conversation. It was the 7th of March—the day on which Mr. Webster had delivered his great speech. Mr. Clay, addressing me in the friendly manner which he had always employed since I was a school boy in Lexington, asked me what I thought of the speech. I liked it better that he did. He then suggested that I should 'join the compromise men,' saying that it was a measure which he thought would probably give peace to the country for thirty years—the period that had elapsed since the adoption of the compromise of 1820. Then, turning to Mr. Berrien, he said, 'You and I will be under ground before that time, but our young friend here may have trouble to meet.' I somewhat impatiently declared my unwillingness to transfer to posterity a trial which they would be relatively less able to meet than we were, and passed on my way."

requisite machinery for the execution of the law. The result proved what might have been anticipated—that those communities which had repudiated their constitutional obligations, which had nullified a previous law of Congress for the execution of a provision of the Constitution, and had murdered men who came peacefully to recover their property, would evade or obstruct, so as to render practically worthless, *any* law that could be enacted for that purpose. In the exceptional cases in which it might be executed, the event would be attended with such conflict between the State and Federal authorities as to produce consequent evils greater than those it was intended to correct.

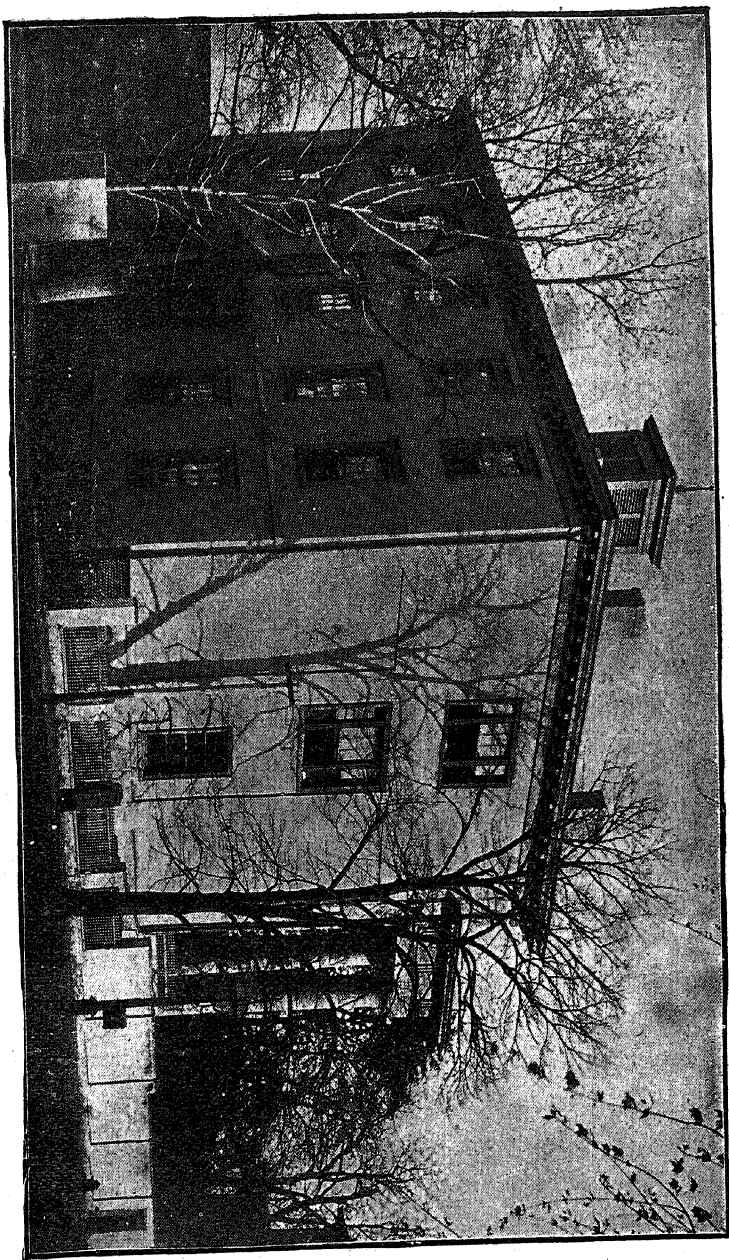
“It was during the progress of these memorable controversies that the South lost its most trusted leader, and the Senate its greatest and purest statesman. He was taken from us—

‘Like a summer-dried fountain,
When our need was the sorest;’

when his intellectual power, his administrative talent, his love of peace, and his devotion to the Constitution, might have averted collision; or, failing in that, he might have been to the South the Palinurus to steer the bark in safety over the perilous sea. Truly did Mr. Webster—his personal friend, although his greatest political rival—say of him in his obituary address, ‘There was nothing groveling, or low, or meanly selfish, that came near the head or the heart of Mr. Calhoun. His prophetic warnings speak from the grave with the wisdom of inspiration. Would that they could have been appreciated by his countrymen while he yet lived!’

“I had been re-elected by the Legislature of Mississippi as my own successor, and entered upon a new term of service in the Senate on March 4, 1851.

“On my return to Mississippi in 1851, the subject chiefly agitating the public mind was that of the ‘compromise’ measures of the previous year. Consequent upon these was a proposition for a convention of delegates, from the people of the



WHITE HOUSE OF THE CONFEDERACY.
MR. DAVIS'S RESIDENCE IN RICHMOND DURING THE WAR.

Southern States, respectively, to consider what steps ought to be taken for their future peace and safety, and the preservation of their constitutional rights. There was diversity of opinion with regard to the merits of the measures referred to, but the disagreement no longer followed the usual lines of party division. They who saw in those measures the forerunner of disaster to the South had no settled policy beyond a convention' the object of which should be to devise new and more effectual guarantees against the perils of usurpation. They were unjustly charged with a desire to destroy the Union—a feeling entertained by few, very few, if by any, in Mississippi, and avowed by none.

“There were many, however, who held that the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the purposes for which the Union was formed, were of higher value than the mere Union itself. Independence existed before the compact of union between the States; and if that compact should be broken in part, and therefore destroyed in whole, it was hoped that the liberties of the people in the States might still be preserved. Those who were most devoted to the Union of the Constitution might, consequently, be expected to resist most sternly any usurpation of undelegated power, the effect of which would be to warp the Federal government from its proper character, and, by sapping the foundation, to destroy the Union of the States.

“My recent re-election to the United States Senate had conferred upon me for six years longer the office which I preferred to all others. I could not, therefore, be suspected of desiring a nomination for any other office from the Democratic Convention, the meeting of which was then drawing near. Having, as a Senator of the State, freely participated in debate on the measures which were now exciting so much interest in the public mind, it was very proper that I should visit the people in different parts of the State and render an account of my stewardship.

"My devotion to the Union of our fathers had been so often and so publicly declared—I had, on the floor of the Senate, so defiantly challenged any question of my fidelity to it; my services, civil and military, had now extended through so long a period, and were so generally known—that I felt quite assured that no whisperings of envy or ill will could lead the people of Mississippi to believe that I had dishonored their trust by using the power they had conferred on me to destroy the Government to which I was accredited. Then, as afterward, I regarded the separation of the States as a great, though not the greatest, evil.

"I returned from my tour among the people at the time appointed for the meeting of the nominating convention of the Democratic (or State-Rights) party. During the previous year the Governor, General John A. Quitman, had been compelled to resign his office to answer an indictment against him for complicity with the 'filibustering' expeditions against Cuba. The charges were not sustained; many of the Democratic party of Mississippi, myself included, recognized a consequent obligation to renominate him for the office of which he had been deprived. When, however, the delegates met in party convention, the committee appointed to select candidates, on comparison of opinions, concluded that, in view of the effort to fix upon the party the imputation of a purpose of disunion, some of the antecedents of General Quitman might endanger success. A proposition was therefore made, in the committee on nominations, that I should be invited to become a candidate, and that, if General Quitman would withdraw, my acceptance of the nomination and the resignation of my place in the United States Senate, which it was known would result, was to be followed by the appointment by the Governor of General Quitman to the vacated place in the Senate. I offered no objection to this arrangement, but left it to General Quitman to decide. He claimed the nomination for the governorship, or nothing and was so nominated.

"To promote the success of the Democratic nominees, I engaged actively in the canvass, and continued in the field until stricken down by disease. This occurred just before the election of delegates to a State convention, for which provision had been made by the legislature, and the canvass for which, conducted in the main upon party lines, was in progress simultaneously with that for the ordinary State officers. The Democratic majority in the State when the canvass began was estimated at eight thousand. At this election, in September, for delegates to the State convention, we were beaten by about seven thousand five hundred votes. Seeing in this result the foreshadowing of almost inevitable defeat, General Quitman withdrew from the canvass as a candidate, and the executive committee of the party (empowered to fill vacancies) called on me to take his place. My health did not permit me to leave home at that time, and only about six weeks remained before the election was to take place; but, being assured that I was not expected to take any active part, and that the party asked only the use of my name, I consented to be announced, and immediately resigned from the United States Senate. Nevertheless, I soon afterward took the field in person, and worked earnestly until the day of election. I was defeated, but the majority of more than seven thousand votes, that had been cast a short time before against the party with which I was associated, was reduced to less than one thousand.*

*The following letter, written in 1853 to the Hon. William J. Brown, of Indiana, formerly a member of Congress from that State, and subsequently published, relates to the events of this period, and affords nearly contemporaneous evidence in confirmation of the statements of the text:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 7, 1853.

"MY DEAR SIR: I received the *Sentinel* containing your defense of me against the false accusation of disunionism, and, before I had returned to you the thanks to which you are entitled, I received this day the *St. Joseph Valley Register*, marked by you, to call my attention to an article in answer to your defense, which was just in all things, save your too complimentary terms.

"I wish I had the letter quoted from, that you might publish the whole of that which is garbled to answer a purpose. In a part of the letter not published, I put such a damper on the attempt to fix on me the desire to break up our Union, and presented other points in a form so little acceptable to the unfriendly inquiries, that the publication of the letter had to be drawn out of them.

"In this canvass, both before and after I became a candidate, no argument or appeal of mine was directed against the perpetuation of the Union. Believing, however, that the signs of the time portended danger to the South from the usurpation by the general government of undelegated powers, I counseled that Mississippi should enter into the proposed meeting of the people of the Southern States, to consider what

"At the risk of being wearisome, but encouraged by your marked friendship, I will give you a statement in the case. The meeting of October, 1849, was a convention of delegates equally representing the Whig and Democratic parties in Mississippi. The resolutions were decisive as to equality of right in the South with the North to the Territories acquired from Mexico, and proposed a convention of the Southern States. I was not a member, but on invitation addressed the convention. The succeeding legislature instructed me, as a Senator, to assert this equality, and, under the existing circumstances, to resist by all constitutional means the admission of California as a State. At a called session of the legislature in 1850, a self-constituted committee called on me, by letter, for my views. They were men who had enacted or approved the resolutions of the convention of 1849, and instructed me as members of the legislature, in regular session, in the early part of the year 1850. To them I replied that I adhered to the policy they had indicated and instructed me in their official character to pursue.

"I pointed out the mode in which their policy could, in my opinion, be executed without bloodshed or disastrous convulsion, but in terms of bitter scorn alluded to such as would insult me with a desire to destroy the Union, for which my whole life proved me to be a devotee.

"Pardon the egotism, in consideration of the occasion, when I say to you that my father and my uncles fought through the Revolution of 1776, giving their youth, their blood, and their little patrimony to the constitutional freedom which I claim as my inheritance. Three of my brothers fought in the war of 1812. Two of them were comrades of the Hero of the Hermitage, and received his commendation for gallantry at New Orleans. At sixteen years of age I was given to the service of my country; for twelve years of my life I have borne its arms and served it zealously, if not well. As I feel the infirmities, which suffering more than age has brought upon me, it would be a bitter reflection, indeed, if I was forced to conclude that my countrymen would hold all this light when weighed against the empty panegyric which a time-serving politician can bestow upon the Union, for which he never made a sacrifice.

"In the Senate I announced that, if any respectable man would call me a disunionist, I would answer him in monosyllables. . . . But I have often asserted the right, for which the battles of the Revolution were fought—the right of a people to change their government whenever it was found to be oppressive, and subversive of the objects for which governments are instituted—and have contended for the independence and sovereignty of the States, a part of the creed of which Jefferson was the apostle, Madison the expounder, and Jackson the consistent defender.

"I have written freely, and more than I designed. Accept my thanks for your friendly advocacy. Present me in terms of kind remembrance to your family, and believe me, very sincerely yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

"NOTE.—No party in Mississippi ever advocated disunion. They differed as to the mode of securing their rights in the Union, and on the power of a State to secede—neither advocating the exercise of the power.

J. D."

could and should be done to insure our future safety, frankly stating my conviction that, unless such action was taken then, sectional rivalry would engender greater evils in the future, and that, if the controversy was postponed, 'the last opportunity for a peaceful solution would be lost, then the issue would have to be settled by blood.'"

X.

SECRETARY OF WAR UNDER FRANKLIN PIERCE.

The admirable sketch from which we have so often quoted so well describes the career of Mr. Davis as Secretary of War that we do not hesitate to give it in full:

"After seven years of almost uninterruptedly continuous public service, either civil or military, Mr. Davis was now in retirement for some months. During this period he has described himself as happy in the peaceful pursuits of a planter, busily engaged in cares for servants, in the improvement of his land, in building, in rearing live stock, and the like occupations. He took, nevertheless, an active interest in the presidential canvass of 1852, and on the election of General Pierce was invited to a seat in his cabinet. This offer was at first declined, but having accepted an invitation to attend the inauguration, which took place on the 4th of March, 1853, he was induced, 'by public considerations,' on its renewal, to reconsider the matter and accept the office of Secretary of War.

"Frequent experience has proved that the men who take broad views, based upon great principles—the men who are characterized, with some covert sarcasm, as 'theorists,' 'doctrinaires,' or 'abstractionists'—when entrusted with the responsibilities of public office are often, if not always, the most practical and judicious administrators—more successful than the men of details.

"It was so with Turgot in France, and Hamilton in America, in matters of finance, and it was eminently so in the cases of

John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis—both regarded by many as ‘abstractionists,’ but both, by general admission, among the most successful administrators that have ever presided over the War Department of the United States.

“With regard to Mr. Davis, in particular, the combination of the speculative in principle with the practical in action, was one the most distinctive features of his character throughout his career, and has already been the subject of remark. A brief and modest account of the leading events of his official term is given in one of the preliminary chapters of his own work, the ‘Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.’

“Another authority (the ‘American Cyclopædia’) says: ‘His administration of the War Department was marked by ability and energy, and was highly popular with the army. He proposed or carried into effect, among other measures, the revision of the army regulations; the introduction of camels into America; the introduction of the light infantry or rifle system of tactics; the manufacture of rifled muskets and pistols and the use of the minie ball; the addition of four regiments to the army; the augmentation of the sea coast and frontier defenses; and the system of explorations in the western part of the continent, for geographical purposes and for determining the best route for a railroad to the Pacific.’

“To these may be added certain valuable improvements in the casting of heavy guns and the manufacture of gunpowder.

“The Pacific railroad was a project in which he had already taken a lively interest while in the Senate. On the surface it may have seemed contrary to the Democratic tradition of opposition to works of internal improvement by the Federal government, but Mr. Davis, with all his tenacity of adherence to principle, was not one of the unbending theorists who refuse to recognize the existence of exceptional cases in the application of general principles. He advocated this measure on the grounds of the ‘military necessity for such means of transporta-

tion, and the need of safe and rapid communication with the Pacific slope, to secure its continuance as a part of the Union.'

"With regard to the new regiments authorized by act of Congress in 1855, the appointment of the officers was of course a power vested in the President, but a large discretion was no doubt entrusted to the Secretary in making the selections—in this probably much larger than usual in similar cases, inasmuch as he was a trained soldier, of no little experience, familiar with the requirements of the service and the *personnel* of the existing army. It was understood that the appointments were to be filled, partly by promotion or transfer of officers already holding commissions in the army, and partly from civil life—many of the latter class being men who had given evidence of their fitness by services rendered as volunteers.

"The colonels appointed to the command of the two regiments of cavalry were Edwin V. Sumner and Albert Sidney Johnston; the lieutenant-colonels were Joseph E. Johnston and Robert E. Lee; the majors, William H. Emory, John Sedgwick, William J. Hardee, and George H. Thomas. These were the field officers, all chosen by selection from the army, and all graduates of West Point. Among the company officers are found the names of George B. McClellan, Thomas J. Wood, Robert S. Garnett, Earl Van Dorn, E. Kirby Smith, George Stoneman, Innis N. Palmer, Robert Ransom, David S. Stanley, J. E. B. Stuart, John B. Hood, Fitzhugh Lee, and others who afterward won distinction in either the Federal or Confederate service of the late war.

"General Early, in reply to an absurd statement of the Count of Paris, analyzes the roster of these two cavalry regiments and shows that they contributed to the United States army nine major-generals, nine brigadier-generals, one inspector general and twelve field and staff officers—thirty-one altogether; to the Confederate army five full generals, one lieutenant-general, six major-generals, ten brigadier-generals and two colonels—twenty-four in all. He very pertinently asks wheth-

er the whole army besides, as it stood at the beginning of the war, can present so brilliant a record as that furnished by Mr. Davis's appointees to the first and second cavalry? The Count of Paris, seemingly under a strange misapprehension or ignorance of the facts, says that, in the organization of these regiments, 'Mr. Jefferson Davis then Secretary of War, took advantage of the opportunity to *fill them with his creatures, to the exclusion of regular officers, whom he disliked.*'

"The truth is that, as already stated, all the field officers of the two regiments, and half, or more than half, of the company officers—including every one of the names mentioned above—were 'regular officers.' The popular complaint against Mr. Davis, both as Secretary of War, and afterwards as president of the Confederate States, was that he was too partial to West Point and military science. Perhaps the best answer to either or both of the two conflicting charges is to be found in the record which his 'creatures' have made by their actions in behalf of the sagacity of his selections.

"Mr. Pierce was singularly fortunate in the choice of his cabinet. It furnishes the only example in our history of unbroken continuity, without a single change of any of its members, from beginning to end of his official term, and there is every reason to believe that unusual harmony existed, although as Mr. Davis has said 'there was much dissimilarity, if not incongruity of character,' among them. He himself had been elected by the Mississippi legislature to the Senate of the United States, and at the close of Mr. Pierce's term, on the 4th of March, 1857, passed immediately from the cabinet to take his seat in the Senate."

There has been published in the papers an interview with Judge Campbell, of Philadelphia, who is the only surviving member of Mr. Pierce's cabinet, and while his opinions are not always accurate or unprejudiced, yet they are of sufficient interest to give as follows :

“PHILADELPHIA, PA.

“Ex-Judge James Campbell, who was Postmaster-General in the cabinet of President Franklin Pierce, is living in this city, full of years, but hale and hearty.

“Now that Jefferson Davis is dead, ex-Judge Campbell is the only surviving member of the little company of statesmen who helped the nation’s Chief Magistrate to steer the ship of State through the dangerous rocks and shoals of the troublous times before the war. Ominous rumblings of the awful political storm that was to come so near wrecking the Union had already been heard. The weather-wise foresaw that sooner or later the good ship would have to succumb to the great rock of slavery and the shrine of State rights, but the politicians of that day managed to stave off the peril for a while.

“It was in these perilous times, when the air of the capitol was full of the preliminary mutterings of the cyclone, that Mr Campbell first met Jefferson Davis, in the official family of President Pierce—Mr. Campbell as Postmaster-General and Mr. Davis as Secretary of War. The two men—alike only in that they were Democrats, but differing in all else—became intimate friends, soon to be separated and to become foes, the one to lead the fight under the banner of secession and the other to stand by the old flag of the Union.

“But ex-Judge Campbell had the kindest feeling for his old associate—the bitterness of the rebellion has long died out—and he likes to talk with affectionate respect of his distinguished colleague who has just departed. I found the veteran Pennsylvania Democrat and retired lawyer at his old-fashioned office on Sixth street to-day, and he courteously consented to tell me something about Mr. Davis.

“Yes,” said ex-Judge Campbell, “I knew Jefferson Davis well. I may say I was intimately associated with him from 1853 to 1857, during the administration of President Pierce, when we were both in the cabinet together, he as Secretary of

War and I as Postmaster-General. But I had not seen him for years before his death, and all my recollections of him date back to a time before you were born.

"I first made Davis's acquaintance in March, 1853, when we entered the cabinet together, and our association soon became personal as well, as official, for—although I was a Northern man and he a Southern, and he was an older man than I—he seemed to take a fancy to me, while I respected and admired him. Our relations were always pleasant, and we were together from the beginning to the end of President Pierce's term.

"General Pierce's cabinet was peculiar in more ways than one. It was the only cabinet in the history of the country that remained intact throughout the entire presidential term, and it was singularly harmonious. We had the entire confidence of the President and he had ours, and he trusted more to his cabinet officers than any President has done since. The cabinet nowadays seems to be a mere corps of clerks who record the President's wishes. Pierce's cabinet officers worked together for four years without the slightest difficulty or dissension."

The veteran lawyer pointed to a group of small engraved portraits hanging on the wall behind his desk. They were the pictures of his associates in Pierce's cabinet. The strong heads and faces of William L. Marcy, the Secretary of State, and of Caleb Cushing, the Attorney-General, were most conspicuous. Mr. Davis was represented as a man of forty-five, with a determined, serious, thoughtful face and a fine head. The picture bears little resemblance to him in later years.

"How did Mr. Davis impress me? Well, as a firm, unyielding man, of strong attachments, politically and personally, and equally strong in his dislikes. I believe Davis was a conscientious, earnest man. I am sure that he always meant to be in the right.

"He was unquestionably an able man and a leader, and there always seemed to be something of the soldier about him—the result of inheritance probably, for his father had been a soldier, and of his military education and experience. His tastes lay in that direction, and he was in a congenial place as Secretary of War. Most of his nearest personal friends in Washington were army men.

"I know that Jefferson Davis is not popularly known as a social, genial man, but he was, as I came to know him. But he was not much of a diner out, or anything of that sort. He was very quiet and domestic in his habits and correct in his private life, and was exceedingly temperate both in eating and drinking. These abstemious habits he must have kept up all his life, or he never could have lived to be eighty-one years of age.

"Jefferson Davis was one of the best educated men whom I ever came in contact with. His acquirements were broad and often surprised us. Caleb Cushing, who was in the cabinet with us, was one of the most highly cultured men of his time, as all the world knows. He was famous for his retentive memory and an extent and range of knowledge that was encyclopædic. President Jeff. Davis wasn't far behind Cushing, and that is saying a great deal.

"As an instance, I remember on one occasion we were talking about a certain medicine. Mr. Davis went into a minute analysis and scientific description of its nature and effects, and seemed to know as much about it as though he were an educated physician who had made a special study of the subject.

"When he had finished I asked :—'For Heaven's sake, Davis, where did you learn all that?'

"'Judge,' he replied, 'you forget that I have had to learn something of medicine so as to take care of the negroes on my plantation.'

"Davis was a reading man, especially upon historical subjects. He was particularly interested in the political history

of his country, and I think there have been few men who were better posted in that line than Jeff. Davis.

"In politics he was one of the most stubborn slavery men whom I ever met.

"He was a political disciple of Calhoun in all his most extreme States' Rights views. And although I could not agree with Mr. Davis on this point, and it was a time of intense partisanship and the bitterest feelings, which were soon to break out in secession and civil war, we never had an unpleasant dispute. Yet we always talked with great freedom. Davis and other Southern leaders, and especially the Senators from the Southern States with whom I was brought into constant official intercourse, talked with me with more frankness than to most Northern men, I suppose because I was the son-in law of an Alabama slave-holder. In those days Northern and Southern democrats alike felt that there would be great trouble in the country if Fremont was elected. Everything that the influence of the administration could do to turn the tide in favor of Buchanan was done. I went into the fight as earnestly as anybody, because I feared for the future."

But the reader will prefer to have Mr. Davis's own brief and modest account of his administration of the War Department, which he at first positively declined, but which he finally accepted at the earnest solicitation of President Pierce and the friends of the administration.

In his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," he says:

"While in the Senate I had advocated the construction of a railway to connect the valley of the Mississippi with the Pacific coast; and, when an appropriation was made to determine the most eligible route for that purpose, the Secretary of War was charged with its application. We had then but little of that minute and accurate knowledge of the interior of the continent which was requisite for a determination of the pro-

blem. Several different parties were therefore organized to examine the various routes supposed to be practicable within the northern and southern limits of the United States. The arguments which I had used as a senator were 'the military necessity for such means of transportation and the need of safe and rapid communication with the Pacific slope, to secure its continuance as a part of the Union.'

"In the organization and equipment of these parties, and in the selection of their officers, care was taken to provide for securing full and accurate information upon every point involved in the determination of the route. The only discrimination made was in the more prompt and thorough equipment of the parties for the extreme northern line, and it was only because that was supposed to be the most difficult of execution of all the surveys.

"In like manner, my advocacy while in the Senate of an extension of the capitol, by the construction of a new Senate chamber and hall of Representatives, may have caused the appropriation for that object to be put under my charge as Secretary of War.

"During my administration of the War Department, material changes were made in the models of arms. Iron gun-carriages were introduced and experiments were made which led to the casting of heavy guns hollow, instead of boring them after casting. Inquiries were made with regard to gun-powder, which subsequently led to the use of a coarser grain for artillery.

"During the same period the army was increased by the addition of two regiments of infantry and two of cavalry. The officers of these regiments were chosen partly by selection from those already in service in the regular army and partly by appointment from civil life. In making the selections from the army, I was continually indebted to the assistance of that pure-minded and accurately informed officer, Colonel Samuel

Cooper, the Adjutant-General, of whom it may be proper here to say that, although his life had been spent in the army, and he, of course, had the likes and dislikes inseparable from men who are brought into close contact and occasional rivalry, I never found in his official recommendations any indication of partiality or prejudice toward any one.

"When the first list was made out, to be submitted to the President, a difficulty was found to exist, which had not occurred either to Colonel Cooper or myself. This was, that the officers selected purely on their military record did not constitute a roster conforming to that distribution among the different States, which, for political considerations, it was thought desirable to observe—that is to say, the number of such officers of Southern birth was found to be disproportionately great. Under instructions from the President, the list was therefore revised and modified in accordance with this new element of geographical distribution. This, as I am happy to remember, was the only occasion in which the current of my official action, while Secretary of War, was disturbed in any way by sectional or political considerations.

"Under former administrations of the War Office it had not been customary to make removals or appointments upon political grounds, except in the case of clerkships. To this usage I not only adhered, but extended it to include the clerkships also. The chief clerk, who had been removed by my predecessor, had peculiar qualifications for the place; and, although known to me only officially, he was restored to the position. It will probably be conceded by all who are well informed on the subject that his restoration was a benefit to the public service.*

*"Soon after my entrance upon duty as Secretary of War, General Jesup, the Quartermaster-General, presented to me a list of names from which to make selection of a clerk for his department. Observing that he had attached certain figures to these names, I asked whether the figures were intended to indicate the relative qualifications, or preference in his estimation, of these several applicants; and, upon his answer in the affirmative, without further question, authorized him to appoint 'No. 1' of his list. A day or two afterward, cer-

"[The reader desirous of further information relative to the administration of the War Department during this period may find it in the various official reports and estimates of works of defense prosecuted or recommended, arsenals of construction and depots of arms maintained or suggested, and foundries employed, during the presidency of Mr. Pierce, 1853-'57.]

"Having been again elected by the Legislature of Mississippi as Senator to the United States, I passed from the Cabinet of Mr. Pierce, on the last day of his term (March 4, 1857), to take my seat in the Senate.

"The administration of Franklin Pierce presents the only instance in our history of the continuance of a cabinet for four years without a single change in its *personnel*. When it is remembered that there was much dissimilarity if not incongruity of character among the members of that cabinet, some idea may be formed of the power over men possessed and exercised by Mr. Pierce. Chivalrous, generous, amiable, true to his friends and to his faith, frank and bold in the declaration of his opinions, he never deceived any one. And, if treachery had ever come near him, it would have stood abashed in the presence of his truth, his manliness, and his confiding, simplicity."

tain Democratic members of Congress called on me and politely inquired whether it was true that I had appointed a Whig to a position in the War Office. 'Certainly not,' I answered. 'We thought you were not aware of it,' said they, and proceeded to inform me that Mr. —, the recent appointee to the clerkship just mentioned, was a Whig. After listening patiently to this statement, I answered that it was they who were deceived, not I. I had appointed a clerk. He had been appointed neither as a Whig nor a Democrat, but merely as the fittest candidate for the place in the estimation of the chief of the bureau to which it belonged. I further gave them to understand that the same principle of selection would be followed in similar cases, so far as my authority extended. After some further discussion of the question, the visitors withdrew, dissatisfied with the result of the interview.

"The Quartermaster-General, on hearing of this conversation, hastened to inform me that it was all a mistake—that the appointee to the office had been confounded with his father, who was a well-known Whig, but that he (the son) was a Democrat. I assured the General that this was altogether immaterial, adding that it was 'a very pretty quarrel' as it stood, and I had no desire to effect a settlement of it on any inferior issue. Thenceforward, however, I was but little troubled with any pressure for political appointments in the department."

It were well for the efficiency of the War Department if the principles of administration laid down by the greatest War Secretary the United States ever had were now carried out, and that clerks and other appointees were selected with reference to *merit and efficiency*, and not with reference to partisan service or capability. And if this same principle had been applied to heads of the department as well, we should not have had the recent disgraceful exhibition of a partisan Secretary refusing to render the customary honor to the grand old man who had done the War Department and the country such signal service, who had borne the "stars and stripes" on many a victorious field, and whose name will shine on the page of history long after that of this small partisan shall have rotted into oblivion, unless indeed it shall be remembered in connection with this petty display of partisan malignity.

XI.

AGAIN IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

As we have seen, Mississippi stood ever ready to honor her illustrious son, and so, when on the 4th of March, 1857, his tenure of office as Secretary of War expired with the administration of Mr. Pierce, he at once re-entered the Senate, to which he had been elected by the legislature of his State.

On his return home he was received everywhere with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect and confidence, and during the summer and autumn he made—in giving to his constituents “an account of his stewardship” and outlining his future policy—some of the most eloquent and powerful speeches of his life.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise had been the occasion of great excitement at the North—the agitation of the slavery question had been kept up on platform, by the press, and by the pulpit—the anti-slavery element, which crystalized in the “Republican” party, was evidently largely on the increase. Mr. Buchanan was elected with great difficulty; and there were wide differences and serious dissensions in the Democratic party which threatened the split which came in 1860, and resulted in the election of a *sectional* President by a purely *sectional* vote.

No statesman of his day saw with clearer vision the dangers ahead, or tried more earnestly to avert them, than Mr. Davis. He urged on his own people patience, forbearance, and prudence of speech and act; while, on the other hand, he ably maintained the doctrine of “States’ Rights,” and warned the other side that they could not go too far in their aggression without arousing the most determined resistance.

He always maintained, on the one hand, that Congress had no legal right to legislate slavery *either into or out of a State*, and that, on the other hand, the question of slavery or free soil must be determined *by the State* after it had been properly and legally organized, and not by *a few squatters* sent into a territory by anti-slavery societies or immigrant aid organizations.

The following letter, written in 1852, to United States Senator James Alfred Pearce, of Maryland, and recently published for the first time, very clearly expresses his views:

“PALMYRA, MISS., August 22, 1852.

“*My Dear Sir*: Among the most pleasing reminiscences of my connection with the Senate I place my association with you, and first among the consolations for the train of events which led to my separation from that body I number your very kind letter. If I know myself you do me justice in supposing that my efforts in the session of 1850 were directed to the maintenance of our constitutional rights as members of the Union, and that I did not sympathize with those who desired a dissolution of the Union. After my return to Mississippi in 1851 I took ground against the policy of secession and drew the resolution adopted by the Democratic States' Rights Convention of June, 1851, which declared that secession was the last alternative, the final remedy, and should not be resorted to under existing circumstances.

“I thought the State should solemnly set the seal of its disapprobation of some of the measures of the compromise. When a member of the United States Senate I opposed them because I thought them wrong and dangerous in tendency, and also because the people in every town, and the legislature, by resolutions of instructions, required me to oppose them. But indiscreet men went too fast and too far. The public became alarmed, and the reaction corresponded with the action, extremes in both instances.

‘The most curious and suggestive feature in the case is the fact that those who were originally foremost in the movement were the beneficiaries of the reaction. Having by their extreme course created apprehension, they cried most lustily that the Union was in danger and saved by their exertions. I am, as ever, truly your friend,

“JEFFERSON DAVIS.”



During the first session, after his return to the Senate, Mr. Davis's health was so precarious that he might have excused himself altogether from attendance, but he was often found, even against the advice of his physicians, not only occupying his seat, but ably battling for the cause of his country.

He found himself constantly pitted against not only the extreme Republicans, but as well against the advocates of the "squatter sovereignty" theory, of which Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was the ablest and most aggressive champion.

Mr. Alfried, in his "Life of Davis," gives the following interesting contrast between these two great representatives of opposing theories—"the Little Giant" of the Northwest and the chivalric leader of Southern Democracy :

"Stephen A. Douglas was now in the meridian of life and the full maturity of his unquestionably vigorous intellectual powers. For twenty-five years he had been prominent in the arena of politics, and as a member of Congress his course had been so eminently politic and judicious as to make him a favorite with the Democracy, both North and South. To an unexampled degree his public life illustrated the combination of those characteristics of the demagogue: a fertile ingenuity, facile accommodation to circumstances, and wonderful gifts of the *ad captandum* species of oratory, so captivating to the populace, which in America peculiarly constitute the attributes of the 'rising man.' Douglas was not wanting in noble and attractive qualities of manhood. His courage was undoubted, his generosity was princely in its munificence to his personal friends, and he frequently manifested a lofty magnanimity. In his early youth, deprived of the advantages of fortune and position, the discipline of his career was not propitious to the development of the higher qualities of statesmanship—with which, indeed, he was scantily endowed by nature. It is as the accomplished politician, subtle, ready, fearless, and inde-

fatigable, that he must be remembered. In this latter character he was unrivaled.

“Not less than Davis was Douglas a representative man, yet no two men were more essentially dissimilar, and no two lives ever actuated by aspirations and instincts more unlike. Douglas was the representative of expediency—Davis the exponent of principles. In his party associations Douglas would tolerate the largest latitude of individual opinion, while Davis was always for a policy clearly defined and unmistakable; and upon a matter of vital principle, like Percy, would reluctantly surrender even the ‘ninth part of a hair.’ To maintain the united action of the Democratic party on election day, to defeat its opponents, to secure the rewards of success Douglas would allow a thousand different constructions of the party creed by as many factions. Davis, on the other hand, would, and eventually did, approve the dissolution of the party, when it refused an open, manly enunciation of its faith. For mere party success Douglas cared every thing, and Davis nothing, save as it insured the triumph of constitutional principles. Both loved the Union and sought its perpetuity, but by different methods; Douglas by never-ending compromises of a quarrel, which he should have known that the North would never permit to be amicably settled; by staving off and ignoring issues which were to be solved only by being squarely met. Davis, too, was not unwilling to compromise, but he wearied of perpetual concession by the South, in the meanwhile the North continuing its hostility, both open and insidious, and urged a settlement of all differences upon a basis of simple and exact justice to both sections.

“Douglas was pre-eminently the representative politician of his section, and throughout his career was a favorite with that boastful, bloated, and mongrel element, which is violently called the ‘American people,’ and which is the ruling element in elections in the Northern cities. In character and conduct

he embodied many of its materialistic and socialistic ideas, its false conception of liberty, its pernicious dogmas of equality, and not a little of its rowdyism.

"Davis was the champion of the South, her civilization, rights, honor, and dignity. He was the fitting and adequate exponent of a civilization which rested upon an intellectual and æsthetical development, upon lofty and generous sentiments of manhood, a dignified conversatism, and the proud associations of ancestral distinction in the history of the Union. Always the senator in the sense of the ideal of dignity and courtesy which is suggested by that title, he was also the *gentleman* upon all occasions; never condescending to flatter or soothe the mob, or to court popular favor, he lost none of that polished and distinguished manner, in the presence of a 'fierce Democracie,' which made him the ornament of the highest school of oratory and statesmanship of his country.

"The ambition of Douglas was unbounded. The recognized leader, for several years, of the Northern Democracy, his many fine personal qualities and courageous resistance to the ultra abolitionists, secured for him a considerable number of supporters in the southern wing of that party. The presidency was the goal of his ambition, and for twenty years his course had been sedulously adjusted to the attainment of that most coveted of prizes to the American politician. On repeated occasions he had been flattered by a highly complimentary vote in the nominating conventions of the Democracy. Hitherto he had been compelled to yield his pretensions in favor of older members of his party or upon considerations of temporary availability. It was evident, however, that in order to be President, he must secure the nomination in 1860. The continued ascendancy of the Democracy was no longer, as heretofore, a foregone conclusion, and, besides, there were others equally aspiring and available. His presidential aspirations appeared, indeed, to be without hope or resource, save through

the agency of some adroit *coup d'état*, by which the truculent and dominant free-soil sentiment of the North, which he had so much affronted by his bid for Southern support in the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, could be conciliated. In Illinois, his own State, the abolition strength was alarmingly on the increase, and to secure his return to the Senate at the election to be held in 1858, an object of prime importance in the promotion of his more ambitious pretensions, he did not scruple to assume a position, falsifying his previous record, wantonly insulting and defiant to his Southern associates, and in bold antagonism to a Democratic administration. The sequel of this rash and ill-judged course was the overthrow of his own political fortunes, the disintegration of his party, and the attempted dissolution of the Union.

"The earliest recommendations of Mr. Buchanan, respecting the Kansas controversy, which, several months since, had developed in that territory into a species of predatory warfare, marked by deeds of violence and atrocity, between the abolition and pro-slavery parties, were signalized by a coalition of the followers of Douglas with the abolitionists and other opponents of the administration. The speedy pacification of the disorders in Kansas, by the prompt admission of that territory, was the condition essential to the success of Mr. Buchanan's entire policy. He accordingly recommended the admission of Kansas into the Union, with the 'Lecompton' constitution, which had been adopted in September, 1857, by the decisive vote of six thousand two hundred and twenty-six in favor of that constitution, with slavery, and five hundred and nine for it, without slavery. A rival instrument, adopted by an election notoriously held exclusively under the control of abolitionists, prohibiting slavery, was likewise presented.

"For months the controversy was waged in Congress between the friends of the administration and its enemies, and finally resulted in a practical triumph of the free-soil principle. The

anti-Lecompton coalition of Douglas and the abolitionists, aided by the defection of a few Southern members, successfully embarrassed the policy of the administration by defeating its recommendations, and eventually carried a measure acceptable to Northern sentiments and interests.

"Mr. Douglas thus triumphed over a Democratic administration, at the same time giving a shock to the unity of the Democratic party, from which it has never recovered, and effectually neutralized its power as a breakwater of the Union against the waves of sectional dispute. The alienation between himself and his former associates was destined never to be adjusted, as indeed it never should have been, in consideration of his inexcusable recreancy to the immemorial faith of his party. Mr. Douglas simply abandoned the South, at the very first moment when his aid was seriously demanded. Nay, more; he carried with him a quiver of Parthian arrows, which he discharged into her bosom at a most critical moment in her unequal contest.

"It is not to be denied that Mr. Douglas's new interpretation of the Kansas-Nebraska act was urged by himself and his advocates as having a merit not to be overlooked by the North, in its suggestion of a method of restricting slavery, presenting superior advantages. 'Squatter sovereignty,' as advocated by Mr. Douglas, proposing the decision of the slavery question by the people of the territories, while yet unprepared to ask admission as States, was far more effectual in its plans against slavery, and only less prompt and open, than the designs of abolitionists. It would enable the 'Emigrant Aid Societies,' and imported janizaries of abolition, to exclude the institutions of the South from the territories, the joint possessions of the two sections, acquired by an enormously disproportionate sacrifice on the part of the South, with a certainty not to be realized, for years to come, perhaps, from the abolition policy

of congressional prohibition.* According to Mr. Douglas's theory, the existence of slavery in all the territories was to depend upon the verdict of a few hundred settlers or squatters' upon the public lands. It practically conceded to Northern interests and ideas every State to be hereafter admitted, and under the operation of such a policy it was not difficult to anticipate the fate of slavery, at last even in the States.

"From the inception of this controversy until its close, Mr. Davis was fully committed to the policy of Mr. Buchanan, and his position was in perfect harmony with that of all the leading statesmen of the South. Less prominent, perhaps, in debate, from his constant ill-health during the first session, than at any other period of his public life, he was still zealous and influential"

"Among his numerous contests with the distinguished exponents of the sentiment in opposition to the South, none are more memorable than his collisions with Douglas.

"Of these the most striking occurred on the 23d of February, 1859, and on the 16th and 17th of May, 1860. To have matched Douglas with an ordinary contestant, must always have resulted in disaster; it would have been to renew the contest of Athelstane against Ivanhoe. Douglas was accustomed to testify, cheerfully, to the power of Davis, as evinced in their senatorial struggles; and it is very certain that at no other hands did he fare so badly, unless an exception be made in favor of the remarkable speech of Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana. The latter was an adept in the strategy of debate, a parliamentary Suchet.

"The 23d of February, 1859, was the occasion of a protracted battle between Davis and Douglas, lasting from mid-day until nearly night. This speech of Mr. Davis is, in many respects, inferior to his higher oratorical efforts, realizing less of the forms of oratory which he usually illustrated so happily,

*Governor Wise, of Virginia, characterized 'squatter sovereignty' as a 'short cut to all the ends of Black Republicanism.'

and is wanting somewhat in that symmetry, harmony and comeliness in all its features, with which his senatorial efforts are generally wrought to the perfection of expression. The circumstances under which it was delivered, however, fully meet this criticism, and show a most remarkable readiness for the instantaneous and hurried grapple of debate, and this latter quality was the strong point of Douglas's oratory. The latter had replied at great length, and with evident preparation, to a speech made by Mr. Davis's colleague (Mr. Brown), who was not present during Douglas's rejoinder. Without hesitation Mr. Davis assumed the place of his absent colleague, and the result was a running debate, lasting several hours, and exhibiting on both sides all the vivacious readiness of a gladiatorial combat.

"In their ordinary and characteristic speeches there was an antithesis, no less marked than in their characters as men. Douglas was peculiarly *American* in his style of speaking. He dealt largely in the *argumentum ad hominem*; was very adroit in pointing out immaterial inconsistencies in his antagonists; he rarely discussed general principles; always avoided questions of abstract political science, and struggled to force the entire question into juxtaposition with the practical considerations of the immediate present.

"In nearly all of Davis's speeches is recognized the pervasion of intellect, which is preserved even in his most impassioned passages. He goes to the very 'foundations of jurisprudence,' illustrates by historical example, and throws upon his subject the full radiance of that noble light which is shed by diligent inquiry into the abstract truths of political and moral science. Strength, animation, energy without vehemence, classical elegance, and a luminous simplicity, are features in Mr. Davis's oratory which rendered him one of the most finished, logical, and effective of contemporary parliamentary speakers."

In the summer of 1858, Mr. Davis, in quest of health, visited a number of points at the North—sojourning for some time at Portland, Maine—and made several speeches which so well expressed his views that we quote freely from two of them.

The *Eastern Argus*, of Portland, Maine, gave the following report of his reception and speech in that city :

“ We are gratified in being able to offer our readers a faithful and quite full report of the speech of Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, on the occasion of the serenade given him by the citizens of Portland, without distinction of party, on Friday evening last. It will be read with interest and pleasure, and we cannot doubt that every sentiment uttered by the distinguished Mississippian will find a hearty response and approval from the citizens of Maine. The occasion was indeed a pleasing, a hopeful one. It was in every respect the expression of generous sentiments, of kindness, hospitality, friendly regard, and the brotherhood of American citizenship. Prominent men of all parties were present, and the expression, without exception, so far as we have heard, has been that of unmingled gratification ; and the scene was equally pleasant to look upon. The beautiful mansion of Rensallær Cram, Esq., directly opposite to Madame Blanchard’s, was illuminated, and the light thrown from the windows of the two houses revealed to view the large and perfectly orderly assemblage with which Park and Danforth streets were crowded. We regret that our readers can get no idea of the musical voice and inspiring eloquence of the speaker from a report of his remarks, but it is the best we can do for them. After the music had ceased, Mr. Davis appeared upon the steps, and as soon as the prolonged applause with which he was greeted had subsided, he spoke in substance as follows :

“ *Fellow-citizens* : Accept my sincere thanks for this manifestation of your kindness. — Vanity does not lead me so far to

misconceive your purpose as to appropriate the demonstration to myself; but it is not the less gratifying to me to be made the medium through which Maine tenders an expression of regard to her sister, Mississippi. It is, moreover, with feelings of profound gratification that I witness this indication of that national sentiment and fraternity which made us, and which alone can keep us, one people. At a period but as yesterday, when compared with the life of nations, these States were separate, and, in some respects, opposing colonies, their only relation to each other was that of a common allegiance to the Government of Great Britain. So separate, indeed almost hostile, was their attitude, that when General Stark, of Bennington memory, was captured by savages on the headwaters of the Kennebec, he was subsequently taken by them to Albany, where they went to sell furs, and again led away a captive, without interference on the part of the inhabitants of that neighboring colony to demand or obtain his release. United as we now are, were a citizen of the United States, as an act of hostility to our country, imprisoned or slain in any quarter of the world, whether on land or sea, the people of each and every State of the Union, with one heart and with one voice would demand redress, and woe be to him against whom a brother's blood cried to us from the ground. Such is the fruit of the wisdom and the justice with which our fathers bound contending colonies into confederation, and blended different habits and rival interests into a harmonious whole, so that, shoulder to shoulder, they entered on the trial of the revolution, and step with step trod its thorny paths until they reached the height of national independence, and founded the constitutional representative liberty which is our birthright.

“When the mother country entered upon her career of oppression, in disregard of chartered and constitutional rights, our forefathers did not stop to measure the exact weight of the burden, or to ask whether the pressure bore most upon this

colony or upon that, but saw in it the infraction of a great principle, the denial of a common right, in defense of which they made common cause—Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina vying with each other as to who should be foremost in the struggle, where the penalty of failure would be a dishonorable grave. Tempered by the trials and sacrifices of the Revolution, dignified by its noble purposes, elevated by its brilliant triumphs, endeared to each other by its glorious memories, they abandoned the confederacy, not to fly apart when the outward pressure of hostile fleets and armies were removed, but to draw closer their embrace in the formation of a more perfect Union.

“By such men, thus trained and ennobled, our Constitution was framed. It stands a monument of principle, of forecast, and, above all, of that liberality which made each willing to sacrifice local interest, individual prejudice, or temporary good to the general welfare and the perpetuity of the republican institutions which they had passed through fire and blood to secure. The grants were as broad as were necessary for the functions of the general agent, and the mutual concessions were twice blessed, blessing him who gave and him who received. Whatever was necessary for domestic government—requisite in the social organization of each community—was retained by the States and the people thereof; and these it was made the duty of all to defend and maintain. Such, in very general terms, is the rich political legacy of our fathers bequeathed to us. Shall we preserve and transmit it to posterity? Yes, yes, the heart responds; and the judgment answers, the task is easily performed. It but requires that each should attend to that which most concerns him, and on which alone he has rightful power to decide and to act; that each should adhere to the terms of a written compact, and that all should co-operate for that which interest, duty, and honor demand.

“For the general affairs of our country, both foreign and domestic, we have a national executive and a national legislature. Representatives and Senators are chosen by districts and by States, but their acts affect the whole country, and their obligations are to the whole people. He who, holding either seat, would confine his investigations to the mere interests of his immediate constituents, would be derelict to his plain duty; and he who would legislate in hostility to any section, would be morally unfit for the station, and surely an unsafe depository, if not a treacherous guardian, of the inheritance with which we are blessed. No one more than myself recognizes the binding force of the allegiance which the citizen owes to the State of his citizenship but that State being party to our compact, a member of the Union, fealty to the Federal constitution is not in opposition to, but flows from the allegiance due to one of the United States. Washington was not less a Virginian when he commanded at Boston, nor did Gates or Green weaken the bonds which bound them to their several States by their campaigns in the South. In proportion as a citizen loves his own State, will he strive to honor by preserving her name and her fame free from the tarnish of having failed to observe her obligations and to fulfill her duties to her sister States. Each page of our history is illustrated by the names and deeds of those who have well understood and discharged the obligation. Have we so degenerated that we can no longer emulate their virtues? Have the purposes for which our Union was formed lost their value? Has patriotism ceased to be a virtue, and is narrow sectionalism no longer to be counted a crime? Shall the North not rejoice that the progress of agriculture in the South has given to her great staple the controlling influence of the commerce of the world, and put manufacturing nations under bond to keep the peace with the United States? Shall the South not exult in the fact that the industry and persevering

intelligence of the North has placed her mechanical skill in the front ranks of the civilized world—that our mother country, whose haughty minister, some eighty odd years ago, declared that not a hob-nail should be made in the colonies, which are now the United States, was brought, some four years ago, to recognize our pre-eminence by sending a commission to examine our workshops and our machinery, to perfect their own manufacture of the arms requisite for their defense? Do not our whole people, interior and seaboard, North, South, East and West, alike feel proud of the hardihood, enterprise, the skill and the courage of the Yankee sailor, who has borne our flag far as the ocean bears its foam, and caused the name and character of the United States to be known and respected wherever there is wealth enough to woo commerce and intelligence to honor merit? So long as we preserve and appreciate the achievements of Jefferson and Adams, of Franklin and Madison, of Hamilton, of Hancock, and of Rutledge, men who labored for the whole country, and lived for mankind, we can not sink to the petty strife which would sap the foundations and destroy the political fabric our fathers erected and bequeathed as an inheritance to our posterity forever.

“Since the formation of the constitution a vast extension of territory, and the varied relations arising therefrom, have presented problems which could not have been foreseen. It is just cause for admiration, even wonder, that the provisions of the fundamental law should have been so fully adequate to all the wants of government, new in its organization, and new in many of the principles on which it was founded. Whatever fears may have once existed as to the consequences of territorial expansion must give way before the evidence which the past affords. The general government, strictly confined to its delegated functions, and the State left in the undisturbed exercise of all else, we have a theory and practice which fits our government for immeasurable domain, and might, under a millenium of nations, embrace mankind.

“‘From the slope of the Atlantic our population, with ceaseless tide has poured into the wide and fertile valley of the Mississippi, with eddying whirl has passed to the coast of the Pacific; from the West and the East the tides are rushing toward each other, and the mind is carried to the day when all the cultivable land will be inhabited, and the American people will sigh for more wildernesses to conquer. But there is here a physico-political problem presented for our solution. Were it purely physical your past triumphs would leave but little doubt of your capacity to solve it. A community which, when less than twenty thousand, conceived the grand project of crossing the White Mountains, and unaided, save by the stimulus which jeers and prophecies of failure gave, successfully executed the Herculean work, might well be impatient if it were suggested that a physical problem was before us too difficult for mastery. The history of man teaches that high mountains and wide deserts have resisted the permanent extension of empire, and have formed the immutable boundaries of States. From time to time, under some able leader, have the hordes of the upper plains of Asia swept over the adjacent country, and rolled their conquering columns over Southern Europe. Yet, after a lapse of a few generations, the physical law, to which I have referred, has asserted its supremacy, and the boundaries of those States differ little now from those which were obtained three thousand years ago.

“‘Rome flew her conquering eagles over the then known world, and has now subsided into the little territory on which the great city was originally built. The Alps and the Pyrenees have been unable to restrain imperial France; but her expansion was a feverish action, her advance and her retreat were tracked with blood, and those mountain ridges are the reestablished limits of her empire. Shall the Rocky Mountains prove a dividing barrier to us? Were ours a central consolidated government, instead of a Union of sovereign

States, our fate might be learned from the history of other nations. Thanks to the wisdom and independent spirit of our forefathers, this is not the case. Each State having sole charge of its local interests and domestic affairs, the problem, which to others has been insoluble, to us is made easy. Rapid, safe, and easy communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific will give co-intelligence, unity of interest, and coöperation among all parts of our continent-wide Republic. The network of railroads which bind the North and the South, the slope of the Atlantic and the valley of the Mississippi, together testify that our people have the power to perform, in that regard, whatever it is their will to do.

“We require a railroad to the States of the Pacific for present uses; the time no doubt will come when we shall have need of two or three, it may be more. Because of the desert character of the interior country the work will be difficult and expensive. It will require the efforts of a united people. The bickerings of little politicians, the jealousies of sections must give way to dignity of purpose and zeal for the common good. If the object be obstructed by contention and division as to whether the route shall be Northern, Southern, or Central, the handwriting is on the wall, and it requires little skill to see that failure is the interpretation of the inscription. You are practical people, and may ask, How is that contest to be avoided? By taking the question out of the hands of politicians altogether. Let the Government give such aid as it is proper for it to render to the company which shall propose the most feasible plan; then leave to capitalists with judgment, sharpened by interest, the selection of the route, and the difficulties will diminish, as did those which you overcame when you connected your harbor with the Canadian provinces.

“It would be to trespass on your kindness and to violate the proprieties of the occasion were I to detain the vast concourse which stands before me by entering on the discussion of con-

troverted topics, or by further indulging in the expression of such reflections as circumstances suggest. I came to your city in quest of health and repose. From the moment I entered it you have showered upon me kindness and hospitality. Though my experience has taught me to anticipate good rather than evil from my fellow-man, it had not prepared me to expect such unremitting attention as has here been bestowed. I have been jocularly asked in relation to my coming here, whether I had secured a guarantee for my safety, and lo! I have found it. I stand in the midst of thousands of my fellow-citizens. But, my friends, I came neither distrusting nor apprehensive, of which you have proof in the fact that I brought with me the objects of tenderest affection and solicitude, my wife and children; they have shared with me your hospitality, and will alike remain your debtors. If, at some future time, when I am mingled with the dust, and the arm of my infant son has been nerved for deeds of manhood, the storm of war should burst upon your city, I feel that relying upon his inheriting the instincts of his ancestors and mine, I may pledge him in that perilous hour to stand by your side in the defense of your hearth-stones, and in maintaining the honor of a flag whose constellation, though torn and smoked in many a battle by sea and land, has never been stained by dishonor, and will, I trust, forever fly as free as the breeze which unfolds it.

“A stranger to you, the salubrity of your location, and the beauty of its scenery were not wholly unknown to me, nor were there wanting associations which busy memory connected with your people. You will pardon me for alluding to one whose genius shed a lustre upon all it touched, and whose qualities gathered about him hosts of friends wherever he was known. Prentiss, a native of Portland, lived from youth to middle age in the county of my residence; and the inquiries which have been made show me that the youth excited the

interest which the greatness of the man justified, and that his memory thus remains a link to connect your home with mine. A cursory view, when passing through your town on former occasions, had impressed me with the great advantages of your harbor, its easy entrance, its depth, and its extensive accommodations for shipping. But its advantages and its facilities, as they have been developed by closer inspection, have grown upon me, until I realize that it is no boast, but the language of sober truth, which, in the present state of commerce, pronounces them unequalled in any harbor of our country.

“And surely no place could be more inviting to an invalid who sought refuge from the heat of Southern summer. Here waving elms offer him shaded walks, and magnificent residences, surrounded by flowers, fill the mind with ideas of comfort and rest. If, weary of constant contact with his fellow-men, he seeks a deeper seclusion there, in the background of this grand amphitheatre, lie the eternal mountains, frowning with brow of rock and cap of snow upon smiling fields beneath, and there in its recesses may be found as much wildness and as much of solitude as the pilgrim, weary of the cares of life, can desire. If he turn to the front, your capacious harbor studded with green islands of ever-varying light and shade and enlightened by all the stirring evidences of commercial activity, offer him the mingled charms of busy life and nature’s calm repose. A few miles further, and he may sit upon the quiet shore to listen to the murmuring wave until the troubled spirit sinks to rest; and in the little sail that vanishes on the illimitable sea we find the type of the voyage which he is soon to take, when, his ephemeral existence closed, he embarks for that better state which lies beyond the grave.

“Richly endowed as you are by nature in all which contributes to pleasure and to usefulness, the stranger cannot pass without paying a tribute to the much which your energy has achieved for yourselves. Where else will one find a more

happy union of magnificence and comfort? Where better arrangements to facilitate commerce? Where so much of industry with so little noise and bustle? Where, in a phrase, so much effected in proportion to the means employed? We hear the puff of the engine, the roll of the wheel, the ring of the ax and the saw, but the stormy, passionate exclamation so often mingled with the sounds are nowhere heard. Yet neither these nor other things which I have mentioned, attractive though they be, have been to me the chief charm which I have found among you. Far above all these, I place the gentle kindness, the cordial welcome, the hearty grasp which made me feel truly and at once, though wandering afar, that I was still at home. My friends, I thank you for this additional manifestation of your good will."

On the 10th of October, 1858, 'Mr. Davis addressed an immense crowd at Faneuil Hall, Boston.

At this meeting he was introduced by his old friend and colleague in President Pierce's Cabinet, General Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, who made an eloquent and earnest defense of the Democratic party, and then said:

"And now, gentlemen, I have allowed myself unthinkingly to be carried beyond my original purpose. I return to it to remind you that here among us is a citizen of one of the Southern States, eloquent among the most eloquent in debate, wise among the wisest in council, and brave among the bravest in the battle-field. A citizen of a Southern State who knows that he can associate with you, the representatives of the Democracy and the nationality of Massachusetts, that he can associate with you on equal footing with the fellow-citizens and common members of these United States.

"My friends, there are those here present, and, in fact, there is no one here present of whom it cannot be said that, in memory and admiration at least, and if not in the actual fact, yet in proud and bounding memory, they have been able to

tread the glorious tracks of the victorious achievements of Jefferson Davis on the fields of Monterey and Buena Vista, and all have heard or have read the accents of eloquence addressed by him to the Senate of the United States; and there is one, at least, who, from his own personal observation, can bear witness to the fact of the surpassing wisdom of Jefferson Davis in the administration of the Government of the United States. Such a man, fellow-citizens, you are this evening to hear, and to hear as a beautiful illustration of the working of our republican institutions of these United States, of the republican institutions which in our own country, our own republic, as in the old republics of Athens and of Rome, exhibit the same combinations of the highest military and civic qualities in the same person. It must naturally be so, for in a republic every citizen is a soldier, and every soldier a citizen. Not in these United States on the occurrence of foreign war is that spectacle exhibited which we have so recently seen in our mother-country, of the administration of the country going abroad begging and stealing soldiers throughout Europe and America. No! And while I ask you, my friends, to ponder this fact in relation to that disastrous struggle of giants which so recently occurred in our day—the Crimean War—I ask you whether any English gentleman, any member of the British House of Commons, any member of the British House of Peers, abandoned the ease of home, abandoned his easy hours at home, and went into the country among his friends, tenants, and fellow-countrymen, volunteering there to raise troops for the service of England in that hour of her peril; did any such fact occur? No! But here in these United States we had examples, and illustrious ones, of the fact that men, eminent in their place in Congress, abandoned their stations and their honors to go among fellow-citizens of their own States, and there raise troops with which to vindicate the honor and the flag of their country. Of such men was Jefferson Davis.

"There is now living one military man of prominent distinction in the public eye of England and the United States—I mean Sir Colin Campbell, now Lord Clyde of Clydesdale. He deserves the distinction he enjoys, for he has redeemed the British flag on the ensanguined, burning plains of India. He has restored the glory of the British name in Asia. I honor him. Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland are open, for their counties, as well as their countries, and their poets, orators, and statesmen, and their generals, belong to our history as well as theirs. I will never disavow Henry V. on the plains of Agincourt; never Oliver Cromwell on the fields of Marston Moor and Naseby, never Sarsfield on the banks of the Boyne. The glories and honors of Sir Colin Campbell are the glories of the British race, and the races of Great Britain and Ireland, from whom we are descended.

"But what gained Sir Colin Campbell the opportunity to achieve those glorious results in India? Remember that, and let us see what it was. On one of those bloody battles fought by the British before the fortress of Sebastopol, in the midst of the perils, the most perilous of all the battle-fields England ever encountered in Europe, in one of the bloody charges of the Russian cavalry, there was an officer—a man who felt and who possessed sufficient confidence in the troops he commanded, and in the authority of his own voice and example—received that charge not in the ordinary, common-place, and accustomed manner, by forming his troops into a hollow square, and thus arresting the charge, but by forming into two diverging lines, and thus receiving upon the rifles of his Highlandmen the charge of the Russian cavalry and repelling it. How all England rang with the glory of that achievement! How the general voice of England placed upon the brows of Sir Colin Campbell the laurels of the future mastership of victory for the arms of England! And well they might do so. But who originated that movement; who set

the example of that gallant operation—who but Colonel Jefferson Davis, of the First Mississippi regiment, on the field of Buena Vista? He was justly entitled to the applause of the restorer of victory to the arms of the Union. Gentlemen, in our country, in this day, such a man, such a master of the art of war, so daring in the field, such a man may not only aspire to the highest places in the executive government of the Union, but such a man may acquire what nowhere else, since the days of Cimon and Miltiades, of the Cincinnati and the Cornelii of Athens and of Rome, has been done by the human race, the combination of eminent powers, of intellectual cultivation, and of eloquence with the practical qualities of a statesman and general.

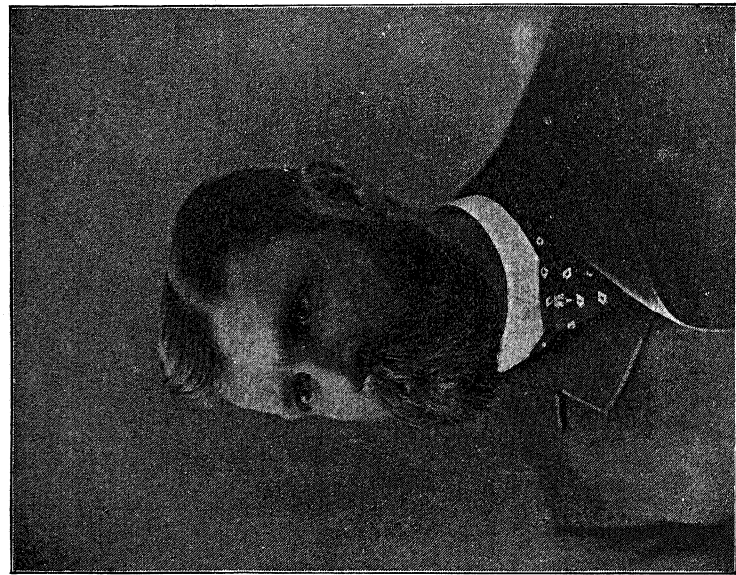
“But, gentlemen, I am again betrayed beyond my purpose. Sir (addressing General Davis), we welcome you to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. You may not find here the ardent skies of your own sunny South, but you will find as ardent hearts, as warm and generous hands to welcome you to our Commonwealth. We welcome you to the city of Boston, and you have already experienced how open-hearted, how generous, how free from all possible taint of sectional thought are the hospitality and cordiality of the city of Boston. We welcome you to Faneuil Hall. Many an eloquent voice has in all times resounded from the walls of Faneuil Hall. It is said that no voice is uttered by man in this air we breathe but enters into that air. It continues there immortal as the portion of the universe into which it has passed. If it be so, how instinct is Faneuil Hall with the voice of the great, good, and glorious of past generations, and of our own, whose voices have echoed through its walls, whose eloquent words have thrilled the hearts of hearers, as if a pointed sword were passing them through and through. Here Adams aroused his countrymen in the War of Independence, and Webster invoked them almost with the dying breath of his body—invoked with that voice

of majesty and power which he alone possessed—invoked them to a union between the North and South. Ay, sir, and who, if he were present, who from those blest abodes on high from which he looks down upon us would congratulate us for this scene. First, and above all, because his large heart would have appreciated the spectacle of a statesman eminent among the most eminent of the Southern States here addressing an assembly of the people in the city of Boston. Because, in the second place, he would have remembered that, though divided from you by party relations, in one of the critical hours of his fame and his honor, your voice was not wanting for his vindication in the Congress of the United States. Sir, again, I say we welcome you to Faneuil Hall.

“And now, my fellow-citizens, I will withdraw myself and present to you the Hon. Jefferson Davis.”

Mr. Davis spoke as follows :

“*Countrymen, Brethren, Democrats:* Most happy am I to meet you, and to have received here renewed assurance—of that which I have so long believed—that the pulsation of the Democratic heart is the same in every parallel of latitude, on every meridian of longitude, throughout the United States. It required not this to confirm me in a belief I have so long and so happily enjoyed. Your own great statesman (the Hon. Caleb Cushing), who has introduced me to this assembly, has been too long associated with me, too nearly connected, we have labored too many hours, until one day ran into another, in the cause of our country, for me to fail to understand that a Massachusetts Democrat has a heart as wide as the Union, and that its pulsations always beat for the liberty and happiness of his country. Neither could I be unaware that such was the sentiment of the Democracy of New England. For it was my fortune lately to serve under a President drawn from the neighboring State of New Hampshire, and I know that he



MR. AND MRS. HAYES.

spoke the language of his heart, for I learned it in four years of intimate relations with him, when he said he knew 'no North, no South, no East, no West, but sacred maintenance of the common bond and true devotion to the common brotherhood.' Never, sir, in the past history of our country, never, I add, in its future destiny, however bright it may be, did or will a man of higher and purer patriotism, a man more devoted to the common weal of his country, hold the helm of our great ship of state, than Franklin Pierce.

"I have heard the resolutions read and approved by this meeting; I have heard the address of your candidate for Governor; and these, added to the address of my old and intimate friend, General Cushing, bear to me fresh testimony, which I shall be happy to carry away with me, that the Democracy, in the language of your own glorious Webster, 'still lives'; lives, not as his great spirit did, when it hung 'twixt life and death, like a star upon the horizon's verge, but lives like the germ that is shooting upward; like the sapling that is growing to a mighty tree, and I trust it may redeem Massachusetts to her glorious place in the Union, when she led the van of the defenders of State rights.

"When I see Faneuil Hall thus thronged it reminds me of another meeting, when it was found too small to contain the assembly that met here, on the call of the people, to know what should be done in relation to the tea-tax, and when, Faneuil Hall being too small, they went to the old South Church, which still stands a monument of your early day. I hope the time will soon come when many Democratic meetings in Boston will be too large for Faneuil Hall. I am welcomed to this hall, so venerable for all the associations of our early history; to this hall of which you are so justly proud, and the memories of which are part of the inheritance of every American citizen; and I felt, as I looked upon it, and remembered how many voices of patriotic fervor have filled it—how here

the first movement originated from which the Revolution sprang ; how here began the system of town meetings and free discussion—that, though my theme was more humble than theirs, as befitted my humbler powers, I had enough to warn me that I was assuming much to speak in this sacred chamber. But, when I heard your distinguished orator say that words uttered here could never die, that they lived and became a part of the circumambient air, I feel a hesitation which increases upon me with the remembrance of his expressions. But, if those voices which breathed the first impulse into the colonies—now the United States—to proclaim independence, and to unite for resistance against the power of the mother country—if those voices live here still, how must they fare who come here to preach treason to the constitution and to assail the union of these States? It would seem that their criminal hearts would fear that those voices, so long slumbering, would break silence, that those forms which hang upon these walls behind me might come forth, and that the sabres so long sheathed would leap from their scabbards to drive from this sacred temple those who desecrate it as did the money-changers who sold doves in the temple of the living God.

“Here you have, to remind you, and to remind all who enter this hall, the portraits of those men who are dear to every lover of liberty, and part and parcel of the memory of every American citizen; and highest among them all I see you have placed Samuel Adams and John Hancock. You have placed them the highest, and properly; for they were two, the only two, excepted from the proclamation of mercy, when Governor Gage issued his anathema against them and against their fellow-patriots. These men, thus excepted from the saving grace of the crown, now occupy the highest places in Faneuil Hall, and thus seem to be the highest in the reverence of the people of Boston. This is one of the instances in

which we find tradition so much more reliable than history; for tradition has borne the name of Samuel Adams to the remotest of the colonies, and the new States formed out of what was territory of the old colonies; and there it is a name as sacred among us as it is among you.

"We all remember how early he saw the necessity of COMMUNITY INDEPENDENCE.¹ How, through the dim mists of the future, and in advance of his day, he looked forward to the proclamation of the independence of Massachusetts; how he steadily strove, through good report and evil report, with a great, unwavering heart, whether in the midst of his fellow-citizens, cheered by their voices, or communing with his own heart, when driven from his home, his eyes were still fixed upon his first, last hope, the community independence of Massachusetts! Always a commanding figure, we see him, at a later period, the leader in the correspondence which waked the feelings of the other colonies to united fraternal association—the people of Massachusetts with the people of the other colonies—there we see his letters acknowledging the receipt of rice of South Carolina, and the money of New York and Pennsylvania—all these poured in to relieve Boston of the suffering inflicted upon her when the port was closed by the despotism of the British crown—we see the beginning of that which insured the co-operation of the colonies throughout the desperate struggle of the Revolution. And we there see that which, if the present generation be true to the memory of their sires, to the memory of the noble men from whom they descended, will perpetuate for them that spirit of fraternity in which the Union began. But it is not here alone, nor in reminiscences connected with the objects which present themselves within this hall, that the people of Boston have much to excite their patriotism and carry them back to the great principles of the Revolutionary struggle. Where will you go and not meet some monument to inspire such sentiments? Go to Lexington and

Concord, where sixty brave countrymen came with their fowl-pieces to oppose six hundred veterans—where they forced those veterans back, pursuing them on the road, fighting from every barn, and bush, and stock, and stone, till they drove them, retreating, to the ships from which they went forth! And there stand those monuments of your early patriotism, Breed's and Bunker's Hills, whose soil drank the martyr-blood of men who lived for their country and died for mankind! Can it be any of you should tread that soil and forget the great purposes for which those men died? While, on the other side, rise the heights of Dorchester, where once stood the encampment of the Virginian, the man who came here, and did not ask, Is this a town of Virginia? but, Is this a town of my brethren? The steady courage and cautious wisdom of Washington availed to drive the British troops out from the city which they had so confidently held. Here, too, you find where once the old Liberty Tree, connected with so many of your memories, grew. You ask your legend, and learn that it was cut down for firewood by British soldiers, as some of your meeting-houses were destroyed; they burned the old tree, and it warmed the soldiers long enough to leave town, and, had they burned it a little longer, its light would have shown Washington and his followers where their enemies were.

“But they are gone, and never again shall a hostile foot set its imprint upon your soil. Your harbor is being fortified, to prevent an unexpected attack on your city by a hostile fleet. But woe to the enemy whose fleet shall bear him to your shores to set his footprint upon your soil; he goes to a prison or to a grave! American fortifications are not built from any fear of invasion, they are intended to guard points where marine attacks can be made; and, for the rest, the hearts of Americans are our ramparts.

“But, my friends, it is not merely in these associations, so connected with the honorable pride of Massachusetts, that

one who visits Boston finds much for gratification, hope, and instruction. If I were selecting a place where the advocate of strict construction, the extreme expounder of democratic State-rights doctrine should go for his texts, I would send him into the collections of your historical associations. Instead of going to Boston as a place where only consolidation would be found, he would find written, in letters of living light, that sacred creed of State rights which has been mis-called the ultra opinions of the South; he could find among your early records that this Faneuil Hall, the property of the town at the time when Massachusetts was under colonial government, administered by a man appointed by the British crown, guarded by British soldiers, was refused to a British Governor in which to hold a British festival, because he was going to bring with him the agents for collecting, and naval officers sent here to enforce, an oppressive tax upon your Commonwealth. Such was the proud spirit of independence manifested even in your colonial history. Such is the great foundation-stone on which may be erected an eternal monument of States rights. And so, in an early period of our country, you find Massachusetts leading the movements, prominent of all the States, in the assertion of that doctrine which has been recently so belied. Having achieved your independence, having passed through the Confederation, you assented to the formation of our present constitutional Union. You did not surrender your sovereignty. Your fathers had sacrificed too much to claim as a reward of their toil, merely that they should have a change of masters; and a change of masters it would have been had Massachusetts surrendered her State sovereignty to the central Government, and consented that that central Government should have the power to coerce a State. But, if this power does not exist, if this sovereignty has not been surrendered, then, who can deny the words of soberness and truth spoken by your candidate this evening, when he has

pleaded to you the cause of State independence, and the right of every community to be judge of its own domestic affairs? This is all we have ever asked—we of the South, I mean—for I stand before you as one of those who have always been called the ultra men of the South, and I speak, therefore, for that class; and I tell you that your candidate for Governor has uttered to-night everything which we have claimed as a principle for our protection. And I have found the same condition of things in the neighboring State of Maine. I have found that the Democrats there asserted the same broad constitutional principle for which we have been contending, by which we are willing to live, for which we are willing to die!

“In this state of the case, my friends, why is the country agitated? The old controversies have passed away, or they have subsided, and have been covered up by one dark pall of somber hue, which increases with every passing year. Why is it, then, I say, that you are thus agitated in relation to the domestic affairs of other communities? Why is it that the peace of the country is disturbed in order that one people may judge of what another people may do? Is there any political power to authorize such interference? If so, where is it? You did not surrender your sovereignty. You gave to the Federal Government certain functions. It was your agent, created for specified purposes. It can do nothing save that which you have given it power to perform. Where is the grant? Has it a right to determine what shall be property? Surely not that belongs to every community to decide for itself; you judge in your case—every other State must judge in its case. The Federal Government has no power to destroy property. Do you pay taxes, then to an agent, that he may destroy your property? Do you support him for that purpose? It is an absurdity on the face of it. To ask the question is to answer it. The Government is instituted to protect, not to destroy, property. And, in abundance of caution, your fathers pro-

vided that the Federal Government should not take private property for its own use unless by making due compensation therefor. It is prohibited from attempting to destroy property. One of its great purposes was protection to the States. Whenever that power is made a source of danger, we destroy the purpose for which the Government was formed.

"Why, then, have you agitators? With Pharisaical pretension it is sometimes said it is a moral obligation to agitate, and I suppose they are going through a sort of vicarious repentance for other men's sins. With all due allowance for their zeal, we ask, how do they decide that it is a sin? By what standard do they measure it? Not the constitution, the constitution recognizes the property in slaves in many forms, and imposes obligations in connection with that recognition. Not the Bible; that justifies it. Not the good of society; for, if they go where it exists, they find that society recognizes it as good. What, then, is their standard? The good of mankind? Is that seen in the diminished resources of the country? Is that seen in the diminished comfort of the world? Or is not the reverse exhibited? Is there, in the cause of christianity, a motive for the prohibition of the system which is the only agency through which christianity has reached that inferior race, the only means by which they have been civilized and elevated? Or is their piety manifested in denunciation of their brethren, who are deterred from answering their denunciation only by the contempt which they feel for a mere brawler, who intends to end his brawling only in empty words?

"What, my friends, must be the consequences? Good or evil? They have been evil, and evil they must be only to the end. Not one particle of good has been done to any man, of any color, by this agitation. It has been insidiously working the purpose of sedition, for the destruction of that Union on which our hopes of future greatness depend.

"On the one side, then, you see agitation tending slowly and steadily to that separation of States, which, if you have any hope connected with the liberty of mankind; if you have any national pride connected with making your country the greatest on the face of the earth; if you have any sacred regard for the obligations which the deeds and the blood of your fathers entailed upon you, that hope should prompt you to reject anything that would tend to destroy the result of that experiment which they left it to you to conclude and perpetuate. On the other hand, if each community, in accordance with the principles of our government, should regard its domestic interests as a part of the common whole, and struggle for the benefit of all, this would steadily lead us to fraternity, to unity, to coöperation, to the increase of our happiness and the extension of the benefits of our useful example over mankind. The flag of the Union, whose stars have already more than doubled their original number, with its ample folds may wave, the the recognized flag of every State, or the recognized protector of every State upon the continent of America.

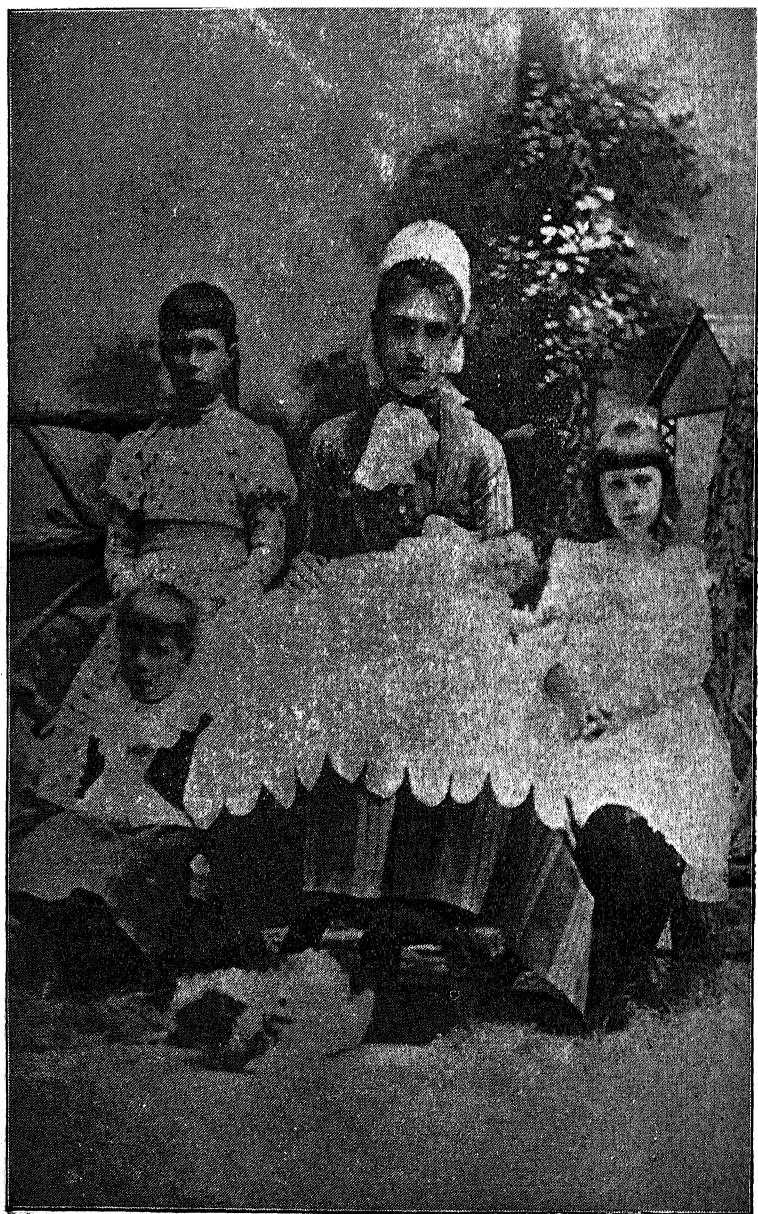
"In connection with the view which I have presented of the early idea of community independence I will add the very striking fact that one of the colonies, about the time they had resolved to unite for the purpose of achieving their independence, addressed the Colonial Congress to know in what condition it would be in the interval between its separation from the government of Great Britain and the establishment of a government on this continent. The answer of the Colonial Congress was exactly what might have been expected—exactly what State-rights Democracy would answer to-day to such an inquiry—that they 'had nothing to do with it.' If such sentiment had continued, if it had governed in every State, if representatives had been chosen upon it, then your halls of Federal legislation would not have been disturbed about the question of the domestic institutions of the different States.

The peace of the country would not be hazarded by the arraignment of the family relations of people over whom the government has no control. If in harmony working together, with co-intelligence for the conservation of the interests of the country—if protection to the States and the other great ends for which the government was established, had been the aim and united effort of all—what effects would not have been produced? As our government increases in expansion it would increase in its beneficent effect upon the people; we should, as we grow in power and prosperity, also grow in fraternity, and it would be no longer a wonder to see a man coming from a Southern State to address a Democratic audience in Boston.

“But I have referred to the fact that Massachusetts stood preëminently forward among those who asserted community independence; and this reminds me of another incident. President Washington visited Boston when John Hancock was Governor, and Hancock refused to call upon the President, because he contended that any man who came within the limits of Massachusetts must yield rank and precedence to the Governor of the State. He eventually only surrendered the point on account of his personal regard and respect for the character of George Washington. I honor him for this, and value it as one of the early testimonies in favor of State rights. I wish all our Governors had the same regard for the dignity of the State as had the great and glorious John Hancock.

“In the beginning the founders of this government were true Democratic State-rights men. Democracy was State rights, and State rights was democracy, and it is so to-day. Your resolutions breathe it. The Declaration of Independence embodied the sentiments which had lived in the hearts of the country for many years before its formal assertion. Our fathers asserted the great principle—the right of the people to choose their own government—and that government rested

upon the consent of the governed. In every form of expression it uttered the same idea, community independence and the dependence of the Union upon the communities of which it consisted. It was an American declaration of the unalienable right of man; it was a general truth, and I wish it were accepted by all men. But I have said that this State sovereignty—this community independence—has never been surrendered, and that there is no power in the Federal government to coerce a State. Will any one ask me, then, how a State is to be held to the fulfillment of its obligations? My answer is, by its honor. The obligation is the more sacred to observe every feature of the compact, because there is no power to enforce it. The great error of the confederation was, that it attempted to act upon the States. It was found impracticable, and our present form of government was adopted, which acts upon individuals, and is not designed to act upon States. The question of State coercion was raised in the convention which framed the constitution, and, after discussion, the proposition to give power to the general government to enforce against any State obedience to the laws was rejected. It is upon the ground that a State cannot be coerced that observance of the compact is a sacred obligation. It was upon this principle that our fathers depended for the perpetuity of a fraternal Union, and for the security of the rights that the constitution was designed to preserve. The fugitive slave compact in the constitution of the United States implied that the States should fulfill it voluntarily. They expected the States to legislate so as to secure the rendition of fugitives; and in 1778 it was a matter of complaint that the Spanish colony of Florida did not restore fugitive negroes from the United States who escaped into that colony, and a committee, composed of Hamilton, of New York, Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, and Mason, of Virginia, reported resolutions in the Congress, instructing the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to



MRS. HAYES' CHILDREN AND NURSE.

address the *chargé d' affaires* at Madrid to apply to his Majesty of Spain to issue orders to his governor to compel them to secure the rendition of fugitive negroes. This was the sentiment of the committee, and they added, also, that the States would return any slaves from Florida who might escape into their limits.

"When the constitutional obligation was imposed, who could have doubted that every State, faithful to its obligations, would comply with the requirements of the constitution, and waive all questions as to whether the institution should or should not exist in another community over which they had no control? Congress was at last forced to legislate on the subject, and they have continued, up to a recent period, to legislate, and this has been one of the causes by which you have been disturbed. You have been called upon to make war against a law which need never to have been enacted, if each State had done the duty which she was called upon by the constitution to perform.

"Gentlemen, this presents one phase of agitation—negro agitation, there is another and graver question, it is in relation to the prohibition by Congress of the introduction of slave property into the Territories. What power does Congress possess in this connection? Has it the right to say what shall be property anywhere? If it has, from what clause of the constitution does it derive that power? Have other States the power to prescribe the condition upon which a citizen of another State shall enter upon and enjoy territory—common property of all? Clearly not. Shall the inhabitants who first go into the Territory deprive any citizen of the United States of those rights which belong to him as an equal owner of the soil? Certainly not. Sovereign jurisdiction can only pass to these inhabitants when the States, the owners of that Territory, shall recognize their right to become an equal member of the Union.

Until then, the constitution and the laws of the Union must be the rule governing within the limits of a Territory.

"The constitution recognizes all property, and gives equal privileges to every citizen of the States; and it would be a violation of its fundamental principles to attempt any discrimination.

"There is nothing of truth or justice with which to sustain this agitation, or ground for it, unless it be that it is a very good bridge over which to pass into office; a little stock of trade in politics built up to aid men who are missionaries staying at home; reformers of things which they do not go to learn; preachers without a congregation; overseers without laborers and without wages; war-horses who snuff the battle afar off and cry: 'Aha! aha! I am afar off.'

"Thus it is that the peace of the Union is disturbed; thus it is that brother is arrayed against brother; thus it is that the people come to consider not how they can promote each other's interests, but how they may successfully war upon them. And among the things most odious to my mind is to find a man who enters upon a public office, under the sanction of the constitution, and taking an oath to support the constitution—the compact between the States binding each for the common defense and general welfare of the other—and retaining to himself a mental reservation that he will war upon the institutions and the property of any of the States of the Union. It is a crime too low to characterize as it deserves before this assembly. It is one which would disgrace a gentleman—one which a man with self-respect would never commit. To swear that he will support the constitution, to take an office which belongs in many of its relations to all the States, and to use it as a means of injuring a portion of the States of whom he is thus an agent, is treason to everything that is honorable in man. It is the base and cowardly attack of him who gains the confidence of another in order that he may wound him. But

I have often heard it argued, and I have seen it published : I have seen a petition that was circulated for signers, announcing that there was an incompatibility between the different sections of the Union ; that it had been tried long enough, and that they must get rid of those sections in which the curse of slavery existed. Ah ! those sages, so much wiser than our fathers, have found out that there is incompatibility in that which existed when the Union was formed. They have found an incompatibility inconsistent with union, in that which existed when South Carolina sent her rice to Boston, and Maryland and Pennsylvania and New York brought in their funds for her relief. The fact is that, from that day to this, the difference between the people of the colonies has been steadily diminishing, and the possible advantages of union in no small degree augmented. The variety of product of soil and of climate has been multiplied, both by the expansion of our country and by the introduction of new tropical products not cultivated at that time ; so that every motive to union which your forefathers had, in a diversity which should give prosperity to the country, exists in a higher degree to-day than when this Union was formed, and this diversity is fundamental to the prosperity of the people of the several sections of the country.

“ It is, however, to-day, in sentiment and interest, less than on the day when the Declaration of Independence was made. Diversity there is—diversity of character—but it is not of that extreme kind which proves incompatibility ; for your Massachusetts man, when he comes into Mississippi, adopts our opinions and our institutions, and frequently becomes the most extreme man among us. As our country has extended, as new products have been introduced into it, this Union and the free trade that belongs to it have been of increasing value. And I say, moreover, that it is not an unfortunate circumstance that this diversity of pursuit and character still remains. Originally it sprang in no small degree from natural causes. Mas-

achusetts became a manufacturing and commercial State because of her fine harbors—because of her water-power, making its last leap into the sea, so that the ship of commerce brought the staple to the manufacturing power. This made you a commercial and a manufacturing people. In the Southern States great plains interpose between the last leaps of the streams and the sea. Those plains were cultivated in staple crops, and the sea brought their products to your streams to be manufactured. This was the first beginning of the differences.

“Then your longer and more severe winters, your soil not so favorable for agriculture, in a degree kept you a manufacturing and a commercial people. Even after the cause had passed away—after railroads had been built—after the steam-engine had become a motive power for a large part of manufacturing machinery, the natural causes from which your people obtained a manufacturing ascendancy and ours became chiefly agriculturists continued to act in a considerable measure to preserve that relation. Your interest is to remain a manufacturing, and ours to remain an agricultural people. Your prosperity, then, is to receive our staple and to manufacture it, and ours to sell it to you and buy the manufactured goods. This is an interweaving of interests which makes us all the richer and happier.

“But this accursed agitation, this intermeddling with the affairs of other people, is that alone which will promote a desire in the mind of any one to separate these great and glorious States. The seeds of dissension may be sown by invidious reflections. Men may be goaded by the constant attempts to infringe upon rights and to disturb tranquility, and in the resentment which follows it is not possible to tell how far the wave may rush. I, therefore, plead to you now to arrest a fanaticism which has been evil in the beginning and must be evil in the end. You may not have the numerical power requisite, and those at a distance may not understand how

many of you there are desirous to put a stop to the course of this agitation. For me, I have learned since I have been in New England the vast mass of true State-Rights Democrats to be found within its limits—though not represented in the halls of Congress. And if it comes to the worst—if, availing themselves of the majority in the two Houses of Congress, they should attempt to trample upon the constitution; if they should attempt to violate the rights of the States; if they should attempt to infringe upon our equality in the Union—I believe that even in Massachusetts, though it has not had a representative in Congress for many a day, the State-rights Democracy, in whose breast beats the spirit of the Revolution, can and will whip the black Republicans. I trust we shall never be thus purified, as it were, by fire; but that the peaceful, progressive, revolution of the ballot-box will answer all the glorious purposes of the constitution and the Union. And I marked that the distinguished orator and statesman who preceded me, in addressing you, used the words ‘national’ and ‘constitutional’ in such relation to each other as to show that in his mind the one was a synonym of the other. I say so: we became national by the constitution, the bond for uniting the States, and national and constitutional are convertible terms.

“Your candidate for the high office of governor—whom I have been once or twice on the point of calling governor, and whom I hope I may be able soon to call so—in his remarks to you has presented the same idea in another form. And well may Massachusetts orators, without even perceiving what they are saying, utter sentiments which lie at the foundation of your colonial as well as your subsequent political history, which existed in Massachusetts before the Revolution, and have existed ever since, whenever the true spirit which comes down from the Revolutionary sires has swelled and found utterance within her limits.

"It has been not only, my friends, in this increasing and mutual dependence of interest that we have found new ties to you. These bonds are both material and mental. Every improvement or invention, every construction of a railroad, has formed a new reason for our being one. Every new achievement, whether it has been in arts or science, in war or in manufactures, has constituted for us a new bond and a new sentiment holding us together.

"Why, then, I would ask, do we see these lengthened shadows which follow in the course of our political history? Is it because our sun is declining to the horizon? Are they the shadows of evening, or are they, as I hopefully believe, but the mists which are exhaled by the sun as it rises, but which are to be dispersed by its meridian glory? Are they but the little evanishing clouds that flit between the people and the great objects for which the constitution was established? I hopefully look toward the reaction which will establish the fact that our sun is still in the ascendant—that that cloud which has so long covered our political horizon is to be dispersed—that we are not again to be divided on parallels of latitude and about the domestic institutions of States—a sectional attack on the prosperity and tranquility of a nation—but only by differences in opinion upon measures of expediency, upon questions of relative interest, by discussions as to the powers of the States and the rights of the States, and the powers of the Federal government—such discussion as is commemorated in this picture of your own great and glorious Webster, when he specially addressed our best, most tried, and greatest man, the pure and incorruptible Calhoun, represented as intently listening to catch the accents of eloquence that fell from his lips. Those giants strove each for his conviction, not against a section—not against each other; they stood to each other in the relation of personal affection and esteem, and never

did I see Mr. Webster so agitated, never did I hear his voice falter, as when he delivered the eulogy on John C. Calhoun.

"But allusion was made to my own connection with your great and favorite departed statesman. Of that I will only say on this occasion, that very early in my congressional life Mr. Webster was arraigned for an offense which affected him most deeply. He was no accountant, and all knew that. He was arraigned on a pecuniary charge—the misapplication of what is known as the secret-service fund—and I was one of the committee that had to investigate the charge. I endeavored to do justice. I endeavored to examine the evidence with a view to ascertain the truth. It is true I remembered that he was an eminent American statesman. It is true that as an American I hoped he would come out without a stain upon his garments. But I entered upon the investigation to find the truth and to do justice. The result was, he was acquitted of every charge that was made against him, and it was equally my pride and my pleasure to vindicate him in every form which lay within my power. No one that knew Daniel Webster could have believed that he would ever ask whether a charge was made against a Massachusetts man or a Mississippian. No! It belonged to a lower, to a later, and I trust a shorter-lived race of statesmen, who measure all facts by considerations of latitude and longitude.

"I honor that sentiment which makes us oftentimes too confident, and to despise too much the danger of that agitation which disturbs the peace of the country. I respect that feeling which regards the Union as too strong to be broken. But, at the same time, in sober judgment, it will not do to treat too lightly the danger which has existed and still exists. I have heard our constitution and Union compared to the granite shores which face the sea, and, dashing back the foam of the waves, stand unmoved by their fury. Now I accept the simile; and I have stood upon the shore, and I have seen

the waves of the sea dash upon the granite of your own shores which frowns over the ocean, have seen the spray thrown back from the cliffs. But, when the tide had ebbed, I saw that the rock was seamed and worn; and when the tide was low, the pieces that had been riven from the granite rock were lying at its base.

"And thus the waves of sectional agitation are dashing themselves against the granite patriotism of the land. But even that must show the seams and scars of the conflict. Sectional hostility will follow. The danger lies at your door, and it is time to arrest it. Too long have we allowed this influence to progress. It is time that men should go back to the first foundation of our institutions. They should drink the waters of the fountain at the source of our colonial and early history.

"You, men of Boston, go to the street where the massacre occurred in 1770. There you should learn how your fathers strove for community rights. And near the same spot you should learn how proudly the delegation of democracy came to demand the removal of the troops from Boston, and how the venerable Samuel Adams stood asserting the rights of democracy, dauntless as Hampden, clear and eloquent as Sidney; and how they drove out the myrmidons who had trampled on the rights of the people.

"All over our country, these monuments, instructive to the present generation, of what our fathers did, are to be found. In the library of your association for the collection of your early history, I found a letter descriptive of the reading of the church service to his army by General Washington, during one of those winters when the army was ill-clad and without shoes, when he built a little log-cabin for a meeting-house, and there, reading the service to them his sight failed him, he put on his glasses, and, with emotion which manifested the reality of his feelings, said, 'I have grown gray in serving my country, and now I am going blind.'

"By the aid of your records you may call before you the day when the delegation of the army of the democracy of Boston demanded compliance with its requirements for the removal of the troops. A painfully thrilling case will be found in the heroic conduct of your fathers friends, the patriots in Charleston, South Carolina. The prisoners were put upon the hulks, where the small-pox existed, and where they were brought on shore to stay the progress of the infection, and were offered, if they would enlist in his Majesty's service, release from all their sufferings, present and prospective; while, if they would not, the rations would be taken from their families, and they would be sent back to the hulks and again exposed to the infection. Emaciated as they were, with the prospect of being returned to confinement, and their families turned out into the streets, the spirit of independence, the devotion to liberty, was so supreme in their breasts that they gave one loud huzza for General Washington and went to meet death in their loathsome prison. From these glorious recollections, from the emotions which they create, when the sacrifices of those who gave you the heritage of liberty are read in your early history, the eye is directed to our present condition. Mark the prosperity, the growth, the honorable career of your country under the voluntary union of independent States. I do not envy the heart of that American whose pulse does not beat quicker, and who does not feel within him a high exultation and pride, in the past glory and future prospects of his country. With these prospects are associated—if we are only wise, true, and faithful, if we shun sectional dissension—all that man can conceive of the progression of the American people. And the only danger which threatens those high prospects is that miserable spirit which, disregarding the obligations of honor, makes war upon the constitution; which induces men to assume powers they do not possess, trampling as well upon the great principles which lie at the foundation of

the Declaration of Independence, and the constitution of the Union, as upon the honorable obligations which were fixed upon them by their fathers. They with internecine strife would sacrifice themselves and their brethren to a spirit which is a disgrace to our common country. With these views, it will not be surprising, to those who most differ from me, that I feel an ardent desire for the success of this State-rights democracy; that, convinced as I am of the ill consequences of the described heresies unless they be corrected; of the evils upon which they would precipitate the country unless they are restrained—I say, none need be surprised if, prompted by such aspirations, and impressed by such forebodings as now open themselves before me, I have spoken freely, yielding to motives I would suppress and cannot avoid. I have often, elsewhere than in the State of which I am a citizen, spoken in favor of that party which alone is national, in which alone lies the hope of preserving the constitution and the perpetuation of the government and of the blessings which it was ordained and established to secure.

“My friends, my brethren, my countrymen, I thank you for the patient attention you have given me. It is the first time it has ever befallen me to address an audience here. It will probably be the last. Residing in a remote section of the country, with private as well as public duties to occupy the whole of my time, it would only be for a very hurried visit, or under some such necessity for a restoration to health which brought me here this season, that I could ever expect to remain long among you, or in any other portion of the Union than the State of which I am a citizen.

“I have staid long enough to feel that generous hospitality which evinces itself to-night, which has evinced itself in Boston since I have been here, and showed itself in every town and village of New England where I have gone. I have staid here, too, long enough to learn that, though not represented in



JEFFERSON HAYES DAVIS. Age, 5 years.

Grandson of Hon. Jefferson Davis.

Congress, there is a large mass of as true democrats as are to be found in any portion of the Union within the limits of New England. Their purposes, their construction of the constitution, their hopes for the future, their respect for the past, is the same as that which exists among my beloved brethren in Mississippi.

"In the hour of apprehension I shall turn back to my observations here, in this consecrated hall, where men so early devoted themselves to liberty and community independence; and I shall endeavor to impress upon others, who know you only as you are represented in the two houses of Congress, how true and how many are the hearts that beat for constitutional liberty, and faithfully respect every clause and guarantee which the constitution contains for any and every portion of the Union."

His speech to an immense democratic ratification meeting in New York, on the 19th of October, was received with great enthusiasm, and, among other things, he said:

"To each community belongs the right to decide for itself what institutions it will have—to each people sovereign in their own sphere. It belongs only to them to decide what shall be property. You have decided it for yourselves, Mississippi has done so. Who has the right to gainsay it? [Applause.] It was the assertion of the right of independence—of that very right which led your fathers into the war of the Revolution. [Applause.] It is that which constitutes the doctrine of State rights, on which it is my pleasure to stand. Congress has no power to determine what shall be property anywhere. Congress has only such grants as are contained in the constitution and it conferred no power to rule with despotic hands over the independence of the Territories."

In reply to an invitation to attend the "Webster Birthday Festival" in Boston, he wrote in January, 1859, as follows:

"At a time when partisans avow the purpose to obliterate the landmarks of our fathers, and fanaticism assails the bar-

riers they erected for the protection of rights coeval with and essential to the existence of the Union—when Federal offices have been sought by inciting constituencies to hostile aggressions, and exercised, not as a trust for the common welfare, but as a means of disturbing domestic tranquility—when oaths to support the constitution have been taken with a mental reservation to disregard its spirit, and subvert the purposes for which it was established—surely it becomes all who are faithful to the compact of our Union, and who are resolved to maintain and preserve it, to compare differences on questions of mere expediency, and, forming deep around the institutions we inherited, stand united to uphold, with unfaltering intent, a banner on which is inscribed the constitutional Union of free, equal, and independent States.

“May the vows of ‘love and allegiance,’ which you propose to renew as a fitting tribute to the memory of the illustrious statesman whose birth you commemorate, find an echo in the heart of every patriot in our land, and tend to the revival of that fraternity which bore our fathers through the Revolution to the consummation of the independence they transmitted to us, and the establishment of the more perfect Union which their wisdom devised to bless their posterity for ever!

“Though deprived of the pleasure of mingling my affectionate memories and aspirations with yours, I send you my cordial greeting to the friends of the constitution, and ask to be enrolled among those whose mission is, by fraternity and good faith to every constitutional obligation, to insure that, from the Aroostook to San Diego, from Key West to Puget’s Sound, the grand arch of our political temple shall stand unshaken.”

The above extracts are sufficient to show the spirit and temper of Mr. Davis in these days of political and sectional strife. He was at the same time a very laborious worker on the committees on which he served and in the Senate. He favored

warmly the Southern Pacific railway, and opposed ably and earnestly the "French spoliation bill."

In February, 1860, he introduced in the Senate his famous "States-rights" resolutions, and there followed a debate of great ability, and some bitterness, in which Douglas and Davis had their great intellectual tilt.

Want of space prevents the giving of the entire debate, or even the full text of Mr. Davis's great speech, and unanswerable argument, and it seems best to give simply his own modest account of it in his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government." He says:

"On February 2, 1860, the author submitted, in the Senate of the United States, a series of resolutions, afterwards slightly modified to read as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That, in the adoption of the Federal constitution, the States, adopting the same, acted severally as free and independent sovereignties, delegating a portion of their powers to be exercised by the Federal government for the increased security of each against dangers, *domestic* as well as foreign; and that any intermeddling by any one or more States, or by a combination of their citizens, with the domestic institutions of the others, on any pretext whatever, political, moral, or religious, with the view to their disturbance or subversion, is in violation of the constitution, insulting to the States so interfered with, endangers their domestic peace and tranquility—objects for which the constitution was formed—and, by necessary consequence, tends to weaken and destroy the Union itself.

2. *Resolved*, That negro slavery, as it exists in fifteen States of this Union, composes an important part of their domestic institutions, inherited from our ancestors, and existing at the adoption of the constitution, by which it is recognized as constituting an important element in the apportionment of powers among the States, and that no change of opinion or feeling on the part of the non-slaveholding States of the Union in relation to this institution can justify them or their citizens in open or covert attacks thereon, with a view to its overthrow; and that all such attacks are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and defend each other, given by the

States respectively, on entering into the constitutional compact which formed the Union, and are a manifest breach of faith and a violation of the most solemn obligations.

3. *Resolved*, That the Union of these States rests on the equality of rights and privileges among its members, and that it is especially the duty of the Senate, which represents the States in their sovereign capacity, to resist all attempts to discriminate either in relation to persons or property in the Territories, which are the common possessions of the United States, so as to give advantages to the citizens of one State which are not equally assured to those of every other State.

4. *Resolved*, That neither Congress nor a territorial legislature, whether by direct legislation or legislation of an indirect and unfriendly character, possesses power to annul or impair the constitutional right of any citizen of the United States to take his slave property into the common territories, and there hold and enjoy the same while the territorial condition remains.

5. *Resolved*, That if experience should at any time prove that the judiciary and executive authority do not possess means to insure adequate protection to constitutional rights in a territory, and if the territorial government shall fail or refuse to provide the necessary remedies for that purpose, it will be the duty of Congress to supply such deficiency.*

6. *Resolved*, That the inhabitants of a territory of the United States, when they rightfully form a constitution to be admitted as a State into the Union, may then, for the first time, like the people of a State when forming a new constitution, decide for themselves whether slavery, as a domestic institution, shall be maintained or prohibited within their jurisdiction; and they shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.

7. *Resolved*, That the provision of the constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service or labor, 'without the adoption of which the Union could not have been formed,' and that the laws of 1793 and 1850, which were enacted to secure its execution, and the main features of which, being similar, bear the impress of nearly seventy years of sanction by the highest

*The words, 'within the limits of its constitutional powers, were subsequently added to this resolution, on the suggestion of Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, with the approval of the mover.

judicial authority, should be honestly and faithfully observed and maintained by all who enjoy the benefits of our compact of union; and that all acts of individuals or of State legislatures to defeat the purpose or nullify the requirements of that provision, and the laws made in pursuance of it, are hostile in character, subversive of the constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.'

"After a protracted and earnest debate, these resolutions were adopted *seriatim*, on the 24th and 25th of May, by a decided majority of the Senate (varying from thirty-three to thirty-six yeas against from two to twenty-one nays), the Democrats, both Northern and Southern, sustaining them unitedly, with the exception of one adverse vote (that of Mr. Pugh, of Ohio,) on the fourth and sixth resolutions. The Republicans all voted against them or refrained from voting at all, except that Mr. Teneyck, of New Jersey, voted for the fifth and seventh of the series. Mr. Douglas, the leader if not the author of 'popular sovereignty,' was absent on account of illness, and there were a few other absentees.

"The conclusion of a speech, in reply to Mr. Douglas, a few days before the vote was taken on these resolutions, is introduced here as the best evidence of the position of the author at that period of excitement and agitation :

CONCLUSION OF REPLY TO MR. DOUGLAS, MAY 17, 1860.

"*Mr. President:* I briefly and reluctantly referred, because the subject had been introduced, to the attitude of Mississippi on a former occasion. I will now as briefly say that in 1851, and in 1860, Mississippi was, and is, ready to make every concession which it becomes her to make to the welfare and the safety of the Union. If, on a former occasion, she hoped too much from fraternity, the responsibility for her disappointment rests upon those who failed to fulfil her expectations. She still clings to the government as our fathers formed it. She is ready to-day and to-morrow, as in her past and though

brief yet brilliant history, to maintain that government in all its power, and to vindicate its honor with all the means she possesses. I say brilliant history; for it was in the very morning of her existence that her sons, on the plains of New Orleans, were announced, in general orders, to have been the admiration of one army and the wonder of the other. That we had a division in relation to the measures enacted in 1850, is true; that the Southern rights men became the minority in the election which resulted is true; but no figure of speech could warrant the senator in speaking of them as subdued—as coming to him or anybody else for quarter. I deemed it offensive when it was uttered, and the scorn with which I repelled it at the instant, time has only softened to contempt. Our flag was never borne from the field. We had carried it in the face of defeat, with a knowledge that defeat awaited it; but scarcely had the smoke of the battle passed away which proclaimed another victor, before the general voice admitted that the field again was ours. I have not seen a sagacious reflecting man, who was cognizant of the events as they transpired at the time, who does not say that, within two weeks after the election, our party was in a majority; and the next election which occurred showed that we possessed the State beyond controversy. How we have wielded that power it is not for me to say. I trust others may see forbearance in our conduct—that, with a determination to insist upon our constitutional rights, then and now, there is an unwavering desire to maintain the government, and to uphold the Democratic party.

“We believe now, as we have asserted on former occasions, that the best hope for the perpetuity of our institutions depends upon the co-operation, the harmony, the zealous action, of the Democratic party. We cling to that party from conviction that its principles and its aims are those of truth and the country, as we cling to the Union for the fulfillment of the purposes for

which it was formed. Whenever we shall be taught that the Democratic party is recreant to its principles; whenever we shall learn that it cannot be relied upon to maintain the great measures which constitute its vitality—I for one shall be ready to leave it. And so, when we declare our tenacious adherence to the Union, it is the Union of the constitution. If the compact between the States is to be trampled into the dust; if anarchy is to be substituted for the usurpation and consolidation which threatened the government at an earlier period; if the Union is to become powerless for the purposes for which it was established, and we are vainly to appeal to it for protection—then, sir, conscious of the rectitude of our course, the justice of our cause, self-reliant, yet humbly, confidently trusting in the arm that guided and protected our fathers, we look beyond the confines of the Union for the maintenance of our rights. An habitual reverence and cherished affection for the government will bind us to it longer than our interests would suggest or require; but he is a poor student of the world's history who does not understand that communities at last must yield to the dictates of their interests. That the affection, the mutual desire for the mutual good, which existed among our fathers, may be weakened in succeeding generations by the denial of right, and hostile demonstration, until the equality guaranteed but not secured within the Union may be sought for without it, must be evident to even a careless observer of our race. It is time to be up and doing. There is yet time to remove the causes of dissension and alienation which are now distracting, and have for years past divided, the country.

“If the senator correctly described me as having at a former period, against my own preferences and opinions, acquiesced in the decision of my party; if, when I had youth, when physical vigor gave promise of many days, and the future was painted in the colors of hope, I could thus surrender my own convictions, my own prejudices, and co-operate with my politi-

cal friends according to their views of the best method of promoting the public good—now, when the years of my future cannot be many, and experience has sobered the hopeful tints of youth's gilding; when, approaching the evening of life, the shadows are reversed, and the mind turns retrospectively, it is not to be supposed that I would abandon lightly, or idly put on trial, the party to which I have steadily adhered. It is rather to be assumed that conservatism, which belongs to the timidity or caution of increasing years, would lead me to cling to, to be supported by, rather than to cast off, the organization with which I have been so long connected. If I am driven to consider the necessity of separating myself from those old and dear relations, of discarding the accustomed support, under circumstances such as I have described, might not my friends who differ from me pause and inquire whether there is not something involved in it which calls for their careful revision?

"I desire no divided flag for the Democratic party.

"Our principles are national; they belong to every State of the Union; and, though elections may be lost by their assertion, they constitute the only foundation on which we can maintain power, on which we can again rise to the dignity the Democracy once possessed. Does not the senator from Illinois see in the sectional character of the vote he received,* that his opinions are not acceptable to every portion of the country? Is not the fact that the resolutions adopted by seventeen States, on which the greatest reliance must be placed for Democratic support, are in opposition to the dogma to which he still clings, a warning that, if he persists and succeeds in forcing his theory upon the Democratic party, its days are numbered? We ask only for the constitution. We ask of the Democracy only from time to time to declare, as current exigencies may indicate, what the constitution was intended to secure and provide. Our flag bears no new device.

* In the Democratic Convention, which had been recently held in Charleston.

Upon its folds our principles are written in living light; all proclaiming the constitutional Union, justice, equality, and fraternity of our ocean-bound domain, for a limitless future."

Mr. Davis had been frequently spoken of in connection with the Presidency of the United States, and at the meeting of the Democratic convention at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1860, he had received a large vote for the nomination—Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, voting for him on 189 ballots—but he had not sought, and did not desire the nomination.

He sided with the section of his party which nominated Breckinridge, but earnestly sought to reconcile the conflicting elements, and, had gotten, by his personal solicitation, both Breckinridge and Bell to agree to withdraw from the canvass on condition that Douglas would do the same, and the three elements could unite on a candidate who could successfully oppose the sectional candidate of the Republicans—Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. But Mr. Douglas absolutely refused to withdraw, the four candidates remained in the field, and the apprehensions of Mr. Davis were realized in the election of Lincoln by a plurality of the *electoral* vote, though by only about *one-third of the popular vote*.

XII.

EFFORTS TO PRESERVE THE UNION,

It has long been the custom of Northern writers to talk flip-pantly about the "secession conspirators," and to denounce Southern Leaders, and especially Mr. Davis, as secretly "plotting to destroy the Union," because of failure to carry out their own ambitious ends, and the "Slaveholders' Rebellion" is held up to eternal execration as a wicked attempt to "destroy the life of the Nation."

Never was there a more unjustifiable attempt to falsify the truth of history, and to shift the responsibility of the war from those who were really the guilty parties to those who *did all in their power to avert it*.

No man ever loved the "Union of the Fathers" more devotedly than Jefferson Davis—no man ever strove more earnestly than he to prevent its dissolution. And when all hope had fled and he followed his Sovereign State in the exercise of her constitutional right of Secession, and was called to be the President of the Confederacy, he did everything in his power to avert war, stood purely on the defensive, and made as purely a *defensive* fight for sacred principles and rights as the world ever saw, or the pen of the historian ever recorded.

But before giving the details of his efforts to avert threatened disunion and war, let us look at an admirable summary of the events that led up to the catastrophe, which he gives in the seventh chapter of his great book—"The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government."

We quote in full as follows :

"When, at the close of the war of the Revolution, each of the thirteen colonies that had been engaged in that contest was severally acknowledged by the mother-country, Great Britain, to be a free and independent State, the confederation of those States embraced an area so extensive, with climate and products so various, that rivalries and conflicts of interest soon began to be manifested. It required all the power of wisdom and patriotism, animated by the affection engendered by common sufferings and dangers, to keep these rivalries under restraint, and to effect those compromises which it was fondly hoped would insure the harmony and mutual good offices of each for the benefit of all. It was in this spirit of patriotism and confidence in the continuance of such abiding good will as would for all time preclude hostile aggression, that Virginia ceded, for the use of the confederated States, all the vast extent of territory lying north of the Ohio river, out of which have since been formed five States and part of a sixth. The addition of these States has accrued entirely to the preponderance of the Northern section over that from which the donation proceeded, and to the disturbance of the equilibrium which existed at the close of the war of the Revolution.

"It may not be out of place here to refer to the fact that the grievances which led to that war were directly inflicted upon the Northern colonies. Those of the South had no material cause of complaint; but, actuated by sympathy for their Northern brethren, and devotion to the principles of civil liberty and community independence, which they had inherited from their Anglo-Saxon ancestry, and which were set forth in the Declaration of Independence, they made common cause with their neighbors, and may, at least, claim to have done their full share in the war that ensued.

"By the exclusion of the South, in 1820, from all that part of the Louisiana purchase lying north of the parallel of thirty-

six degrees thirty minutes, and not included in the State of Missouri; by the extension of that line of exclusion to embrace the territory acquired from Texas; and by the appropriation of *all* the territory obtained from Mexico under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, both north and south of that line, it may be stated with approximate accuracy that the North had monopolized to herself more than three-fourths of all that had been added to the domain of the United States since the Declaration of Independence. This inequality, which began, as has been shown, in the more generous than wise confidence of the South, was employed to obtain for the North the lion's share of what was afterward added at the cost of the public treasure and the blood of patriots. I do not care to estimate the relative proportion contributed by each of the two sections.

"Nor was this the only cause that operated to disappoint the reasonable hopes and to blight the fair prospects under which the original compact was formed. The effects of discriminating duties upon imports have been referred to in a former chapter—favoring the manufacturing region, which was the North; burdening the exporting region, which was the South; and so imposing upon the latter a double tax; one, by the increased price of articles of consumption, which, so far as they were of home production, went into the pockets of the manufacturer; the other, by the diminished value of articles of export, which was so much withheld from the pockets of the agriculturist. In like manner the power of the majority section was employed to appropriate to itself an unequal share of the public disbursements. These combined causes—the possession of more territory, more money, and a wider field for the employment of special labor—all served to attract immigration; and, with increasing population, the greed grew by what it fed on.

"This became distinctly manifest when the so-called 'Republican' convention assembled in Chicago, on May 16, 1860, to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. It was a purely sectional body. There were a few delegates present, representing an insignificant minority in the 'border States,' Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri; but not one from any State south of the celebrated political line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. It had been the invariable usage with nominating conventions of all parties to select candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, one from the North and the other from the South; but this assemblage nominated Mr. Lincoln, of Illinois, for the first office, and for the second, Mr. Hamlin, of Maine—both Northerners. Mr. Lincoln, its nominee for the Presidency, had publicly announced that the Union 'could not permanently endure, half slave and half free.' The resolutions adopted contained some carefully worded declarations, well adapted to deceive the credulous who were opposed to hostile aggressions upon the rights of the States. In order to accomplish this purpose, they were compelled to create a fictitious issue, in denouncing what they described as 'the new dogma that the constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States'—a 'dogma' which had never been held or declared by anybody, and which had no existence outside of their own assertion. There was enough in connection with the nomination to assure the most fanatical foes of the constitution that their ideas would be the rule and guide of the party.

"Meantime, the Democratic party had held a convention, composed, as usual, of delegates from all the States. They met in Charleston, South Carolina, on April 23d, but an unfortunate disagreement with regard to the declaration of principles to be set forth rendered a nomination impracticable. Both divisions of the convention adjourned, and met again in Baltimore in June. Then, having finally failed to

come to an agreement, they separated and made their respective nominations apart. Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, was nominated by the friends of the doctrine of 'popular sovereignty,' with Mr. Fritzpatrick, of Alabama, for the Vice-Presidency. Both these gentlemen at that time were senators from their respective States. Mr. Fritzpatrick promptly declined the nomination, and his place was filled with the name of Mr. Herschel V. Johnson, a distinguished citizen of Georgia.

"The convention representing the conservative, or State-Rights, wing of the Democratic party (the President of which was the Honorable Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts), on the first ballot, unanimously made choice of John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, then Vice-President of the United States, for the first office, and with like unanimity selected General Joseph Lane, then a senator from Oregon, for the second. The resolutions of each of these two conventions denounced the action and policy of the abolition party, as subversive of the constitution and revolutionary in their tendency.

"Another convention was held in Baltimore about the same period* by those who still adhered to the old Whig party, re-enforced by the remains of the 'American' organization, and perhaps some others. This convention also consisted of delegates from all the States, and repudiating all geographical and sectional issues, and declaring it to be 'both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principle other than the constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws,' pledged itself and its supporters 'to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, those great principles of public liberty and national safety against all enemies at home and abroad.'" Its nominees were Messrs. John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, both of whom had long been distinguished members of the Whig party.

*May 19, 1860.

"The people of the United States now had four rival tickets presented to them by as many contending parties, whose respective position and principles on the great and absorbing question at issue may be briefly recapitulated as follows:

"1. The 'Constitutional-Union' party, as it was now termed, led by Messrs. Bell and Everett, which ignored the territorial controversy altogether, and contented itself, as above stated, with a simple declaration of adherence to 'the constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws.'

"2. The party of 'popular sovereignty,' headed by Douglas and Johnson, who affirmed the right of the people of the territories, in their territorial condition, to determine their own organic institutions, independently of the control of Congress denying the power or duty of Congress to protect the persons or property of individuals or minorities in such territories against the action of majorities.

"3. The State-rights party, supporting Breckinridge and Lane, who held that the Territories were open to citizens of all the States, with their property, without any inequality or discrimination, and that it was the duty of the general government to protect both persons and property from aggression in the Territories subject to its control. At the same time they admitted and asserted the right of the people of a Territory, on emerging from their territorial condition to that of a State, to determine what should then be their domestic institutions, as well as all other questions of personal or proprietary right, without interference by Congress, and subject only to the limitations and restrictions prescribed by the constitution of the United States.

"4. The so-called 'Republicans,' presenting the names of Lincoln and Hamlin, who held, in the language of one of their leaders,* that 'slavery can exist only by virtue of municipal law'; that there was 'no law for it in the Territories, and no

* Horace Greeley, "The American Conflict," vol. i, p. 322.

power to enact one"; and that Congress was 'bound to prohibit it in or exclude it from any and every Federal Territory.' In other words, they asserted the right and duty of Congress to exclude the citizens of half the States of the Union from the territory belonging in common to all, unless on condition of the sacrifice or abandonment of their property recognized by the constitution—indeed, of the *only* species of their property distinctly and specifically recognized as such by that instrument.

"On the vital question underlying the whole controversy—that is, whether the Federal government should be a government of the whole for the benefit of all its equal members, or (if it should continue to exist at all) a sectional government for the benefit of a part—the first three of the parties above described were in substantial accord as against the fourth. If they could or would have acted unitedly, they could certainly have carried the election, and averted the catastrophe which followed. Nor were efforts wanting to effect such a union.

"Mr. Bell, the Whig candidate, was a highly respectable and experienced statesman, who had filled many important offices, both State and Federal. He was not ambitious to the extent of coveting the Presidency, and he was profoundly impressed by the danger which threatened the country. Mr. Breckenridge had not anticipated, and it may safely be said did not eagerly desire, the nomination. He was young enough to wait, and patriotic enough to be willing to do so, if the weal of the country required it. Thus much I may confidently assert of both those gentlemen; for each of them authorized me to say that he was willing to withdraw, if an arrangement could be effected by which the divided forces of the friends of the constitution could be concentrated upon some one more generally acceptable than either of the three who had been presented to the country. When I made this announcement to Mr. Douglas—with whom my relations had always been such as to authorize the assurance

that he could not consider it as made in an unfriendly spirit—he replied that the scheme proposed was impracticable, because his friends, mainly Northern Democrats, if he were withdrawn, would join in the support of Mr. Lincoln, rather than of any one that should supplant *him* (Douglas); that he was in the hands of his friends, and was sure they would not accept the proposition.

“It needed but little knowledge of the *status* of parties in the several States to foresee a probable defeat if the conservatives were to continue divided into three parts, and the aggressives were to be held in solid column. But angry passions, which are always bad counsellors, had been aroused, and hopes were still *cherished*, which proved to be illusory. The result was the election, by a *minority*, of a President whose avowed principles were necessarily fatal to the harmony of the Union.

“Of 303 *electoral* votes, Mr. Lincoln received 180, but of the *popular* suffrage of 4,676,853 votes, which the electors represented, he obtained only 1,866,352—something over a third of the votes. This discrepancy was owing to the system of voting by ‘general ticket’—that is, casting the State votes as a unit, whether unanimous or nearly equally divided. Thus, in New York, the total popular vote was 675,156, of which 362,646 were cast for the so-called Republican (or Lincoln) electors, and 312,510 against them. New York was entitled to 35 electoral votes. Divided on the basis of the popular vote, 19 of these would have been cast for Mr. Lincoln, and 16 against him. But under the ‘general ticket’ system the entire 35 votes were cast for the Republican candidates, thus giving them not only the full strength of the majority in their favor, but that of the great minority against them superadded. So of other Northern States, in which the small majorities on one side operated with the weight of entire unanimity, while the virtual unanimity in the Southern States, on the other side, counted nothing more than a mere majority would have done.

"The manifestations which followed this result, in the Southern States, did not proceed, as has been unjustly charged, from chagrin at their defeat in the election, or from any personal hostility to the President-elect, but from the fact that they recognized in him the representative of a party professing principles destructive to 'their peace, their prosperity, and their domestic tranquility.' The long-suppressed fire burst into frequent flame, but it was still controlled by that love of the Union which the South had illustrated on every battle-field, from Boston to New Orleans. Still it was hoped, against hope, that some adjustment might be made to avert the calamities of a practical application of the theory of an 'irrepressible conflict.' Few, if any, then doubted the right of a State to withdraw its grants delegated to the Federal government, or, in other words, to secede from the Union; but in the South it was generally regarded as the remedy of last resort, to be applied only when ruin or dishonor was the alternative. No rash or revolutionary action was taken by the Southern States, but the measures adopted were considerate, and executed advisedly and deliberately. The Presidential election occurred (as far as the popular vote, which determined the result, was concerned) in November, 1860. Most of the State legislatures convened soon afterward in regular session. In some cases special sessions were convoked for the purpose of calling State Conventions—the recognized representatives of the sovereign will of the people—to be elected expressly for the purpose of taking such action as should be considered needful and proper under the existing circumstances

"These conventions, as it was always held and understood, possessed all the power of the people assembled in mass; and therefore it was conceded that they, and they only, could take action for the withdrawal of a State from the Union. The consent of the respective States to the formation of the Union had been giving through such conventions, and it was only by the

same authority that it could properly be revoked. The time required for this deliberate and formal process precludes the idea of hasty or passionate action, and none who admit the primary power of the people to govern themselves can consistently deny its validity and binding obligation upon every citizen of the several States. Not only was there ample time for calm consideration among the people of the South, but for due reflection by the general government and the people of the Northern States.

"President Buchanan was in the last year of his administration. His freedom from sectional asperity, his long life in the public service and his peace-loving and conciliatory character, were all guarantees against his precipitating a conflict between the Federal government and any of the States; but the feeble power that he possessed in the closing months of his term to mold the policy of the future was painfully evident. Like all who had intelligently and impartially studied the history of the formation of the constitution, he held that the Federal government had no rightful power to coerce a State. Like the sages and patriots who preceded him in the high office that he filled, he believed that 'our Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. If it cannot live in the affections of the people, it must one day perish. Congress may possess many means of preserving it by conciliation, but the sword was not placed in their hand to preserve it by force.'—(Message of December 3, 1860.)

"Ten years before, Mr. Calhoun, addressing the Senate with all the earnestness of his nature, and with that sincere desire to avert the danger of disunion which those who knew him best never doubted, had asked the emphatic question, How can the Union be saved? He answered his question thus

"There is but one way by which it can be [saved] with any certainty; and that is by a full and final settlement, on the

principles of justice, of all the questions at issue between the sections. The South asks for justice—simple justice—and less she ought not to take. She has no compromise to offer but the constitution, and no concession or surrender to make.

“Can this be done? Yes, easily. Not by the weaker party; for it can of itself do nothing—not even protect itself—but by the stronger. But will the North agree to this? It is for her to answer this question. But, I will say, she cannot refuse if she has half the love of the Union which she professes to have, nor without exposing herself to the charge that her love of power and aggrandizement is far greater than her love of the Union.’

“During the ten years that intervened between the date of this speech and the message of Mr. Buchanan cited above, the progress of sectional discord and the tendency of the stronger section to unconstitutional aggression had been fearfully rapid. With very rare exceptions, there were none in 1850 who claimed the right of the Federal government to apply coercion to a State. In 1860 men had grown to be familiar with threats of driving the South into submission to any act that the government, in the hands of a Northern majority, might see fit to perform. During the canvass of that year, demonstrations had been made by *quasi*-military organizations in various parts of the North, which looked unmistakably to purposes widely different from those enunciated in the preamble to the constitution, and to the employment of means not authorized by the powers which the States had delegated to the Federal government.

“Well-informed men still remembered that, in the convention which framed the constitution, a proposition was made to authorize the employment of force against a delinquent State, on which Mr. Madison remarked that ‘the use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by

the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might have been bound.' The convention expressly refused to confer the power proposed, and the clause was lost. While, therefore, in 1860, many violent men, appealing to passion and the lust of power, were inciting the multitude, and preparing Northern opinion to support a war waged against the Southern States in the event of their secession, there were others who took a different view of the case. Notable among such was the New York *Tribune* which had been the organ of the abolitionists, and which now declared that, 'if the cotton States wished to withdraw from the Union, they should be allowed to do so'; that 'any attempt to compel them to remain, by force, would be contrary to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and to the fundamental ideas upon which human liberty is based'; and that, 'if the Declaration of Independence justified the secession from the British Empire of three millions of subjects in 1776, it was not seen why it would not justify the secession of five millions of Southerners from the Union in 1861.' Again, it was said by the same journal that, 'sooner than compromise with the South and abandon the Chicago platform,' they would 'let the Union slide.' Taunting expressions were freely used—as, for example, 'If the Southern people wish to leave the Union, we will do our best to forward their views.'

"All this, it must be admitted, was quite consistent with the oft-repeated declaration that the constitution was a 'covenant with hell,' which stood as the caption of a leading abolitionist paper of Boston. That signs of coming danger so visible, evidences of hostility so unmistakable, disregard of constitutional obligations so wanton, taunts and jeers so bitter and insulting, should serve to increase excitement in the South, was a consequence flowing as much from reason and patriotism as from sentiment. He must have been ignorant of human nature who did not expect such a tree to bear fruits of discord and division."

As further illustrating the views of Mr. Davis during this great crisis, we quote a letter which he wrote under date of November 10th, 1860, just after the election of Mr. Lincoln.

Hon. R. B. Rhett, Jr., was one of the ablest secession leaders of South Carolina, and belonged to the ultra wing which favored immediate and separate State action on the election of Mr. Lincoln. The reply of Mr. Davis is the more significant, because, while intended as a private letter and with no expectation of its ever meeting the public eye, he not only does not take the ultra position that has been attributed to him, but counsels the more conservative course of a convention of the Southern States to consider the situation, and determine what would be the wisest action for them to take. But the letter explains itself, and is as follows:

WARREN COUNTY, MISS., Nov. 10, 1860.

Hon. R. B. Rhett, Jr.:

Dear Sir—I had the honor to receive, last night, yours of the 27th ultimo, and hasten to reply to the inquiries propounded. Reports of the election leave little doubt that the event you anticipated has occurred, that electors have been chosen, securing the election of Lincoln, and I will answer on that supposition.

My home is so isolated that I have had no intercourse with those who might have aided me in forming an opinion as to the effect produced on the mind of our people by the result of the recent election, and the impressions which I communicate are founded upon antecedent expressions.

1 I doubt not that the governor of Mississippi has convoked the legislature to assemble within the present month to decide upon the course which the State should adopt in the present emergency. Whether the legislature will direct the call of a convention of the State, or appoint delegates to a convention of such Southern States as may be willing to consult together for the adoption of a Southern plan of action, is doubtful.

2. If a convention of the State were assembled, the proposition to secede from the Union, independently of support from neighboring States, would probably fail.

3. If South Carolina should first secede, and she alone should take such action, the position of Mississippi would not probably be changed by that fact. A powerful obstacle to the separate action of Mississippi is the want of a port; from which follows the consequence that her trade, being still conducted through the ports of the Union, her revenue would be diverted from her own support to that of a foreign government; and being geographically unconnected with South Carolina, an alliance with her would not vary that state of the case. [Sic.]

4. The propriety of separate secession by South Carolina depends so much upon collateral questions that I find it difficult to respond to your last inquiry, for the want of knowledge which would enable me to estimate the value of the elements involved in the issue, though exterior to your State. Georgia is necessary to connect you with Alabama, and thus to make effectual the coöperation of Mississippi. If Georgia would be lost by immediate action, but could be gained by delay, it seems clear to me that you should wait. If the secession of South Carolina should be followed by an attempt to coerce her back into the Union, that act of usurpation, folly, and wickedness would enlist every true Southern man for her defense. If it were attempted to blockade her ports and destroy her trade, a like result would be produced, and the commercial world would probably be added to her allies. It is probable that neither of those measures would be adopted by any administration, but that Federal ships would be sent to collect the duties on imports outside of the bar; that the commercial nations would feel little interest in that; and the Southern States would have little power to counteract it.

The planting States have a common interest of such magnitude, that their union, sooner or later, for the protection of that interest, is certain. United they will have ample power for their own protection, and their exports will make for them allies of all commercial and manufacturing powers.

The new States have a heterogeneous population, and will be slower and less unanimous than those in which there is less of the Northern element in the body politic, but interest controls the policy of States, and finally all the planting communities must reach the same conclusion. *My opinion is, therefore, as it has been, in favor of seeking to bring those States into coöperation before asking for a popular decision upon a new policy and*

relation to the nations of the earth. If South Carolina should resolve to secede before that coöperation can be obtained, to go out leaving Georgia, and Alabama, and Louisiana in the Union, and without any reason to suppose they will follow her, there appears to me to be no advantage in waiting until the government has passed into hostile hands, and men have become familiarized to that injurious and offensive perversion of the general government from the ends for which it was established. I have written with the freedom and carelessness of private correspondence, and regret that I could not give more precise information.

Very respectfully, yours, etc.,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Soon after the election of Mr. Lincoln, the governor of Mississippi issued his proclamation convening the legislature in special session, and invited the United States Senators and members of the House from the State to meet him in conference to discuss the character of the message he should send to the legislature.

In that conference Mr. Davis stood almost alone, and opposed immediate and separate state action so strongly that his colleagues were dissatisfied with his action, and some of them thought him entirely "too slow," if not opposed to secession altogether. The following letter from Hon. O. R. Singleton, a member of the conference, confirms Mr. Davis's own statement of it:

"CANTON, MISSISSIPPI, July 14, 1877.

"In 1860, about the time the ordinance of secession was passed by the South Carolina convention, and while Mississippi, Alabama, and other Southern States were making active preparations to follow her example, a conference of the Mississippi delegation in Congress, Senators and Representatives, was asked for by Governor J. J. Pettus, for consultation as to the course Mississippi ought to take in the premises.

"The meeting took place in the fall of 1860, at Jackson, the capital, the whole delegation being present, with perhaps the exception of one representative.

"The main question for consideration was: 'Shall Mississippi, as soon as her convention can meet, pass an ordinance of secession, thus placing herself by the side of South Carolina, regardless of the action of other States; or shall she endeavor to hold South Carolina in check, and delay action herself, until other States can get ready, through their conventions, to unite with them, and then, on a given day and at a given hour, by concert of action, all the States willing to do so, secede in a body?'

"Upon the one side, it was argued that South Carolina could not be induced to delay action a single moment beyond the meeting of her convention, and that our fate should be hers, and to delay action would be to have her crushed by the Federal government; whereas, by the earliest action possible, we might be able to avert this calamity. On the other side, it was contended that delay might bring the Federal government to consider the emergency of the case, and perhaps a compromise could be effected; but, if not, then the proposed concert of action would at least give dignity to the movement, and present an undivided Southern front.

"The debate lasted many hours, and Mr. Davis, with perhaps one other gentleman in that conference, opposed immediate and separate State action, declaring himself opposed to secession as long as the hope of a peaceable remedy remained. He did not believe we ought to precipitate the issue, as he felt certain from his knowledge of the people, North and South, that, once there was a clash of arms, the contest would be one of the most sanguinary the world had ever witnessed.

"A majority of the meeting decided that no delay should be interposed to separate State action, Mr. Davis being on the other side; but, after the vote was taken and the question decided, Mr. Davis declared he would stand by whatever action the convention representing the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi might think proper to take.

"After the conference was ended, several of its members were dissatisfied with the course of Mr. Davis, believing that he was entirely opposed to secession, and was seeking to delay action upon the part of Mississippi, with the hope that it might be entirely averted.

"In some unimportant respects my memory may be at fault, and possibly some of the inferences drawn may be incorrect;

but every material statement made, I am sure, is true, and, if need be, can be easily substantiated by other persons.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
(Signed) O. R. SINGLETON.”

Mr. Davis was active and earnest in his efforts to effect a compromise and reach a basis which would permit the Southern States to remain in the Union. He was a member of the committee of the Senate to whom was referred the famous “Crittenden compromise,” and avowed himself willing to accept *that* or any other plan that the opposing factions could agree upon, and that promised any reasonable hope of success. But the “Republican” members of the committee rejected absolutely *everything* that the Northern and Southern Democrats and Whigs agreed on, and seemed determined *not* to consent to anything that promised a settlement. On the 10th of December, Mr. Davis closed an able and eloquent speech as follows:

“This Union is dear to me as a Union of fraternal States. It would lose its value if I had to regard it as a Union held together by physical force. I would be happy to know that every State now felt that fraternity which made this Union possible; and, if that evidence could go out, if evidence satisfactory to the people of the South could be given that that feeling existed in the hearts of the Northern people, you might burn your statute books and we would cling to the Union still. But it is because of their conviction that hostility, and not fraternity, now exists in the hearts of the people, that they are looking to their reserved rights and to their independent powers for their own protection. If there be any good, then, which we can do, it is by sending evidence to them of that which I fear does not exist—the purpose of your constituents to fulfil in the spirit of justice and fraternity all their constitutional obligations. If you can submit to them that evidence, I feel confidence that, with the assurance that aggression is henceforth to cease, will terminate all the measures for defense. Upon you of the majority section it depends to restore peace and perpetuate the Union of equal States; upon us of the minority section

rests the duty to maintain our equality and community rights; and the means in one case or the other must be such as each can control."

Mr. Davis, in his book, has ably and triumphantly vindicated himself and other Southern Senators and Representatives from the oft-repeated slander that they were members of a secret "cabal," plotting the destruction of the Union, and shows that he did everything in his power to avert the calamity.

He quotes the following clear and conclusive reply of his intimate friend, Hon. C. C. Clay, of Alabama, to certain phases of this slander to which his attention had been called:

"The import is, that Mr. Davis, disappointed and chagrined at not receiving the nomination of the Democratic party for President of the United States in 1860, took the lead on the assembling of Congress in December, 1860, in a 'conspiracy' of Southern Senators which planned the secession of the Southern States from the Union,' and 'on the night of January 5, 1861, . . . framed the scheme of revolution which was implicitly and promptly followed at the South.' In other words, that Southern Senators (and, chief among them, Jefferson Davis), then and there, instigated and induced the Southern States to secede.

'I am quite sure that Mr. Davis neither expected nor desired the nomination for the Presidency of the United States in 1860. He never evinced any such aspiration, by word or sign, to me—with whom he was, I believe, as intimate and confidential as with any person outside of his own family. On the contrary, he requested the delegation from Mississippi not to permit the use of his name before the convention. And, after the nomination of both Douglas and Breckinridge, he conferred with them, at the instance of leading Democrats, to persuade them to withdraw, that their friends might unite on some second choice—an office he would never have undertaken, had he sought the nomination or believed that he was regarded as an aspirant.

"Mr. Davis did not take an active part in planning or hastening secession. I think he only *regretfully* consented to it, as a political necessity for the preservation of popular and State rights, which were seriously threatened by the triumph of a sectional party who were pledged to make war on them. I know that some leading men, and even Mississippians, thought him too moderate and backward, and found fault with him for not taking a leading part in secession.

"No plan of secession' or 'scheme of revolution' was, to my knowledge, discussed—certainly none matured—at the caucus, 5th of January, 1861, unless, forsooth, the resolutions appended hereto be so held. They comprise the sum and substance of what was said and done. I never heard that the caucus advised the South 'to accumulate munitions of war,' or 'to organize and equip an army of one hundred thousand men,' or determined 'to hold on as long as possible to the Southern seats.' So far from it, a majority of Southern Senators seemed to think there would be no war; that the dominant party in the North desired separation from the South, and would gladly let their 'erring sisters go in peace.' I could multiply proofs of such a disposition. As to holding on to their seats, no Southern legislature advised it, no Southern Senator who favored secession did so but one, and none others wished to do so, I believe.

"The 'plan of secession,' if any, and the purpose of secession, unquestionably, originated, not in Washington city, or with the Senators or Representatives of the South, but among the people of the several States, many months before it was attempted. They followed no leaders at Washington or elsewhere, but acted for themselves, with an independence and unanimity unprecedented in any movement of such magnitude. Before the meeting of the caucus of January 5, 1861, South Carolina had seceded, and Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana and Texas had taken the initial step of secession, by calling conventions for its accomplishment. Before the elec-

tion of Lincoln, all the Southern States, excepting one or two, had pledged themselves to separate from the Union upon the triumph of a sectional party in the presidential election, by acts or resolutions of their legislatures, resolves of both Democratic and Whig State conventions, and of primary assemblies of the people—in every way in which they could commit themselves to any future act. Their purpose was proclaimed to the world through the press and telegraph, and criticised in Congress, in the Northern legislatures, in press and pulpit, and on the hustings, during many months before Congress met in December, 1860.

“Over and above all these facts, the reports of the United States Senate show that, prior to the 5th of January, 1861, Southern Senators united with Northern Democratic Senators in an effort to effect pacification and prevent secession, and that Jefferson Davis was one of a committee appointed by the Senate to consider and report such a measure; that it failed because the Northern Republicans opposed everything that looked to peace; that Senator Douglas arraigned them as trying to precipitate secession, referred to Jefferson Davis as one who sought conciliation, and called upon the Republican Senators to tell what they would do, if anything, to restore harmony and prevent disunion. They did not even deign a response. Thus, by their sullen silence, they made confession (without avoidance) of their stubborn purpose to hold up no hand raised to maintain the Union. . . .”

But events hastened; his sovereign state seceded from the Union, and Mr. Davis did not hesitate to obey her mandate and follow her lead

On the 20th of January, 1861, he wrote the following tender letter to his old friend, President Franklin Pierce:

“WASHINGTON, D. C., January 20, 1861.

“*My Dear Friend:* I have often and sadly turned my thoughts to you during the troublous times through which we

have been passing, and now I come to the hard task of announcing to you that the hour is at hand which closes my connection with the United States, for the independence and union of which my father toiled and in the service of which I have sought to emulate the example he set for my guidance. Mississippi, not as a matter of choice, but of necessity, has resolved to enter on the trial of secession. Those who have driven her to this alternative threaten to deprive her of the right to require that her government shall rest on the consent of the governed, to substitute foreign force for domestic support, to reduce a State to the condition from which the colony rose. In the attempt to avoid the issue which had been joined by the country, the present administration has complicated and precipitated the question. Even now, if the duty to 'preserve the public property' was rationally regarded, the probable collision at Charleston would be avoided. Security far better than any which the Federal troops can give might be obtained in consideration of the little garrison of Fort Sumter. If the disavowal of any purpose to coerce South Carolina be sincere, the possession of a work to command the harbor is worse than useless.

"When Lincoln comes in he will have but to continue in the path of his predecessor to inaugurate a civil war, and leave a soi-disant Democratic administration responsible for the fact. General Cushing was here last week, and when he parted it seemed like taking a last leave of a brother.

"I leave immediately for Mississippi, and know not what may devolve upon me after my return. Civil war has only horror for me, but whatever circumstances may demand shall be met as a duty, and I trust be so discharged that you will not be ashamed of our former connection or cease to be my friend.

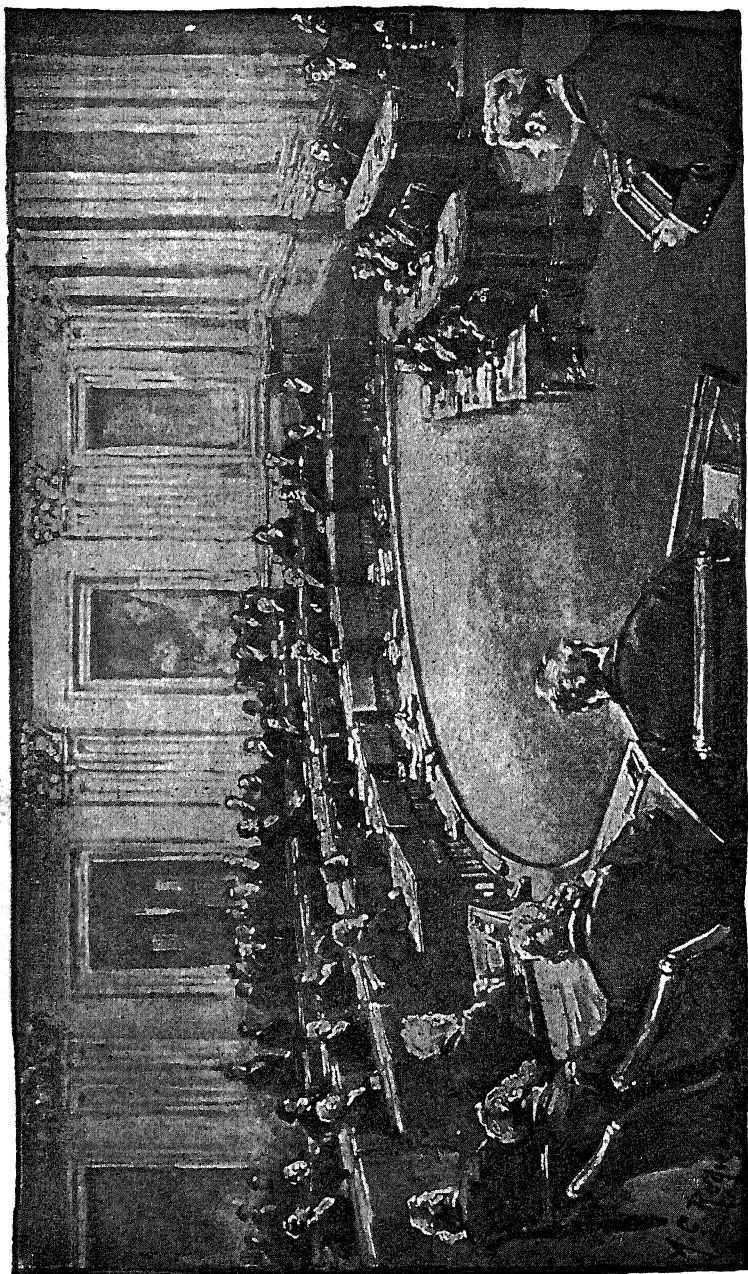
"Mrs. Davis joins me in kind remembrance to Mrs. Pierce, and the expression of the hope that we may yet have you both at our country home. Do me the favor to write to me often. Address Hurricane P. O., Warren county, Miss.

May God bless you, is ever the prayer of your friend,

"President F. Pierce.

"JEFF'N DAVIS."

The next day he delivered his famous "Farewell to the Senate," which so fully expresses his views and so ably vindicates



DAVIS'S FAREWELL TO THE SENATE.

cates his own course and that of those who acted with him, that we give it in full.

SPEECH OF HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS, ON WITHDRAWING FROM THE
U. S. SENATE, JAN. 21, 1861.

"MR. DAVIS: I rise, Mr. President, for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by a solemn ordinance of her people, in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course, my functions are terminated here. It has seemed to me proper, however, that I should appear in the Senate to announce that fact to my associates, and I will say but very little more. The occasion does not invite me to go into argument; and my physical condition would not permit me to do so, if otherwise; and yet it seems to become me to say something on the part of a State I here represent, on an occasion so solemn as this.

"It is known to Senators who have served with me here, that I have, for many years, advocated, as an essential attribute of State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had not believed there was justifiable cause; if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation, or without an existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the Government, because of my allegiance to the State of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action. I, however, may be permitted to say that I do think she has justifiable cause, and I approve of her act. I conferred with her people before that act was taken, counseled them then that if the state of things which they apprehended should exist when the convention met, they should take the action which they have now adopted.

"I hope none who hear me will confound this expression of mine with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union, and to disregard its constitutional obligations by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Nullification

and secession, so often confounded, are, indeed, antagonistic principles. Nullification is a remedy which it is sought to apply within the Union, and against the agent of the States. It is only to be justified when the agent has violated his constitutional obligations, and a State, assuming to judge for itself, denies the right of the agent thus to act, and appeals to the other States of the Union for a decision; but when the States themselves, and when the people of the States, have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the doctrine of secession in its practical application.

"A great man who now reposes with his fathers, and who has often been arraigned for a want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of nullification because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep-seated attachment to the Union—his determination to find some remedy for existing ills short of a severance of the ties which bound South Carolina to the other States, that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of nullification, which he proclaimed to be peaceful—to be within the limits of State power, not to disturb the Union, but only to be a means of bringing the agent before the tribunal of the States for their judgment.

"Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign. There was a time when none denied it. I hope the time may come again, when a better comprehension of the theory of our government, and the inalienable rights of the people of the States, will prevent any one from denying that each State is a sovereign, and thus may reclaim the grants which it has made to any agent whomsoever.

"I, therefore, say I concur in the action of the people of Mississippi, believing it to be necessary and proper, and should have been bound by their action if my belief had been otherwise; and this brings me to the important point which I wish

on this last occasion, to present to the Senate. It is by this confounding of nullification and secession, that the name of a great man, whose ashes now mingle with his mother earth, has been evoked to justify coercion against a seceded State. The phrase, 'to execute the laws,' was an expression which General Jackson applied to the case of a State refusing to obey the laws while yet a member of the Union. That is not the case which is now presented. The laws are to be executed over the United States, and upon the people of the United States. They have no relation to any foreign country. It is a perversion of terms—at least it is a great misapprehension of the case—which cites that expression for application to a State which has withdrawn from the Union. You may make war on a foreign State. If it be the purpose of gentlemen, they make war against a State which has withdrawn from the Union; but there are no laws of the United States to be executed within the limits of a seceded State. A State, finding herself in the condition in which Mississippi has judged she is—in which her safety requires that she should provide for the maintenance of her rights out of the Union—surrenders all the benefits (and they are known to be many), deprives herself of the advantages (and they are known to be great), severs all the ties of affection (and they are close and enduring), which have bound her to the Union; and thus divesting herself of every benefit—taking upon herself every burden—she claims to be exempt from any power to execute the laws of the United States within her limits.

"I well remember an occasion when Massachusetts was arraigned before the bar of the Senate, and when the doctrine of coercion was rife, and to be applied against her, because of the rescue of a fugitive slave in Boston. My opinion then was the same that it is now. Not in a spirit of egotism, but to show that I am not influenced, in my opinion, because the case is my own, I refer to that time and that occasion, as con-

taining the opinion which I then entertained, and on which my present conduct is based. I then said that if Massachusetts, following her through a stated line of conduct, choose to take the last step which separates her from the Union, it is her right to go, and I will neither vote one dollar nor one man to coerce her back; but will say to her, God speed, in memory of the kind associations which once existed between her and the other States.

"It has been a conviction of pressing necessity—it has been a belief that we are to be deprived, in the Union, of the rights which our fathers bequeathed to us—which was brought Mississippi into her present decision. She has heard proclaimed the theory that all men are created free and equal, and this made the basis of an attack upon her social institutions; and the sacred Declaration of Independence has been invoked to maintain the position of the equality of the races. The Declaration of Independence is to be construed by the circumstances and purposes for which it was made. The communities were declaring their independence; the people of those communities were asserting that no man was born, to use the language of Mr. Jefferson, booted and spurred, to ride over the rest of mankind; that men were created equal—meaning the men of the political community; that there was no divine right to rule; that no man inherited the right to govern; that there were no classes by which power and place descended to families; but that all stations were equally within the grasp of each member of the body politic. These were the great principles they announced; these were the purposes for which they made their declaration; these were the ends to which their enunciation was directed. They have no reference to the slave; else, how happened it, that, among the items of arraignment against George III, was, that he endeavored to do just what the North has been endeavoring of late to do, to stir up insurrection among our slaves. Had the Declaration

announced that the negroes were free and equal, how was the prince to be arraigned for raising up insurrection among them? And how was this to be enumerated among the high crimes which caused the colonies to sever their connection with the mother country? When our constitution was formed, the same idea was rendered more palpable; for there we find provision made for that very class of persons as property; they were not put upon the footing of equality with white men—not even upon that of paupers and convicts; but, so far as representation was concerned, were discriminated against as a lower caste, only to be represented in the numerical portion of three-fifths.

“Then, Senators, we recur to the compact which binds us together; we recur to the principles upon which our government was founded; and when you deny them, and when you deny to us the right to withdraw from a government, which, thus perverted, threatens to be destructive of our rights, we but tread in the path of our fathers when we proclaim our independence, and take the hazard. This is done, not in hostility to others—not to injure any section of the country—not even for our own pecuniary benefit; but from the high and solemn motive of defending and protecting the rights we inherited, and which it is our duty to transmit unshorn to our children.

“I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents toward yours. I am sure I feel no hostility toward you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such, I am sure, is the feeling of the people whom I represent toward those whom you represent. I therefore feel that I but express their desire, when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceable relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in

the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country; and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God, and in our firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we may.

"In the course of my services here, associated, at different times, with a great variety of Senators, I see now around me some with whom I have served long; there have been points of collision, but whatever of offense there has been to me, I leave here—I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offense I have given, which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, Senators, in this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which, in the heat of discussion, I have inflicted. I go hence unincumbered of the remembrance of any injury received, and having discharged the duty of making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered.

"Mr. President and Senators, having made the announcement which the occasion seemed to me to require, it only remains for me to bid you a final adieu."

XIII.

“WAS DAVIS A TRAITOR?”

We have borrowed the title of a book by Dr. Albert Taylor Bledsoe, which is one of the ablest and most conclusive arguments we have ever seen, and which as completely demonstrates the negative of this proposition as this distinguished professor ever worked out a problem or demonstrated a proposition to a class in mathematics.

We cannot, of course, within the proper limits and scope of this volume, go into any full discussion of this question. We refer the reader rather to Dr. Bledsoe's book, to "The Republic of Republics," to A. H. Stephens's "War Between the States," to Dr. R. L. Dabney's "Defence of Virginia and the South," and especially to Mr. Davis's own great book on "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government."

Instead of our own statement of the case we prefer to give what some of our ablest men have said.

And first we quote the ably expressed views of Benjamin J. Williams, Esq., of Massachusetts, as written in 1886, in response to some bitter things in some of the Northern papers concerning the splendid ovation which the people of Alabama and Georgia had recently given their loved ex-President:

“DIED FOR THEIR STATE.”

By BENJAMIN J. WILLIAMS, of Massachusetts.

[Lowell, Mass., *Weekly Sun*, June 5, 1885.]

“The communication printed below is from the pen of Mr. Benjamin J. Williams, of Lowell, Mass., and treats of a sub-

ject of deepest interest to the people of this country, North and South. It treats of Mr. Jefferson Davis and his connection with the Southern Confederacy from a Southern standpoint. The writer handles his subject in a manner unfamiliar to our readers, who, if they do not agree with the sentiments expressed, will at least find it a very interesting and instructive communication, particularly at this time.

“Editor of the Sun:

“Dear Sir—The demonstrations in the South in honor of Mr. Jefferson Davis, the ex-President of the Confederate States, are certainly of a remarkable character, and furnish matter for profound consideration. Mr. Davis, twenty-one years after the fall of the Confederacy, suddenly emerging from his long retirement, journeys among his people to different prominent points, there to take part in public observances more or less directly commemorative, respectively, of the cause of the Confederacy, and of those who strove and died for it, and everywhere he receives from the people the most overwhelming manifestations of heartfelt affection, devotion and reverence, exceeding even any of which he was the recipient in the time of his power; such manifestations as no existing ruler in the world can obtain from his people, and such as probably were never before given to a public man, old, out of office, with no favors to dispense, and disfranchised.

“Such homage is significant, startling. It is given, as Mr. Davis himself has recognized, not to him alone, but to the cause whose chief representative he is. And it is useless to attempt to deny, disguise, or evade the conclusion that there must be something great, and noble, and true in him and in the cause to evoke this homage. As for Mr. Davis himself, the student of American history has not yet forgotten that it was his courage, self-possession and leadership, that in the very crisis of the battle at Buena Vista won for his country her proudest victory upon foreign fields of war; that as Secretary

of War in Mr. Pierce's administration, he was its master-spirit, and that he was the recognized leader of the United States Senate at the time of the secession of the Southern States. For his character there let it be stated by his enemy but admirer, Massachusetts's own Henry Wilson. 'The clear-headed, practical, dominating Davis,' said Mr. Wilson in a speech made during the war, while passing in review the great Southern Senators who had withdrawn with their States.

"When the seceding States formed their new Confederacy, in recognition of Mr. Davis's varied and predominant abilities, he was unanimously chosen as its chief magistrate. And from the hour of his arrival at Montgomery to assume that office, when he spoke the memorable words, 'We are determined to make all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel,' all through the Confederacy's four years' unequal struggle for independence down to his last appeal as its chief, in his defiant proclamation from Danville, after the fall of Richmond, 'Let us not despair, my countrymen, but meet the foe with fresh defiance, and with unconquered and unconquerable hearts,' he exhibited everywhere and always the same proud and unyielding spirit, so expressive of his sanguine and resolute temper, which no disasters could subdue, which sustained him even when it could no longer sustain others, and which, had it been possible, would of itself have assured the independence of the Confederacy. And when at last the Confederacy had fallen, literally overpowered by immeasurably superior numbers and means, and Mr. Davis was a prisoner, subjected to the grossest indignities, his proud spirit remained unbroken, and never since the subjugation of his people has he abated in the least his assertion of the cause for which they struggled. The seductions of power or interest may move lesser men, that matters not to him; the cause of the Confederacy, as a fixed moral and constitutional principle, unaffected by the triumph of physical force, he asserts to-day

as unequivocally as when he was seated in its executive chair at Richmond, in apparently irreversible power, with its victorious legions at his command. Now, when we consider all this, what Mr. Davis has been, and most of all, what he is to-day in the moral greatness of his position, can we wonder that his people turn aside from time-servers and self-seekers, and from all the common-place chaff of life, and render to him that spontaneous and grateful homage which is his due?

“And we cannot, indeed, wonder when we consider the cause for which Mr. Davis is so much to his people. Let Mr. Davis himself state it, for no one else can do it so well. In his recent address at the laying of the corner-stone of the Confederate monument at Montgomery, he said: ‘I have come to join you in the performance of a sacred task, to lay the foundation of a monument at the cradle of the Confederate government, which shall commemorate the gallant sons of Alabama who died for their country, who gave their lives a free-will offering in defence of the rights of their sires, won in the war of the Revolution, the State sovereignty, freedom and independence, which were left to us an inheritance to their posterity forever.’ These masterful words, ‘the rights of their sires, won in the war of the Revolution, the State sovereignty, freedom and independence, which were left to us as an inheritance to their posterity forever,’ are the whole case, and they are not only a statement, but a complete justification of the Confederate cause to all who are acquainted with the origin and character of the American Union.

“When the original thirteen colonies threw off their allegiance to Great Britain, they became independent States, ‘independent of her and of each other,’ as the great Luther Martin expressed it in the Federal convention. This independence was at first a revolutionary one, but afterwards, by its recognition by Great Britain, it became legal. The recognition was of States separately, each by name, in the treaty of

peace which terminated the war of the Revolution. And that this separate recognition was deliberate and intentional, with the distinct object of recognizing the States as separate sovereignties, and not as one nation, will sufficiently appear by reference to the sixth volume of Bancroft's *History of the United States*. The articles of confederation between the States declared, that 'each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence.' And the constitution of the United States, which immediately followed, was first adopted by the States in convention, each State casting one vote, as a proposed plan of government; and then ratified by the States separately, each State acting for itself in its sovereign and independent capacity, through a convention of its people. And it was by this ratification that the constitution was established, to use its own words, 'between the States so ratifying the same.' It is then a compact between the States as sovereigns, and the Union created by it is a federal partnership of States, the Federal government being their common agent for the transaction of the Federal business within the limits of the delegated powers. As to the new States, which have been formed from time to time from the territories, when they were in a territorial condition, the sovereignty over them, respectively, was in the States of the Union, and when they, respectively, formed a constitution and State government and were admitted into the Union, the sovereignty passed to them, respectively, and they stood in the Union each upon an equal footing with the original States, parties with them to the constitutional compact.

"In the case of a partnership between persons for business purposes, it is a familiar principle of law, that its existence and continuance are purely a voluntary matter on the part of its members, and that a member may at any time withdraw from and dissolve the partnership at his pleasure; and it makes no difference in the application of this principle if the partnership, by its terms, be for fixed time or perpetual—

it not being considered by the law sound policy to hold men together in business association against their will. Now if a partnership between persons is purely voluntary and subject to the will of its members severally, how much more so is one between sovereign States; and it follows that, just as each State separately, in the exercise of its sovereign will, entered the Union, so may it separately, in the exercise of that will, withdraw therefrom. And, further, the constitution being a compact, to which the States are parties, 'having no common judge,' 'each party has an equal right to judge for itself as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress,' as declared by Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, in the celebrated resolutions of '98, and the right of secession irresistibly follows. But aside from the doctrine either of partnership or compact, upon the ground of State sovereignty, pure and simple, does the right of State secession impregnably rest. Sovereignty, as defined by political commentators, is 'the right of commanding in the last resort.' And just as a State of the Union, in the exercise of this right, by her ratification of the constitution, delegated the powers therein given to the Federal government, and acceded to the Union; so may she in the exercise of the same right, by repealing that ratification, withdraw the delegated powers, and secede from the Union. The act of ratification by the State is the law which makes the Union for it, and the act of repeal of that ratification is the law which dissolves it.

"It appears, then, from this view of the origin and character of the American Union, that when the Southern States, deeming the constitutional compact broken, and their own safety and happiness in imminent danger, in the Union, withdrew therefrom and organized their new Confederacy, they but asserted, in the language of Mr. Davis, 'the rights of their sires won in the war of the Revolution, the State sovereignty, freedom and independence which were

left to us as an inheritance to their posterity forever,' and it was in defence of this high and sacred cause that the Confederate soldiers sacrificed their lives. There was no need for war. The action of the Southern States was legal and constitutional, and history will attest that it was reluctantly taken in the last extremity, in the hope of thereby saving their whole constitutional rights and liberties from destruction by Northern aggression, which had just culminated in triumph at the presidential election, by the union of the North as a section against the South. But the North, left in possession of the old government of the Union, flushed with power, and angry lest its destined prey should escape, found a ready pretext for war. Immediately upon secession, by force of the act itself, the jurisdiction of the seceding States, respectively, over the forts, arsenals, and dockyards within their limits, which they had before ceded to the federal government for federal purposes, reverted to and reinvested in them respectively. They were of course entitled to immediate repossession of these places, essential to their defence in the exercise of their reassumed powers of war and peace, leaving all questions of mere property value apart for separate adjustment. In most cases the seceding States repossessed themselves of these places without difficulty; but in some the forces of the United States still kept possession. Among these last was Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. South Carolina in vain demanded the peaceful possession of this fortress, offering at the same time to arrange for the value of the same as property, and sent commissioners to Washington to treat with the Federal government for the same, as well as for the recognition of her independence. But all her attempts to treat were repulsed or evaded, as likewise were those subsequently made by the Confederate government. Of course the Confederacy could not continue to allow a foreign power to hold possession of a fortress dominating the harbor of her chief Atlantic seaport: and

the Federal government having sent a powerful expedition with reinforcements for Fort Sumter, the Confederate government at last proceeded to reduce it. The reduction, however, was a bloodless affair; while the captured garrison received all the honors of war, and were at once sent North, with every attention to their comfort, and without even their parole being taken.

"But forthwith President Lincoln at Washington issued his call for militia to coerce the seceding States; the cry rang all over the North that the flag had been fired upon; and amidst the tempest of passion which that cry everywhere raised the Northern militia responded with alacrity, the South was invaded, and a war of subjugation, destined to be the most gigantic which the world has ever seen, was begun by the Federal government against the seceding States, in complete and amazing disregard of the foundation principle of its own existence, as affirmed in the Declaration of Independence, that 'governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,' and as established by the war of the Revolution for the people of the States respectively. The South accepted the contest thus forced upon her with the eager and resolute courage characteristic of her proud-spirited people. But the Federal government, though weak in right, was strong in power; for it was sustained by the mighty and multitudinous North. In effect, the war became one between the States; between the Northern States, represented by the Federal government, upon the one side, and the Southern States, represented by the Confederate government, upon the other—the border Southern States being divided.

"The odds in numbers and means in favor of the North were tremendous. Her white population of nearly twenty millions was fourfold that of the strictly Confederate territory; and from the border Southern States and communities of Missouri, Kentucky, East Tennessee, West Virginia, Maryland, and

Delaware, she got more men and supplies for her armies than the Confederacy got for hers. Kentucky alone furnished as many men to the Northern armies as Massachusetts. In available money and credit, the advantage of the North was vastly greater than in population, and it included the possession of all the chief centres of banking and commerce. Then she had the possession of the old government, its capital, its army and navy, and mostly, its arsenals, dockyards, and workshops, with all their supplies of arms and ordnance, and military and naval stores of every kind and the means of manufacturing the same. Again, the North, as a manufacturing and mechanical people, abounded in factories and workshops of every kind, immediately available for the manufacture of every species of supplies for the army and navy; while the South, as an agricultural people, were almost wanting in such resources. Finally, in the possession of the recognized government, the North was in full and free communication with all nations, and had full opportunity, which she improved to the utmost, to import and bring in from abroad not only supplies of all kinds, but men as well for her service; while the South, without a recognized government, and with her ports speedily blockaded by the Federal navy, was almost entirely shut up within herself and her own limited resources.

"Among all these advantages possessed by the North, the first, the main and decisive, was the navy. Given her all but this and they would have been ineffectual to prevent the establishment of the Confederacy. That arm of her strength was at the beginning of the war in an efficient state, and it was rapidly augmented and improved. By it, the South being almost without naval force, the North was enabled to sweep and blockade her coasts everywhere, and so, aside from the direct distress inflicted, to prevent foreign recognition; to capture, one after another, her seaports; to sever and cut up her country in every direction through its great rivers; to gain lodgments at many

points within her territory, from which numerous destructive raids were sent out in all directions; to transport troops and supplies to points where their passage by land would have been difficult or impossible; and finally to cover, protect and save, as by the navy was so often done, the defeated and otherwise totally destroyed armies of the North in the field. But for the navy Grant's army was lost at Shiloh; but for it on the Peninsula, in the second year of the war, McClellan's army, notwithstanding his masterly retreat from his defeats before Richmond, was lost to a man, and the independence of the Confederacy established. After a glorious four years' struggle against such odds as have been depicted, during which independence was often almost secured, when successive levies of armies, amounting in all to nearly three millions of men, had been hurled against her, the South, shut off from all the world, wasted, rent and desolate, bruised and bleeding, was at last overpowered by main strength; outfought, never; for, from first to last, she everywhere outfought the foe. The Confederacy fell, but she fell not until she had achieved immortal fame. Few great established nations in all time have ever exhibited capacity and direction in government equal to hers, sustained as she was by the iron will and fixed persistence of the extraordinary man who was her chief; and few have ever won such a series of brilliant victories as that which illuminates forever the annals of her splendid armies, while the fortitude and patience of her people, and particularly of her noble women, under almost incredible trials and sufferings, have never been surpassed in the history of the world.

"Such exalted character and achievement were not all in vain. Though the Confederacy fell as an actual physical power, she lives illustrated by them, eternally in her just cause, the cause of constitutional liberty. And Mr. Davis's Southern tour is nothing less than a vertical moral triumph for that cause and for himself as its faithful chief, manifesting to the

world that the cause still lives in the hearts of the Southern people, and that its resurrection in the body in fitting hour may yet come.

"Here, in the North, that is naturally presumptuous and arrogant in her vast material power, and where consequently but little attention has, in general, been given to the study of the nature and principles of constitutional liberty, as connected with the rights of States, there is, nevertheless, an increasing understanding and appreciation of the Confederate cause, particularly here in the New England States, whose position and interests in the Union are, in many respects, peculiar, and perhaps require that these States, quite as much as those of the South, should be the watchful guardians of the State sovereignty. Mingled with this increasing understanding and appreciation of the Confederate cause, naturally comes also a growing admiration of its devoted defenders; and the time may yet be when the Northern as well as the Southern heart will throb reverently to the proud words upon the Confederate monument at Charleston:—

'These died for their State.'

"BENJ. J. WILLIAMS."

One of the clearest vindications of the South, in brief space, which we have seen was from the pen of that scientist of world-wide fame, Commodore M. F. Maury, and we quote it in full from the *Southern Historical Society Papers*. Vol. I, pp. 49-61.

A VINDICATION OF VIRGINIA AND THE SOUTH.

BY COMMODORE M. F. MAURY.

"[NOTE.—The following paper is not the production of a partisan or a politician, but of a great scientist whose fame is world-wide, and whose utterances will have weight among the Nations and in the ages to come.

"This able vindication will derive additional interest and value from the statement that it was not written amid the storms of the war, but in his quiet mountain home, in May, 1871, not long before the world was deprived of his priceless services. It was, in fact, the last thing he

ever prepared for the press (the MSS. bears the marks of his final revision), and should go on the record as the dying testimony of one whose character was above reproach, and whose conspicuous services to the cause of science and humanity entitle him to a hearing.]

"One hundred years ago we were thirteen British Colonies, remonstrating and disputing with the mother country in discontent. After some years spent in fruitless complaints against the policy of the British government towards us, the colonies resolved to sever their connection with Great Britain, that they might be first independent, and then proceed to govern themselves in their own way. At the same time they took counsel together and made common cause. They declared certain truths to be self-evident, and proclaimed the right of every people to alter or amend their forms of government as to them may seem fit. They pronounced this right an *inalienable* right, and declared 'that when a long train of abuses and usurpations evinces a design on the part of the government to reduce a people to absolute despotism, it is their right, *it is their duty*, to throw off such government.' In support of these declarations the people of that day, in the persons of their representatives, pledging themselves, their fortunes and their sacred honor, went to war, and in the support of their cause appealed to Divine Providence for protection. Under these doctrines we and our fathers grew up, and we were taught to regard them with a reverence almost holy, and to believe in them with quite a religious belief.

"In the war that ensued, the colonies triumphed; and in the treaty of peace, Great Britain acknowledged each one of her revolted colonies to be a *nation*, endowed with all the attributes of sovereignty, independent of her, of each other and of all other temporal powers whatsoever. These new-born nations were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia—thirteen in all.

"At that time all the country west of the Alleghany mountains was a wilderness. All that part of which lies north of the Ohio river and east of the Mississippi, called the Northwest Territory, and out of which the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota have since been carved, belonged to Virginia. She exercised dominion over it, and in her resided the rights of undisputed sovereignty. These thirteen powers, which were then as independent of each other as France is of Spain, or Brazil is of Peru, or as any other nation can be of another, concluded to unite and form a compact, called the constitution, the main objects of which were to estab-

lish justice, secure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare. To this end they established a vicarious government, and named it the United States. This instrument had for its corner-stone the aforementioned *inalienable* rights. With the assertion of these precious rights—which are so dear to the hearts of all true Virginians—fresh upon their lips, each one of these thirteen States, signatories to this compact, delegated to this new government so much of her own sovereign powers as were deemed necessary for the accomplishment of its objects, reserving to herself all the powers, prerogatives and attributes not specifically granted or specially enumerated. Nevertheless, Virginia, through abundant caution, when she fixed her seal to this constitution, did so with the express declaration, in behalf of her people, that the powers granted under it might be resumed by them whenever the same should be perverted to their injury or oppression; that ‘no right, of any denomination, can be canceled, abridged, restrained or modified by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representatives, acting in any capacity, by the President, or any department, or officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the constitution for those purposes.’ With this agreement, with a solemn appeal to the ‘Searcher of all hearts’ for the purity of their intentions, our delegates, in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, proceeded to accept and to ratify the constitution for the government of the United States.* Thus the government at Washington was created.

“But it did not go into operation until the other States—parties to the contract—had accepted by their act of signature and tacit agreement the conditions which Virginia required to be understood as the terms on which she accepted the constitution and agreed to become one of the UNITED STATES. Thus these conditions became, to all intents and purposes, a part of that instrument itself; for it is a rule of law and a principle of right laid down, well understood and universally acknowledged, that if, in a compact between several parties, any one of them be permitted to enter into it on a condition, that condition enures alike to the benefit of all.

“Notwithstanding the purity of motive and singleness of purpose which moved Virginia to become one of the United States, sectional interests were developed, and the seeds of faction, strife and discord appeared in the very convention which adopted the constitution. At that time African negroes were bought and sold, and held in slavery in all the States. They

* Proceeding of the Virginia Convention, 1788, p. 23. Code of Virginia, 1860.

had been brought here by the Crown and forced upon Virginia when she was in the colonial state, in spite of her oft-repeated petitions and remonstrances against it; and now since she with others, were independent and masters of themselves, they desired to put an end forthwith to this traffic. To this the North objected, on the ground that her people were extensively engaged in kidnapping in Africa and transporting slaves thence for sale to Southern planters. They had, it was added, such interests at stake in this business that twenty years would be required to wind it up. At that time the political balance between the sections was equal; and the South, to pacify the North, agreed that the new government should have no power until after twenty years should have elapsed, to restrict their traffic; and thus the North gained a lease and a right to fetch slaves from Africa into the South till 1808. That year, one of Virginia's own sons being President of the United States, an act was passed forbidding a continuance of the traffic, and declaring the further prosecution of it piracy.

"Virginia was the leader in the war of the Revolution, and *her* sons were the master-spirits of it, both in the field and in the cabinet. For an-entire generation after the establishment of the government under the constitution, four of her sons—with an interregnum of only four years—were called, one after the other, to preside, each for a period of eight years, over the affairs of the young Republic and to shape its policy. In the meantime Virginia gave to the new government the whole of her northwest territory, to be held by it in trust for the benefit of all the States alike. Under the wise rule of her illustrious sons in the presidential chair, the Republic grew and its citizens flourished and prospered as no people had ever done.

"During this time, the African slave-trade having ceased, the price of negroes rose in the South; then the Northern people discovered that it would be better to sell their slaves to the South than to hold them, whereupon acts of so-called emancipation were passed in the North. They were prospective, and were to come in force after the lapse, generally, of twenty years,* which allowed the slaveholders among them ample time to fetch their negroes down and sell them to our people. This many of them did, and the North got rid of her slaves, not so much by emancipation or any sympathy for the blacks as by sale, and in consequence of her greed.

"About this time also Missouri—into which the earlier settlers *had carried* their slaves—applied for admission into the Union as a State. The North opposed it, on the ground that

*Slavery did not cease in New York till 1827.

slavery existed there. The South appealed to the constitution, called for the charter which created the Federal government, and asked for the clause which gave Congress the power to interfere with the domestic institutions of any State or with any of her affairs, further than to see that her organic law insured a republican form of government to her people. Nay, she appealed to the force of treaty obligations; and reminded the North that in the treaty with France for the acquisition of Louisiana, of which Missouri was a part, the public faith was pledged to protect the French settlers there, and their descendants, in their rights of property, which includes slaves. The public mind became excited, sectional feelings ran high, and the Union was in danger of being broken up through Northern aggression and Congressional usurpations at that early day. To quiet the storm, a son of Virginia came forward as peace-maker, and carried through Congress a bill that is known as 'The Missouri compromise.' So the danger was averted. This bill, however, was a concession, simple and pure, to the North on the part of the South, with no equivalent whatever, except the gratification of a patriotic desire to live in harmony with her sister States and preserve the Union. This compromise was to the effect that the Southern people should thereafter waive their right to go with their slaves into any part of the common territory north of the parallel of 36° 30'. Thus was surrendered up to the North for settlement, at her own time and in her own way, more than two-thirds of the entire public domain, with equal rights with the South in the remainder.

"That posterity may fairly appreciate the extent of this exaction by the North, with the sacrifice made by the South to satisfy it, maintain the public faith and preserve the Union, it is necessary to refer to a map of the country, and to remember that at that time neither Texas, New Mexico, California nor Arizona belonged to the United States; that the country west of the Mississippi which fell under that compromise is that which was acquired from France in the purchase of Louisiana, and which includes West Minnesota, the whole of Iowa, Arkansas, the Indian Territory, Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington and Oregon, embracing an area of 1,360,000 square miles. Of this the South had the privilege of settling Arkansas alone, or less than four per cent. of the whole. The sacrifice thus made by the South, for the sake of the Union, will be more fully appreciated when we reflect that under the constitution Southern gentlemen had as much right, and the same right to go into the territories with their slaves, that men of the North had

to carry with them there their apprentices and servants. Though this arrangement was so prejudicial to the South, though the Supreme Court decided it to be unconstitutional, null and void, the Southern people were still willing to stand by it; but the North would not. Backed by majorities in Congress, she only became more and more aggressive. Furthermore, the magnificent country given by Virginia to the Union came to be managed in the political interests of the North. It was used for the encouragement of European emigration, and its settlement on her side of that parallel, while the idea was sought to be impressed abroad by false representations that south of $36^{\circ} 30'$ in this country out-door labor is death to the white man, and that throughout the South generally labor was considered degrading. Such was the rush of settlers from abroad to the polar side of $36^{\circ} 30'$ and for the cheap and rich lands of the northwest territory, that the population of the North was rapidly and vastly increased—so vastly that when the war of 1861 commenced, the immigrants and the descendants of immigrants which the two sections had received from the Old World since this grant was made, amounted to not less than 7,000,000 souls more for the North than for the South. This increase destroyed the balance of power between the sections in Congress, placed the South hopelessly in the minority, and gave the reins of the government over into the hands of the Northern factions. Thus the two hundred and seventy millions of acres of the finest land on the continent which Virginia gave to the government to hold in trust as a *common* fund, was so managed as greatly to benefit one section and do the other harm. Nor was this all. Large grants of land, amounting to many millions of acres, were made from this domain to certain Northern States, for their railways and other works of internal improvement, for their schools and corporations; but not an acre to Virginia.

“In consequence of the Berlin and Milan decrees, the orders in council, the embargo and the war which followed in 1812, the people of the whole country suffered greatly for the want of manufactured articles, many of which had become necessities of life. Moreover it was at that time against the laws of England for any artisan or piece of machinery used in her workshops to be sent to this country. Under these circumstances it was thought wise to encourage manufacturing in New England, until American labor could be educated for it, and the requisite skill acquired, and Southern statesmen took the lead in the passage of a tariff to encourage and protect our manufacturing industries. But in course of time these restrictive laws in England were repealed, and it then became easier

to import than to educate labor and skill. Nevertheless, the protection continued, and was so effectual that the manufacturers of New England began to compete in foreign markets with the manufacturers of Old England. Whereupon the South said, 'Enough: the North has free trade with us; the Atlantic ocean rolls between this country and Europe; the expense of freight and transportation across it, with moderate duties for *revenue* alone, ought to be protection enough for these Northern industries. Therefore, let us do away with tariffs for *protection*. They have not, by reason of geographical law, turned a wheel in the South; moreover, they have proved a grievous burden to our people.' Northern statesmen did not see the case in that light; but fairness, right, and the constitution were on the side of the South. She pointed to the unfair distribution of the public lands, the unequal dispensation among the States of the government favor and patronage, and to the fact that the New England manufacturers had gained a firm footing and were flourishing. Moreover, peace, progress, and development had, since the end of the French wars, dictated free trade as the true policy of all nations. Our Senators proceeded to demonstrate by example the hardships of submitting any longer to tariffs for protection. The example was to this effect:—The Northern farmer clips his hundred bales of wool, and the Southern planter picks his hundred bales of cotton. So far they are equal, for the government affords to each equal protection in person and property. That's fair, and there is no complaint. But the government would not stop here. It went further—protected this industry of one section and taxed that of the other; for though it suited the farmer's interest and convenience to send his wool to a New England mill to have it made into cloth, it also suited in a like degree the Southern planter to send his cotton to Old England to have it made into calico. And now came the injustice and the grievance. They both prefer the Charleston market, and they both, the illustration assumed, arrived by sea the same day and proceeded together, each with his invoice of one hundred bales, to the custom-house. There the Northern man is told that he may land his one hundred bales duty free; but the Southern man is required to leave forty of his in the custom-house for the privilege of landing the remaining sixty.* It was in vain for the Southerner to protest or to urge, 'You make us pay bounties to Northern fishermen under the plea that it is a nursery for seamen. Is not the fetching and carrying of Southern cotton across the sea in Southern ships as much a nursery for

*The tariff at that time was forty per cent.

seamen as the catching of codfish in Yankee smacks? But instead of allowing us a bounty for this, you exact taxes and require protection for our Northern fellow-citizens at the expense of Southern industry and enterprise.' The complaints against the tariff were at the end of ten or twelve years followed by another compromise in the shape of a modified tariff, by which the South again gained nothing and the North everything. The effect was simply to *lessen*, not to abolish, the tribute money exacted for the benefit of Northern industries.

"Fifteen years before the war it was stated officially from the treasury department in Washington, that under the tariff then in force the self-sustaining industry of the country was taxed in this indirect way in the sum of \$80,000,000 annually, none of which went into the coffers of the government, but all into the pocket of the protected manufacturer. The South, moreover, complained of the unequal distribution of the public expenditures; of unfairness in protecting, buoying, lighting, and surveying the coasts, and laid her complaints on grounds like these: for every mile of sea front in the North there are four in the South, yet there were four well-equipped dock-yards in the North to one in the South; large sums of money had been expended for Northern, small for Southern defenses; navigation of the Southern coast was far more difficult and dangerous than that of the Northern, yet the latter was better lighted; and the Southern coast was not surveyed by the government until it had first furnished Northern ship-owners with good charts for navigating their waters and entering their harbors.

"Thus dealt by, there was cumulative dissatisfaction in the Southern mind towards the Federal government, and Southern men began to ask each other, 'Should we not be better off out of the Union than we are in it?'—nay, the public discontent rose to such a pitch in consequence of the tariff, that nullification was threatened, and the existence of the Union was again seriously imperilled, and dissolution might have ensued had not Virginia stepped in with her wise counsels. She poured oil upon the festering sores in the Southern mind, and did what she could in the interests of peace; but the wound could not be entirely healed; Northern archers had hit too deep.

"The Washington government was fast drifting towards centralization and the result of all this Federal partiality, of this unequal protection and encouragement, was that New England and the North flourished and prospered as no people have ever done in modern times. Scenes enacted in the Old World, twenty-eight hundred years ago, seemed now on the eve of repe-

tition in the new. About the year 915 B. C., the twelve tribes conceived the idea of making themselves a *great nation* by centralization. They established a government which, in three generations, by reason of similar burdens upon the people, ended in permanent separation. Solomon taxed heavily to build the temple and dazzle the nation with the splendor of his capital; his expenditures were profuse, and he made his name and kingdom fill the world with their renown. He died one hundred years after Saul was anointed, and then Jerusalem and the temple being finished, the ten tribes—supposing the necessity of further taxation had ceased—petitioned Rehoboam for a reduction of taxes, a repeal of the tariff. Their petition was scorned, and the world knows the result. The ten tribes seceded in a body, and there was war; so thus there remained to the house of David only the tribes of Benjamin and Judah. They, like the North, had received the benefit of this taxation. The chief part of the enormous expenditures was made within their borders, and they, like New England, flourished and prospered at the expense of their brethren.

“By the constitution, a citizen of the South had a right to pursue his fugitive slave into any of the States, apprehend and bring him back; but so unfriendly had the North become towards the South, and so regardless of her duties under the constitution, that Southern citizens, in pursuing and attempting to apprehend runaway negroes in the North, were thrown into jail, maltreated and insulted despite of their rights. Northern people loaded the mails for the South with inflammatory publications inciting the negroes to revolt, and encouraging them to rise up, in servile insurrection, and murder their owners. Like tampering with the negroes was one among the causes which led Virginia into her original proposition to the other colonists, that they should all, for the common good and common safety, separate themselves from Great Britain and strike for independent existence. In a resolution unanimously adopted in convention for a declaration of such independence, it is urged that the King’s representative in Virginia was ‘tempting our slaves by every artifice to resort to him, and training and employing them against their masters.’* To counteract this attempt by the New England people to do the like, the legislature of Virginia and other Southern States felt themselves constrained to curtail the privileges of the slave, to increase the patrol, and for the public safety to enact severe laws against the black man. This grated upon the generous feelings of our people the more,

*Resolutions of Virginia for a Declaration of Independence, unanimously adopted 15th May, 1776. Page 1, Code of Virginia, 1860.

because they were thus compelled in self-defence to spread hateful laws upon the statute-book of their State, and subject her fair fame to invidious criticisms by posterity, and this in consequence of the repeated attempt of the Northern people to tamper with the negroes and interfere with our domestic affairs. It was a shaft that sank deep and rankled long; it brought to mind colonial times, and put into Southern heads the idea of another separation. But this was not all. Societies were formed in the North to encourage our negroes to escape and to harbor the runaways; emissaries came down to inveigle them away; and while they were engaged at this, the Northern States aided and abetted by passing acts prohibiting their officers to assist the Southern citizen in the capture of runaways, and *hindering him from doing it himself*. At length things came to such a pass that a Southern gentleman, notwithstanding his right, dared not when he went to the North, either on business or pleasure, to carry with him, as he formerly did, a body servant. More harsh still—delicate mothers and emaciated invalids with their nurses, though driven from their Southern homes, as they often are, by pestilence or plague, dared not seek refuge in the more bracing climates of the North; they were liable to be mobbed and to see their servants taken away by force, and when that was done, they found that Northern laws afforded no protection. In short, our people had no longer equal rights in a common country.

“Finally, the aggressive and fanatical spirit of the North ran to such a pitch against us, that just before the Southern people began to feel that patience and forbearance were both exhausted, a band of raiders, fitted out and equipped in the North, came down upon Virginia with sword and spear in hand. They commenced in the dead of night to murder our citizens, to arm the slaves, encouraging them to rise up, burn and rob, kill and slay throughout the South. The ringleader was caught, tried, and hung. Northern people regarded him as a martyr in a righteous cause. His body was carried to the North; they paid homage to his remains, sang pæans to his memory, and amidst jeers and taunts for Virginia, which to this day are reverberated through the halls of Congress, enrolled his name as one who had deserved well of his country.

“These acts were highly calculated to keep the Southern mind in a feverish state and in an unfriendly mood; and there were other influences at work to excite sectional feelings and beget just indignation among the Southern people. The North was commercial, the South agricultural. Through their fast-sailing packets and steamers, Northern people were in constant com-

munication with foreign nations; the South rarely, except through the North. Northern men and Northern society took advantage of this circumstance to our prejudice. They defamed the South and abused the European mind with libels and slanders and evil reports against us of a heinous character. They represented Southern people as a lawless and violent set, where men and women were without shame. They asserted, with all the effrontery of impudent falsehood, that the chief occupation of the gentlemen of Virginia was the breeding of slaves like cattle for the more Southern markets. To this day the whole South is suffering under this defamation of character; for it is well known that emigrants from Europe now refuse to come and settle in Virginia and the South on account of their belief in the stories against us with which their minds have been poisoned.

"This long list of grievances does not end here. The population of the North had, by reason of the vast numbers of foreigners that had been induced to settle there, become so great that the balance of power in Congress was completely destroyed. The Northern people became more tyrannical in their disposition, Congress more aggressive in their policy. In every branch of the government the South was in a hopeless minority, and completely at the mercy of an unscrupulous majority for their rights in the Union. Emboldened by their popular majorities on the hustings, the master spirits of the North now proclaimed the approach of an 'irrepressible conflict' with the South, and their representative men in Congress preached the doctrine of a 'higher law,' confessing that the policy about to be pursued in relation to Southern affairs was dictated by a rule of conduct unknown to the constitution, not contained in the bible, but *sanctioned*, as they said, by *some higher law* than the bible itself. Thus finding ourselves at the mercy of faction and fanaticism, the presidential election for 1860 drew nigh. The time for putting candidates in the field was at hand. The North brought out their candidate, and by their platform pledged him to acts of unfriendly legislation against us. The South warned the North and protested, the political leaders in some of the Southern States publicly declaring that if Mr. Lincoln, their nominee, were elected, the States would not remain in the Union. He was truly a sectional candidate. He received no vote in the South, but was, under the provision of the constitution, duly elected nevertheless; for now the poll of the North was large enough to elect whom she pleased.

"When the result of this election was announced, South Carolina and the Gulf States each proceeded to call a convention of

her people; and they, in the exercise of their *inalienable right* to alter and abolish the form of government and to institute a new one, resolved to withdraw from the Union *peaceably*, if they could. They felt themselves clear as to their right, and thrice-armed; for they remembered that they were sovereign people, and called to mind those precious rights that had been solemnly proclaimed, and in which and for which we and our fathers before us had the most abiding faith, reverence and belief. Prominent among these was, as we have seen, the right of each one of these States to consult her own welfare and withdraw or remain in the Union in obedience to its dictates and the judgment of her own people. So they sent commissioners to Washington to propose a settlement, the Confederate States offering to assume their quota of the debt of the United States, and asking for their share of the common property. This was refused.

"In the meantime Virginia assembled her people in grand council too; but she refused to come near the Confederate States in their councils. *She* had laid the corner-stone of the Union, *her* sons were its chief architects; and though she felt that she and her sister States had been wronged without cause, and had reason, good and sufficient, for withdrawing from a political association which no longer afforded domestic tranquility, or promoted the general welfare, or answered its purposes, yet her love for the Union and the constitution was strong, and the idea of pulling down, without having first exhausted all her persuasives, and tried all means to save what had cost her so much, was intolerable. She thought the time for separation had not come, and waited first to try her own 'mode and measure of redress;' she considered that it should not be such as the Confederate States had adopted. Moreover, by standing firm she hoped to heal the breach, as she had done on several occasions before. She asked all the States to meet her in a peace congress. They did so, and the North being largely in the majority, threw out Southern propositions and rejected all the efforts of Virginia at conciliation. North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas all remained in the Union, awaiting the action of our State, who urged the Washington government not to attempt to coerce the seceded States, or force them with sword and bayonet back into the Union—a thing, she held, which the charter that created the government gave it no authority to do.

"Regardless of these wise counsels and of all her rightful powers, the North mustered an army to come against the South; whereupon, seeing the time had come, and claiming the right which she had especially reserved not only for her-

self, but for all the States, to withdraw from the Union, the grand old Commonwealth did not hesitate to use it. She prepared to meet the emergency. Her people had already been assembled in convention, and they, in the persons of their representatives, passed the ORDINANCE OF SECESSION, which separated her from the North and South, and left her alone, again a free, sovereign and independent State. This done, she sounded the notes of warlike preparation. She called upon her sons who were in the service of the Washington government to confess their allegiance to her, resign their places, and rally around her standard. The true men among them came. In a few days she had an army of 60,000 men in the field; but her policy was still peace, armed peace, not war. Assuming the attitude of defence, she said to the powers of the North, 'Let no hostile foot cross my borders.' Nevertheless they came with fire and sword; battle was joined; victory crowned her banners on many a well-fought field; but she and her sister States cut off from the outside world by the navy which they had helped to establish for the common defence, battled together against fearful odds at home for four long years, but were at last overpowered by mere numbers, and then came disaster. Her sons who fell died in defence of their country, their homes, their rights, and all that makes native land dear to the hearts of men."

We next give the famous "*Botetourt Resolutions*," prepared by the able and accomplished Judge John J. Allen, of the Virginia Supreme Court, and deserving to rank among the classics of political literature.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTION.

Offered in a large mass meeting of the people of Botetourt County, December 10th, 1860, by the Hon. John J. Allen, President of the Supreme Court of Virginia, and adopted with but two dissenting voices.

"The people of Botetourt county, in general meeting assembled, believe it to be the duty of all the citizens of the Commonwealth, in the present alarming condition of our country, to give some expression of their opinion upon the threatening aspect of public affairs. They deem it unnecessary and out of place to avow sentiments of loyalty to the constitution and devotion to the Union of these States. A brief reference to the part the State has acted in the past will furnish the best evidence of the feelings of her sons in regard to the Union of the

States and the constitution, which is the sole bond which binds them together.

"In the controversies with the mother country growing out of the efforts of the latter to tax the colonies without their consent, it was Virginia who, by the resolutions against the stamp act, gave the example of the first authoritative resistance by a legislative body to the British government, and so imparted the first impulse to the Revolution.

"Virginia declared her independence before any of the colonies, and gave the first written constitution to mankind.

"By her instructions her representatives in the General Congress introduced a resolution to declare the colonies independent States, and the declaration itself was written by one of her sons.

"She furnished to the Confederate States the father of his country, under whose guidance independence was achieved, and the rights and liberties of each State, it was hoped, perpetually established.

"She stood undismayed through the long night of the Revolution, breasting the storm of war and pouring out the blood of her sons like water on almost every battle-field, from the ramparts of Quebec to the sands of Georgia.

"By her own unaided efforts the northwestern territory was conquered, whereby the Mississippi, instead of the Ohio river, was recognized as the boundary of the United States by the treaty of peace.

"To secure harmony, and as an evidence of her estimate of the value of the Union of the States, she ceded to all for their common benefit this magnificent region—an empire in itself.

"When the articles of confederation were shown to be inadequate to secure peace and tranquility at home and respect abroad, Virginia first moved to bring about a more perfect Union.

"At her instance the first assemblage of commissioners took place at Annapolis, which ultimately led to the meeting of the convention which formed the present constitution.

"This instrument itself was in a great measure the production of one of her sons, who has been justly styled the father of the constitution.

"The government created by it was put into operation with her Washington, the father of his country, at its head; her Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, in his cabinet; her Madison, the great advocate of the constitution, in the legislative hall.

"Under the leading of Virginia statesmen the Revolution of 1798 was brought about, Louisiana was acquired, and the second war of independence was waged.

"Throughout the whole progress of the Republic she has never infringed on the rights of any State, or asked or received any exclusive benefit.

"On the contrary, she has been the first to vindicate the equality of all the States, the smallest as well as the greatest.

"But claiming no exclusive benefit for her efforts and sacrifices in the common cause, she had a right to look for feelings of fraternity and kindness for her citizens from the citizens of other States, and equality of rights for her citizens with all others; that those for whom she had done so much would abstain from actual aggressions upon her soil, or if they could not be prevented, would show themselves ready and prompt in punishing the aggressors; and that the common government, to the promotion of which she contributed so largely for the purpose of 'establishing justice and insuring domestic tranquility,' would not, whilst the forms of the constitution were observed, be so perverted in spirit as to inflict wrong and injustice and produce universal insecurity.

"These reasonable expectations have been grievously disappointed.

"Owing to a spirit of pharasaical fanaticism prevailing in the North in reference to the institution of slavery, incited by foreign emissaries and fostered by corrupt political demagogues in search of power and place, a feeling has been aroused between the people of the two sections, of what was once a common country, which of itself would almost preclude the administration of a united government in harmony.

"For the kindly feelings of a kindred people we find substituted distrust, suspicion and mutual aversion.

"For a common pride in the name of American, we find one section even in foreign lands pursuing the other with revilings and reproach.

"For the religion of a Divine Redeemer of all, we find a religion of hate against a part; and in all the private relations of life, instead of fraternal regard, a 'consuming hate,' which has but seldom characterized warring nations.

"This feeling has prompted a hostile incursion upon our own soil, and an apotheosis of the murderers, who were justly condemned and executed.

"It has shown itself in the legislative halls by the passage of laws to obstruct a law of Congress passed in pursuance of a plain provision of the constitution.

"It has been manifested by the industrious circulation of incendiary publications, sanctioned by leading men, occupying the highest stations in the gift of the people, to produce discord

and division in our midst, and incite to midnight murder and every imaginable atrocity against an unoffending community.

"It has displayed itself in a persistent denial of the equal rights of the citizens of each State to settle with their property in the common territory acquired by the blood and treasure of all.

"It is shown in their openly avowed determination to circumscribe the institution of slavery within the territory of the States now recognizing it, the inevitable effect of which would be to fill the present slaveholding States with an ever increasing negro population, resulting in the banishment of our own non-slaveholding population in the first instance, and the eventual surrender of our country to a barbarous race, or, what seems to be desired, an amalgamation with the African.

"And it has at last culminated in the election, by a sectional majority of the free States alone, to the first office in the republic, of the author of the sentiment that there is an 'irrepressible conflict' between free and slave labor, and that there must be universal freedom or universal slavery; a sentiment which inculcates, as a necessity of our situation, warfare between the two sections of our country without cessation or intermission until the weaker is reduced to subjection.

"In view of this state of things, we are not inclined to rebuke or censure the people of any of our sister States of the South, suffering from injury, goaded by insults, and threatened with such outrages and wrongs, for their bold determination to relieve themselves from such injustice and oppression, by resorting to their ultimate and sovereign right to dissolve the compact which they had formed and to provide new guards for their future security.

"Nor have we any doubt of the right of any State, there being no common umpire between coequal sovereign States, to judge for itself on its own responsibility, as to the mode and measure of redress.

"The States, each for itself, exercised this sovereign power when they dissolved their connection with the British Empire.

"They exercised the same power when nine of the States seceded from the confederation and adopted the present constitution, though two States at first rejected it.

"The articles of confederation stipulated that those articles should be inviolably observed by every State, and that the Union should be perpetual, and that no alteration should be made unless agreed to by Congress and confirmed by every State.

"Notwithstanding this solemn compact, a portion of the States did, without the consent of the others, form a new com-

pact; and there is nothing to show, or by which it can be shown, that this right has been, or can be, diminished so long as the States continue sovereign.

"The confederation was assented to by the legislature for each State; the constitution by the people of each State of such State alone. One is as binding as the other, and no more so.

"The constitution, it is true, established a government, and it operates directly on the individual; the confederation was a league operating primarily on the States. But each was adopted by the State for itself; in the one case by the legislature acting for the State; in the other 'by the people not as individuals composing one nation, but as composing the distinct and independent States to which they respectively belong.'

"The foundation, therefore, on which it was established was *federal*, and the State, in the exercise of the same sovereign authority by which she ratified for herself, may for herself abrogate and annul.

"The operation of its power, whilst the State remains in the Confederacy, is *national*; and consequently a State remaining in the Confederacy and enjoying its benefits cannot, by any mode of procedure, withdraw its citizens from the obligation to obey the constitution and the laws passed in pursuance thereof.

"But when a State does secede, the constitution and laws of the United States cease to operate therein. No power is conferred on Congress to enforce them. Such authority was denied to the Congress in the convention which framed the constitution, because it would be an act of war of nation against nation—not the exercise of the legitimate power of a government to enforce its laws on those subject to its jurisdiction.

"The assumption of such a power would be the assertion of a prerogative claimed by the British government to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatever; it would constitute of itself a dangerous attack on the rights of the States, and should be promptly repelled.

"These principles, resulting from the nature of our system of confederate States, cannot admit of question in Virginia.

"Our people in convention, by their act of ratification, declared and made known that the powers granted under the constitution being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whenever they shall be perverted to their injury and oppression.

"From what people were these powers derived? Confessedly from the people of each State, acting for themselves. By whom were they to be resumed or taken back? By the people of the State who were then granting them away. Who were to deter-

mine whether the powers granted had been perverted to their injury or oppression? Not the whole people of the United States, for there could be no oppression of the whole with their own consent; and it could not have entered into the conception of the convention that the powers granted could not be resumed until the oppressor himself united in such resumption.

"They asserted the right to resume in order to guard the people of Virginia, for whom alone the convention could act, against the oppression of an irresponsible and sectional majority, the worst form of oppression with which an angry Providence has ever afflicted humanity.

"Whilst, therefore, we regret that any State should, in a matter of common grievance, have determined to act for herself without consulting with her sister States equally aggrieved, we are, nevertheless, constrained to say that the occasion justifies and loudly calls for action of some kind.

"The election of a President, by a sectional majority, as the representative of the principles referred to, clothed with the patronage and power incident to the office, including the authority to appoint all the postmasters and other officers charged with the execution of the laws of the United States, is itself a standing menace to the South—a direct assault upon her institutions—an incentive to robbery and insurrection, requiring from our own immediate local government, in its sovereign character, prompt action to obtain additional guarantees for equality and security in the Union, or to take measures for protection and security without it.

"In view, therefore, of the present condition of our country, and the causes of it, we declare almost in the words of our fathers, contained in an address of the freeholders of Boteourt, in February, 1775, to the delegates from Virginia to the Continental Congress, 'That we desire no change in our government whilst left to the free enjoyment of our equal privileges secured by the *constitution*; but that should a wicked and tyrannical *sectional majority*, under the sanction of the forms of the *constitution*, persist in acts of injustice and violence towards us, they only must be answerable for the consequences.'

"That liberty is so strongly impressed upon our hearts that we cannot think of parting with it but with our lives; that our duty to God, our country, ourselves and our posterity forbid it; we stand, therefore, prepared for every contingency.'

"Resolved therefore, That in view of the facts set out in the foregoing preamble, it is the opinion of this meeting that a convention of the people should be called forthwith; that the State, in its sovereign character, should consult with the other

Southern States, and agree upon such guarantees as in their opinion will secure their equality, tranquility and rights within the Union: and in the event of a failure to obtain such guarantees, to adopt in concert with the other Southern States, *or alone*, such measures as may seem most expedient to protect the rights and insure the safety of the people of Virginia.

"And in the event of a change in our relations to the other States being rendered necessary, that the convention so elected should recommend to the people, for their adoption, such alterations in our State constitution as may adapt it to the altered condition of the State and country."

We quote the following at the suggestion of friends in whose judgment we have confidence, not as by any means worthy of a place among the able papers we are presenting, nor as a full treatment of the question, but simply as a *popular hit back* at Mr. Rossiter Johnson, who wrote in the *New York Examiner*, and has since published in book form, a so-called "History of the War."

THE SECESSION OF VIRGINIA.

BY J. WM. JONES.

"I am willing to believe that Mr. Johnson has tried to be fair, and has presented the case as he understands it. But as a Virginian born and reared on her soil, familiar with her history, and proud of her traditions, I especially desire to enter my protest against the account he has given [see the *Examiner* of November 12th] of 'The Secession of Virginia.'

"The statement that Virginia's governor (John Letcher) 'was an ardent disunionist' exactly contradicts the fact. Governor Letcher, up to the issuing of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand troops to coerce the seceded States, was an ardent 'Union' man, as were a majority of the people of Virginia. Indeed, his attachment to the Union was so strong—and his opposition to secession so emphatic and outspoken—that the secessionists distrusted him, and their chief organ, the *Richmond Examiner*, was filled with abuse and denunciation of 'our tortoise governor,' 'the submissionist,' 'the betrayer of the liberties of the people,' etc. Governor Letcher was in fullest accord with the *Union leaders* of the Virginia convention, and refused every suggestion to call out troops to capture the navy-yard at Portsmouth, Fortress Monroe, or Harper's Ferry until after the convention has passed the ordi-

nance of secession. But he was, in all of his sympathies and feelings, a *Virginian*, did not believe in the right of the general government to coerce a 'Sovereign State,' and promptly responded to Mr. Lincoln's call for Virginia's quota of the seventy-five thousand troops that no troops 'would be furnished for any such purpose—'an object' which, in his judgment, 'was not within the purview of the constitution or the laws.' 'You have,' said he to Mr. Lincoln, 'chosen to inaugurate civil war.'

"But the most remarkable statement in Mr. Johnson's article is as follows:

" 'Virginia's fate appears to have been determined by a measure that was less spectacular and more coldly significant. The Confederate Congress at Montgomery passed an act forbidding the importation of slaves from States outside of the Confederacy. When Virginia heard that, like the young man in scripture, she went away sorrowful; for in that line of trade she had great possessions. The cultivation of land by slave-labor had long since ceased to be profitable in the border States—or at least it was far less profitable than raising slaves for the cotton States, and the acquisition of new territory in Texas and Missouri had enormously increased the demand. The greatest part of this business (sometimes estimated as high as one half) was Virginia's. It was called the 'vigintal crop,' as the blacks were ready for market and at their highest value about the age of twenty. As it was an ordinary business of bargain and sale, no statistics were kept; but the lowest estimate of the annual value of the trade in the Old Dominion placed it in the tens of millions of dollars. After Sumter had been fired on and the Confederate Congress had forbidden this traffic to outsiders, the Virginia convention again took up the ordinance of secession (April 17th) and passed it in secret session by a vote of 88 to 65.'

"Now I have to say in reply to this:

"1. The Confederate Congress at Montgomery *passed no such act* 'forbidding the importation of slaves from States outside of the Confederacy,' and absolutely nothing of this character whatever. I have before me an official copy of the statutes at large of the Confederate States of America—a book, by the way, which I respectfully commend to Mr. Johnson for his careful study—and it contains no such act or resolution.

"2. Even if such an act *had been passed*, it would not have had the slightest effect upon the action of Virginia, for it is a slander alike upon the character of her people and the motives which impelled her to secede and join the confederacy, to rep-

resent her as a cold, calculating, negro-trader, only influenced by the hope of gain in raising negroes for the Southern market. It is not true that 'raising slaves for the cotton States' was an 'ordinary business of bargain and sale,' worth annually 'tens of millions of dollars to Virginia.' The truth is that the average Virginia planter would mortgage his plantation and well nigh ruin his estate to support his negroes in comparative idleness before he would sell them; that very few negroes were ever sold except under the sternest necessity; that the negro trader was considered a disreputable member of society; and that 'raising slaves for the market' is a romance of abolition invention which fully served its purpose in the bitter controversies of the slavery agitation, but which an intelligent writer should now be ashamed to drag forth again. When Robert E. Lee said, '*If the millions of slaves at the South were mine I would free them with a stroke of the pen to avert this war,*' he but voiced the sentiments of nine-tenths of the people in Virginia. The truth is that our grand old commonwealth has a record on this question of which she need not be ashamed. The first slaves introduced in Virginia were brought and forced upon her colonists against their protests—and from that day all that were brought to her soil came in ships of Old or New England. When the Federal constitution was adopted Virginia favored the immediate abolition of the slave trade, and the time for its abolition was extended twenty years on the demand of Massachusetts and other New England States, and when the slave-trade was abolished Virginia voted for its abolition, while Massachusetts voted for its continuance. After giving with princely liberality, to the general government for the common domain, the Northwest Territory, out of which the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota were afterwards carved, Virginia consented with surprising readiness to making this *free* territory. And there can be but little doubt that the sentiments of her leading statesmen would have prevailed, and Virginia would have adopted emancipation measures, but for the fact that, after finding that slavery would not pay with them, the Northern States (after *selling* their own slaves and pocketing the money) began a system of warfare upon slavery which tended to consolidate and perpetuate the pro-slavery sentiment in the State.

"3. The real reason of the secession of Virginia was that she considered that Mr. Lincoln's proclamation had 'inaugurated civil war,' and she had simply to choose whether she would *take sides with the North or with the South in the great conflict.*

"If you could give me space to go into the details I could abundantly show that in all the bitter controversies of the past

the voice of Virginia had been on the side of the Union—that she had been ready to make any sacrifice, save honor, to preserve the Union which her sons had done so much to form and to perpetuate.

“After other Southern States had seceded she still voted overwhelmingly against secession, called the ‘Peace Congress’ which assembled at Washington, sent her commissioners to Mr. Lincoln after his inaugural, and on bended knee begged for peace and Union. But she was equally emphatic in claiming that a State had *the right to secede*—that she had *expressly reserved that right* when she entered the original compact—and that the general government had no right to coerce a State desiring to secede. This she had declared over and over again by the most solemn enactment, and her commissioners made her position clear to the authorities at Washington. Two days, therefore, after Mr. Lincoln’s call for her quota of troops to subjugate the seceded States, Virginia passed her ordinance of secession and bared her breast to receive the coming storm.

“Equally untrue to the facts of history is the attempt of Mr. Johnson to make it appear that the people of Virginia were not then in favor of secession—that ‘the governor turned over the entire military force and equipment of the State to the Confederate authorities’—and that a vote against secession was ‘impossible,’ because at the time of the popular vote, ‘the soil of Virginia was overrun by soldiers from the cotton States.’ *The convention*, and not the governor, formed the alliance with the Confederate States—the election was one of the fairest ever held in America—and while the vote stood 125,950 in favor of ratifying the ordinance of secession to 20,373 against it (most of these last being cast in northwest Virginia, where Federal bayonets *did* influence the vote)—yet there were no soldiers at the polls, no sort of intimidation was used, and men voted freely their honest convictions. The simple truth is, that *Mr. Lincoln’s proclamation* caused the immediate secession of Virginia, and so dissipated the ‘Union’ sentiment of the people, that Hon. John B. Baldwin (the Union leader of the convention, and one of the ablest, purest men the State ever produced) but voiced the general sentiment when he wrote a friend at the North—who had asked him the day after the proclamation was issued: ‘What will the Union men of Virginia do now?’—‘*We have no Union men in Virginia now*, but those who *were* ‘Union’ men will stand to their guns and make a fight which shall shine out on the page of history as an example of what a brave people can do after exhausting every means of pacification.’

“Yes; old Virginia clung to the Union and the constitution with filial devotion. The voice of her Henry had first aroused

the colonies to resist British oppression. The pen of her Jefferson had written the Declaration of Independence. The sword of her Washington had made good that Declaration. The pen of her Mason had written the constitution, and her great statesmen had expounded it. Through long, prosperous, and happy years her sons had filled the presidential chair, and her voice had been potential, in cabinet and Congress, in shaping the destinies of the great republic to whose prosperity she had contributed so largely.

"But now there had arisen 'another king that knew not Joseph'—the very fundamental principles of the constitution were, in her judgment, subverted—civil war, with all of its horrors, had been inaugurated, and she must choose on which side she would fight. She did not hesitate; but knowing full well that her soil would be the great battle-field, she took up the 'gage of battle' and called on her sons to rally to her defence. From mountain-valley to the shores of her resounding seas—from Alleghany to Chesapeake—from the Potomac to the North Carolina line—the call is heard and there rush to arms at the first tap of the drum—not Hessian nor Milesian mercenaries, not a band of negro-traders coolly calculating how much they could make out of a 'Southern Confederacy'—but the very flower of our Virginia manhood, as true patriots as the world ever saw, worthy sons of sires of '73.

"And they *did* 'make a fight' which illustrates some of the brightest pages of *American* history, and of which men at the North as well as men at the South are even now beginning to be proud. Aye! and the day will come when the story of the partisan will rot into oblivion, and 'the men who wore the gray,' alike with 'the men who wore the blue,' will have even justice at the bar of impartial history."

But, after all, the case is as beautifully and as strongly stated in one of the last letters which Mr. Davis ever wrote, addressed to the committee of arrangements for the North Carolina Centennial as anywhere else. He states it as regards the State of North Carolina, but the principles apply equally to all of the States.

"BEAUVOIR, MISS., October 30, 1889.

"Messrs. Wharton J. Green, James C. McRae, C. W. Broadfoot, Neil W. Ray, and W. C. McDuffie, Charlotte :

"Gentlemen—Your letter inviting me to attend North Carolina's centennial, to be held at Fayetteville, on the 21st of

November next, was duly received, but this acknowledgment has been delayed under the hope that an improvement in my health would enable me to be present as invited. As the time approaches I find that cherished hope unrealized and that I must regretfully confess my inability to join you in the commemorative celebration. It has been my sincere wish to meet the people of the 'Old North State' on the occasion which will naturally cause them, with just pride, to trace the historic river of their years to its source in the colony of Albemarle. All along that river stand monuments of fidelity to the inalienable rights of the people, even when an infant successfully resisting executive usurpation, and in the defense of the privileges guaranteed by charter, boldly defying kings, lords, and commons. Always self-reliant, yet not vainly self-asserting, she provided for her own defense, while giving material aid to her neighbors, as she regarded all of the British colonies of America. Thus she sent troops, armed and equipped, for service in both Virginia and South Carolina; also dispatched a ship from the port of Wilmington with food for the sufferers in Boston after the closing of that port by Great Britain. In her declaration that the cause of Boston was the cause of all, there was not only the assertion of a community of rights and a purpose to defend them, but self-abnegation of the commercial advantages which would probably accrue from the closing of a rival port.

"Without diminution of regard for the great and good men of the other colonies, I have been led to special veneration for the men of North Carolina, as the first to distinctly declare for State independence, and from first to last to uphold the right of a people to govern themselves.

"I do not propose to discuss the vexed question of the Mecklenburg resolutions of May, 1775, which, from the similarity of expression to the great Declaration of Independence of July, 1776, have created much contention, because the claim of North Carolina rests on a broader foundation than the resolves of the meeting at Mecklenburg, which deserve to be preserved as the outburst of a brave, liberty-loving people on the receipt of news of the combat at Concord between British soldiers and citizens of Massachusetts. The broader foundations referred to are the records of events preceding and succeeding the meeting at Mecklenburg, and the proceedings of the provincial congress, which met at Hillsboro' in August, 1775. Before this congress convened North Carolina, in disregard of opposition by the governor, had sent delegates to represent her in the general congress to be held in Philadelphia, and had denounced the attack upon Boston, and had appointed committees of safety

with such far-reaching functions as belong to revolutionary times only. The famous stamp act of Parliament was openly resisted by men of highest reputation, a vessel bringing the stamps was seized and the commander bound not to permit them to be landed. These things were done in open day by men who wore no disguise and shunned no question. Before the congress of the province had assembled the last royal governor of North Carolina had fled to escape from the indignation of the people who, burdened but not bent by oppression, had resolved to live or die as freemen. The congress at Hillsboro went earnestly to work, not merely to declare independence but to provide the means for maintaining it. The congress, feeling quite equal to the occasion, proceeded to make laws for raising and organizing troops, for supplying money, and to meet the contingency of a blockade of her seaports, offered bounties to stimulate the production of the articles most needful in time of war. On the 12th of April, 1776, the continental congress being then in session, and with much diversity of opinion as to the proper course to be pursued under this condition of affairs, the North Carolina congress resolved 'that the delegates for this colony in the continental congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independence and forming foreign alliances, reserving to the colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for the colony,' etc.

"This, I believe, was the first distinct declaration for separation from Great Britain and State independence, and there is much besides priority to evoke admiration. North Carolina had, by many acts of resistance to the British authorities, provoked their vengeance, yet she dared to lead in defiance; but no danger, however dread in the event of her isolation, could make her accept co-operation, save with the reservation of supremacy in regard to her own constitution and laws—the sacred principle of 'community independence' and government founded on the consent of the governed. After having done her whole duty in the war for independence and become a free, sovereign, and independent State, she entered into the confederation with these rights and powers recognized as unabridged. When experience proved the articles of confederation to be inadequate to the needs of good government, she agreed to a general convention for their amendment. The convention did not limit its labors to amendment of the articles, but proceeded to form a new plan of government, and, adhering to the cardinal principle that governments must be derived from the consent of the governed, submitted the new plan to the people of

the several States, to be adopted or rejected as each by and for itself should decide. It is to be remembered that the articles of confederation for the 'United States of America' declared that 'the Union shall be perpetual,' and that no alteration should be made in the said articles unless it should 'be confirmed by the legislatures of every State.' True to her creed of State sovereignty, North Carolina recognized the power of such States as chose to do so to withdraw from the Union, and by the same token her own unqualified right to decide whether or not she would subscribe to the proposed compact for a more perfect union, and in which it is to be observed the declaration for perpetuity was omitted. In the hard school of experience she had learned the danger to popular liberty from a government which could claim to be the final judge of its own powers. She had fought a long and devastating war for State independence, and was not willing to put in jeopardy the priceless jewel she had gained. After a careful examination it was concluded that the proposed constitution did not sufficiently guard against usurpation by the usual resort to implication of powers not expressly granted, and declined to act upon the general assurances that the deficiency would soon be supplied by the needful amendments. In the meantime, State after State had acceded to the new union, until the requisite number had been obtained for the establishment of the 'constitution between the States to ratifying the same.' With characteristic self-reliance, North Carolina confronted the prospect of isolation, and calmly resolved, if so it must be, to stand as one rather than subject to hazard her most prized possession—community independence. Confiding in the security offered by the first ten amendments to the constitution, especially the ninth and tenth of the series, North Carolina voluntarily acceded to the new union. The tenth amendment restricted the functions of the Federal government to the exercise of the powers delegated to it by the States, all of which were expressly stipulated. Beyond that limit nothing could be done rightfully. If covertly done, under color of law, or by reckless usurpation of an extraneous majority which, feeling power, should disregard right, had the State no peaceful remedy? Could she, as a State in a confederation, the bed-rock of which is the consent of its members, be bound by a compact which others broke to her injury? Had her reserved rights no other than a paper barrier to protect them against invasion?

"Surely the heroic patriots and wise statesmen of North Carolina, by their sacrifices, utterances and deeds, have shown what their answer would have been to these questions, if they had

been asked, on the day when in one convention they ratified the amended constitution of the United States. Her exceptional delay in ratification marks her vigilant care for the right she had so early asserted and so steadily maintained.

"Of her it may be said, as it was of Sir Walter Scott in his youth, that he was 'always the first in a row and the last out of it.' In the peaceful repose which followed the Revolution all her interests were progressive.

"Farms, school-houses and towns rose over a subdued wilderness, and with a mother's joy she saw her sons distinguished in the public service by intelligence, energy and perseverance, and by the integrity without which all other gifts are but as tinsel. North Carolina grew a pace in all which constitutes power, until 1812 she was required, as a State of the Union, to resist aggressions on the high seas in the visitation of American merchant vessels and the impressment of American seamen by the armed cruisers of Great Britain.

"These seamen generally belonged to the New England States; none, probably, were North Carolinians; but her old spirit was vital still; for the cause of one was the cause of all, as she announced when Boston was under embargo.

"At every roll-call for the common defence she answered 'Here!' When blessed peace returned she stacked her arms, for which she had no prospective use. Her love for her neighbors had been tried and not found wanting in the time of their need; why should she anticipate hostility from them?

"The envy, selfish jealousy and criminal hate of a Cain could not come near to her heart. If not to suspect such vice in others be indiscreet credulity, it is a knightly virtue and a part of an honest nature. In many years of military and civil service it has been my good fortune to know the sons of North Carolina under circumstances of trial and could make a list of those deserving honorable mention which would too far extend this letter, already, I fear, tediously long.

"Devotion to principle, self-reliance, and inflexible adherence to resolution when adopted, accompanied by conservative caution, were the characteristics displayed by North Carolina in both her colonial and State history. All these qualities were exemplified in her action on the day of the anniversary of which you commemorate. If there be any, not likely to be found with you but possibly elsewhere, who shall ask 'how, then, should North Carolina consistently enact her ordinance of secession in 1861?' he is referred to the Declaration of Independence of 1776, to the articles of confederation of 1777, for a perpetual union of the States from the union so established;

to the treaty of 1783, recognizing the independence of the States severally and distinctively; to the constitution of the United States, with its first ten amendments; to the time-honored resolutions of 1798-1799; that from these, one and all, he may learn that the State, having won her independence by heavy sacrifices, had never surrendered it nor had ever attempted to delegate the unalienable rights of the people. How valiantly her sons bore themselves in the war between the States the lists of the killed and wounded testify. She gave them a sacrificial offering on the altar of the liberties their fathers had won and had left as an inheritance to their posterity. Many sleep far from the land of their nativity. Peace to their ashes! Honor to their memory and the mother who bore them!

Faithfully,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Senator John W. Daniel, in his address delivered in Richmond, before the Virginia Legislature, January 25, 1890, in the presence of an immense crowd and an enthusiastic audience, made a popular defence of Mr. Davis, so able, so eloquent, and so conclusive, that we give the full text of his splendid oration, for while there are other matters introduced which might come more appropriately at other points of this outline, we do not feel like marring its symmetry by abridging it or separating its parts.

ORATION OF SENATOR JOHN W. DANIEL.

"Mr. Speaker, Gentlemen of the General Assembly of Virginia, Ladies and Gentlemen :

"Noble are the words of Cicero when he tells us that 'it is the first and fundamental law of history that it should neither dare to say anything that is false or fear to say anything that is true, nor give any just suspicion of favor or disaffection.'

"No less high a standard must be invoked in considering the life, character, and services of Jefferson Davis, a great man of a great epoch; whose name is blended with the renown of American arms and with the civic glories of the cabinet and the Congress hall—a son of the South who became the head of a confederacy more populous and more extensive than that for which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, and the commander-in-chief of armies many times greater than

those of which Washington was the general. He swayed senates and led the soldiers of the Union—and he stood accused of treason in a court of justice. He saw victory sweep illustrious battle-fields; and he became a captive.

“He ruled millions, and he was put in chains.

“He created a nation; he followed its bier; he wrote its epitaph, and he died a disfranchised citizen.

“But though great in all vicissitudes and trials, he was greatest in that fortune which, lifting him first to the loftiest height and casting him thence into the depths of disappointment, found him everywhere the erect and constant friend of truth. He conquered himself and forgave his enemies, but he bent to none but God.

“No public man was ever subjected to sterner ordeals of character or closer scrutiny of conduct. He was in the public gaze for nearly half a century; and in the fate which at last overwhelmed the Southern Confederacy and its President its official records and private papers fell into the hands of his enemies.

“Wary eyes now searched to see if he had overstepped the bounds which the laws of war have set to action; and could such evidence be found wrathful hearts would have cried for vengeance. But though every hiding-place was opened, and reward was ready for any who would betray the secrets of the Captive Chief, whose armies were scattered and whose hands were chained—though the sea gave up its dead in the convulsion of his country—there could be found no guilty fact, and accusing tongues were silenced.

“Whatever record leaped to light,
His name could not be shamed.”

“I could not, indeed, nor would I divest myself of those identities and partialities which make me one with the people of whom he was the chief in their supreme conflict. But surely if records were stainless and enemies were dumb, and if the principals now pronounce favorable judgment upon the agent, notwithstanding that he failed to conduct their affairs to a successful issue, there can be no suspicion of undue favor on the part of those who do him honor; and the contrary inclination could only spring from disaffection.

“The people of the South knew Jefferson Davis. He mingled his daily life with theirs under the eager ken of those who had bound up with him all that life can cherish.

“To his hands they consigned their destinies, and under his guidance they committed the land they loved with husbands, fathers, sons and brothers to the God of battles.

"Ruin, wounds, and death became their portion. And yet this people do declare that Jefferson Davis was an unselfish patriot and a noble gentleman; that as the trustee of the highest trust that man can place in man he was clear and faithful; and that in his high office he exhibited those grand heroic attributes which were worthy of its dignity and of their struggle for independence.

"Thus it was that when the news came that he was no more there was no southern home that did not pass under the shadow of affliction. Thus it was that the governors of commonwealths bore his body to the tomb and that multitudes gathered from afar to bow in reverence. Thus it was that throughout the South the scarred soldiers, the widowed wives, the kindred of those who had died in the battle which he delivered met to give utterance to their respect and sorrow. Thus it is that the General Assembly of Virginia is now convened to pay their tribute. Completer testimony to human worth was never given, and thus it will be that the South will build a monument to record their verdict that he was true to his people, his conscience, and his God; and no stone that covers the dead will be worthier of the Roman legend:

'Clarus et vir fortissimus.'

"The life now closed was one of conflict from youth to manhood, and from manhood to the grave. Before he was a man in years he was an officer in the army of his country, and intermissions of military and civil services were but spent in burnishing the weapons which were to shine in the clash of opposing interests.

"The scenes of the hearthstone and of the cloisters of friendship and religion have no place on that large canvas which portrays the great events of national existence; and those who come forth from them equipped and strong to wrestle and contend leave often behind them the portions of their life-work which, could others know them, would reverse all conceptions of character and turn aversion to affection.

"Those who knew Jefferson Davis in intimate relations honored him most and loved him. Genial and gentle, approachable to all, especially regardful of the humble and lowly, affable in conversation, and enriching it from the amplest stores of a refined and cultured mind, he fascinated those who came within the circle of his society and endeared them to him. Reserved as to himself, he bore the afflictions of a diseased body with scant allusion even when it became needful to plead them in self-defence. With bandaged eyes and weak from suffering he would

come from a couch of pain to vote on public issues and for over twenty years with the sight of one eye gone, he dedicated his labors to the vindication of the South from the aspersions which misconceptions and passions had engendered.

"At over four-score years he died, with his harness on, his pen yet bright and trenchant, his mental eye undimmed, his soul athirst for peace, truth, justice, and fraternity, breathing his latest breath in clearing the memories of the Lost Confederacy.

"Clear and strong in intellect, proud, high-minded, sensitive, self-willed, but not self-centered; self-assertive for his cause, but never for his own advancement; aggressive and imperious as are nearly all men fit for leadership; with the sturdy virtues that command respect, but without the small diplomacies that conciliate hostility, he was one of those characters that naturally makes warm friends and bitter enemies; a veritable man, 'terribly in earnest,' such as Carlyle loved to count among the heroes.

"Such a man can never be understood while strife lasts; and little did they understand him who thought him selfish, cold, or cruel. When he came to Richmond as your President your generous people gave him a home and he declined it. After the war when dependent on his labor for the bread of his family kind friends tendered him a purse. Gracefully refusing, 'Send it,' he said, 'to the poor and suffering soldiers and their families.' His heart was full of melting charity, and in the Confederate days the complaint was that his many pardons relaxed discipline, and that he would not let the sentences of military courts be executed. Not a human being ever believed for an instant the base imputation that he appropriated Confederate gold. He distributed the last to the soldiers, and 'the fact is,' he wrote to a friend, 'that I staked all my property and reputation on the defense of States' rights and constitutional liberty as I understand them. The first I spent in the cause, except what was saved and appropriated or destroyed by the enemy; the last has been persistently assailed by all which falsehood could invent and malignity employ.'

"He would have turned with loathing from misuse of a prisoner, for there was no characteristic of Jefferson Davis more marked than his regard for the weak, the helpless, and the captive. By act of the Confederate Congress and by general orders the same rations served to the Confederates were issued to the prisoners, though taken from a starving army and people.

"Brutal and base was the effort to stigmatize him as a conspirator to maltreat prisoners, but better for him that it was made, for while he was himself yet in prison the evidences of

his humanity were so overwhelming that finally slander stood abashed and malignity recoiled.

"Even at Andersonville, where the hot summer sun was of course disastrous to men of the northern clime, well nigh as many of their guard died as of them.

"With sixty thousand more Federal prisoners in the South than there were Confederate prisoners in the North, four thousand more Confederates than Federals died in prison. A cyclone of rhetoric cannot shake this mountain of fact, and these facts are alike immovable:

"1. He tried to get the prisoners exchanged by the cartel agreed on, but as soon as an excess of prisoners was in Federal hands this was refused.

"2. A delegation of the prisoners themselves was sent to Washington to represent the situation and the plea of humanity for exchange.

"3. Vice-President Stephens was sent to see President Lincoln by President Davis and urge exchange, in order 'to restrict the calamities of war'; but he was denied audience.

"4. Twice—in January, 1864, and in January, 1865—President Davis proposed through Commissioner Ould that each side should send surgeons, and allow money, food, clothing, and medicines to be sent to prisoners, but no answer came.

"5. Unable to get medicines in the Confederacy, offer was made to buy them from the United States for the sole use of Federal prisoners. No answer was made.

"6. Then offer was made to deliver the sick and wounded without any equivalent in exchange. There was no reply for months.

"7. Finally, and as soon as the United States would receive them, thousands of both sick and well were delivered without exchange.

"The record leaves no doubt as to the responsibility for refusal to exchange. General Grant assumed it, saying in his letter of August 18, 1864: 'It is hard on our men in southern prisons not to exchange them, but it is humanity to those left in the ranks to fight our battles. If we commence a system of exchanges which liberates all prisoners taken we will have to fight on until the whole South is exterminated. If we hold those caught they amount to no more than dead men. At this particular time to release all rebel prisoners North would insure Sherman's defeat and compromise our own safety here.'

"Alexander H. Stephens declared that the effort to fix odium on President Davis constituted 'one of the boldest and baldest attempted outrages upon the truth of history which has ever been essayed.'

"Charles A. Dana, of the New York *Sun*, formerly assistant Secretary of War, nobly vindicated President Davis while he lived, declared him 'altogether acquitted' of the charge, and said of him dead, 'A majestic soul has passed.'

"When Mr. Davis congratulated General Lee's army on the victories of Richmond, he said to them: 'Your humanity to the wounded and the prisoners was the fit and crowning glory of your valor.' And could that army now march by, they would lift those laurels from their bayonets and throw them upon the grave of the Confederate President.

"Resentment wreaked itself upon him ere the truths were fully known and while indeed passion turned a deaf ear to them. And if he struck back what just man can blame him? With a reward of \$100,000 offered for him as an assassin, charged with maltreating prisoners, indicted for treason and imprisoned for two years and denied a trial; handcuffed like a common ruffian; put in solitary confinement; a silent sentinel and a blazing light at watch on his every motion, where is there a creature who can call himself a man who could condemn—aye, who does not sympathize with the goaded innocence and the righteous indignation with which he spurned the accusations and denounced the accusers?

"But whatever he suffered the grandeur of his soul lifted him above the feelings of hatred and malice.

"When Grant lay stricken on Mt. McGregor he was requested to write a criticism of his military career. He declined for two reasons: 'First, General Grant is dying. Second, though he invaded our country with a ruthless, it was with an open hand, and, as far as I know, he abetted neither arson nor pillage, and has since the war, I believe, shown no malignity to the Confederates either of the military or civil service; therefore, instead of seeking to disturb the quiet of his closing hours, I would, if it were in my power, contribute to the peace of his mind and the comfort of his body.' This was no new-born feeling. At Fortress Monroe, when suffering the tortures of bodily pain in an unwholesome prison, and the worse tortures of a humiliating and cruel confinement which make man blush for his kind to recall them, he, yet in the solitude of his cell, shared only by his faithful pastor, took the Holy Communion which commemorates the blood and the broken body of Christ Jesus, and bowing to God, declared his heart at peace with Him and man.

"As free from envy as he was from malice, he was foremost in recognizing, applauding, and eulogizing the great character and achievements of General R. E. Lee, and with his almost dying

hand he wove a chaplet of evergreen beauty to lay upon his honored brow.

"Sternly did he stand for principle. He was no courtier, no flatterer, no word magician, no time-server, no demagogue unless that word shakes from it the contaminations of its abuse and return to its pristine meaning—a leader of the people. Like King David's was his command, 'There shall no deceitful man dwell in my house.' A pure and lofty spirit breathed through his every utterance, which, like the Parian stone, revealed in its polish the fineness of the grain. I can recall no public man who, in the midst of such shifting and perplexing scenes of strife, maintained so firmly the consistency of his principles, and who, despite the shower of darts that hurtled around his head, triumphed so completely over every dishonoring imputation. It was because those who knew his faith knew always where to find him, and wherever found he proclaimed that faith as the standard bearer unfurls his colors.

"He was always ready to follow his principles to their logical conclusion, to become at any sacrifice their champion; to face defeat in their defense, and to die, if need be, rather than disguise or recant them.

"Advocating the Mexican war while a member of the House of Representatives from Mississippi, he resigned his seat there to take command of a Mississippi regiment and share the hardships and dangers of the field.

"When later, his party in Mississippi seemed to be losing ground, and General Quitman, its candidate for governor, retired, a popular election giving forecast of 7,500 majority against him, Jefferson Davis resigned his seat in the United States Senate to accept its leadership and become its nominee, and with such effect did he rally its ranks that he came within 1,000 votes of election.

"When he turned homeward from Mexico, the laurelled hero of Buena Vista, he was everywhere hailed with acclamation, and a commission as brigadier-general of volunteers in the United States army was tendered him by President Polk. We may well conceive with what pride the young soldier, not yet forty years of age, would welcome so rare an honor in the cherished profession which had kindled his youthful ardor, and in which he had become now so signally distinguished.

"But he had taught the doctrine that the State, and not the Federal government, was the true constitutional fountain of such an honor, and from another hand he would not bend his knightly brow to receive it. And yet later on, when summoned from the privacy of home to a place in the Cabinet of President

Pierce, he declined, because he believed it to be his duty to remain in Mississippi and wrestle for the cause with which he was identified. Thus did he abandon or decline the highest dignities of civil and military life, always putting principle in the lead, and himself anywhere that would best support it.

"Personal virtues and public services are so different in essence and effect that nations often glorify those whose private characters are detestable, and condemn others who possess the most admirable traits. The notorious vices of Marlborough stood not in the way of the titles, honors, and estates which England heaped on the hero of Blenheim, and the nobleness of Robert Emmet did not shield the champion of Irish independence from the scaffold.

"But the men of history cannot be thus dismissed from the bar of public judgment with verdicts wrung from the passion of an hour. There is a court of appeals in the calmer life, and the clearer intelligence of nations, and whenever the inherent rights or the moral ideas underlying the movements of society are brought in question, the personal qualities, the honor, the comprehension, the constancy of its leading spirits must contribute largely to the final judgment. In this forum personal and public character are blended, for in great conjunctures it is largely through their representative men that we must interpret the genius of peoples.

"It was fortunate for the South, for America, and for humanity that at the head of the South in war was a true type of its honor, character, and history—a man whose clear rectitude preserved every complication from impeachment of bad faith; a patriot whose love of law and liberty were paramount to all expediencies; a commander whose moderation and firmness could restrain, and whose lofty passion and courage could inspire; a publicist whose intellectual powers and attainments made him the peer of any statesman who has championed the rights of commonwealths in debate, or stood at the helm when the ship of State encountered the tempest of civil commotion.

"In the tremendous storm which has scarce yet subsided Jefferson Davis never once forgot that he was a constitutional President under the limits of the fundamental law of the Confederate republic. Some thought that he might have imparted a fiercer energy to his sore-pressed battalions had he grasped the purse and the sword, seized the reins of a dictator, and pushed the enterprise of war to its most exigent endeavor. But never once did ambition tempt or stress of circumstances drive him to admit the thought, at war as it was with the principles of the revolution which he led and with the genius of the

Southern people. He stood for constitutional right. To him it was the Rock of Ages. Who does not now rejoice that he was inflexible?

"Had a man less sober-minded and less strong than he been in his place the Confederacy would not only have gone down in material ruin—it would have been buried in disgrace. Excesses, sure to bring retribution in the end, would have blotted its career and weakness would have stripped its fate of dignity. I dismiss, therefore, the unworthy criticism that he should have negotiated peace in February, 1865, when Hon. Francis Blair came informally to Richmond, and when, as the result of his mission, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell met President Lincoln and Secretary Seward in conference at Hampton Roads. Reports have been circulated that at that time peace could have been secured upon a basis of a return to the Union, with payment of some sort to southern owners for their emancipated slaves. There is no foundation for such belief. The idea which led to the conference was that of Mr. Blair—that the Confederate cause being hopeless, the Confederate leaders could be induced to wheel their columns into line with those of the Union army now thundering at their gates and then march off to Mexico to assert the Monroe doctrine and expel Maximilian, the usurping emperor, from his throne. But when President Lincoln and Secretary Seward appeared no proposal of any kind was made but unconditional surrender. This was reported and of course declined. Even had compensation for slaves been proposed the Confederate soldiers would have repudiated such terms as conditions of surrender. True, they were in dire distress. With scarce a handful Johnston could only harass Sherman in the South, and the men of Lee could see from their trenches the mighty swarms marshalling in their front. The starvation that clutched at their throats plunged its dagger to their hearts as they thought of loved ones famishing at home. But the brave men who still clung to their tattered standards knew naught of the art or practice of surrender. They thought of Valley Forge and saw beyond it Yorktown. Had not Washington thought of the mountains of West Augusta when driven from his strongholds? Why not they? Had not Jackson left the legacy, 'What is life without honor? Dishonor is worse than death.' They could not comprehend the idea of surrender, for were they not their fathers' sons?

"They would rather have died than surrender then, and they were right. Revolutions imply the impossibility of compromise. They never begin until overtures are ended. Once begun there is no half-way house between victory and death, and they can only die with honor in the last ditch.

"Had surrender come before its necessity was manifest to all mankind, reproach, derision, and contempt, feud, faction, and recrimination would have brought an aftermath of disorder and terror; and had it been based on such terms as those which critics have suggested a glorious revolution would have been snuffed out like a farthing candle in a miserable barter about the ransom of slaves.

"It was well for all that it was fought to the finish without compromise either tendered or entertained. The fact that it was so fought out gave finality to its result and well-nigh extinguished its embers with its flames. No drop of blood between Petersburg and Appomattox—not one in the last charge was shed in vain. Peace with honor must pay its price, even if that price be life itself, and it is because the South paid that price with no miser's hand that her surviving soldiers carried home with them the 'consciousness of duty faithfully performed.' We should rejoice that if weak men wavered before the end, neither Jefferson Davis, nor Robert Lee, nor Joseph Johnston wavered. Though they and their compeers could not achieve the independence of the Confederacy they did preserve the independent and unshamed spirit of their people. And it is in that spirit now that men of the South find their shield against calumny, their title to respect, their welcome to the brotherhood of noble men, and their incentive to noble and unselfish deeds.

"If you would know why Rome was great,' says a student of her history, 'consider that Roman soldier whose armed skeleton was found in a recess near the gate of Pompeii. When burst the sulphurous storm the undaunted hero dropped the visor of his helmet and stood there to die.'

"Would you know why the South is great? Look on the new-made grave in Louisiana, and consider the ragged soldier of Bentonville and Appomattox.

"After the Revolutionary war Samuel Davis, who had served in it as one of the mounted men of Georgia, settled in Kentucky. Pending that war, in 1782, the very year that George Rogers Clarke captured Kaskasia, Thomas Lincoln, of Rockingham county, Va., removed to the same State. Jefferson Davis, the son of the first-named settler, was born on June 3, 1808, and on February 12, 1809, was born the son of the other—Abraham Lincoln. Samuel Davis moved to Mississippi. His son became a cadet at West Point under appointment from President Monroe, and soon commissioned as a lieutenant in the United States army, appeared in the service fighting the Indians on the frontier in the Black Hawk war. In early man-

hood Abraham Lincoln removed to Illinois, and now becoming a captain of volunteers he and Jefferson Davis were under the same flag engaged in the same warfare.

"John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell had once engaged passage for America, and George Washington was about to become a midshipman in the British navy. Had not circumstances changed these plans Hampden and Cromwell might have become great names in American history. And suppose Admiral George Washington, under the colors of King George III., had been pursuing the Count D'Estaing, whose French fleet hemmed Cornwallis in at Yorktown—who knows how the story of the great Revolution might have been written? Had Jefferson Davis gone to Illinois and Lincoln to Mississippi, what different histories would be around those names; and yet I fancy that the great struggle with which they were identified would have been changed only in incidents and not in its great currents.

"In 1835 Lieutenant Davis resigned his commission in the army, intermarried Miss Taylor, a daughter of Colonel Zachary Taylor, and retired to his Mississippi estate, where for eight years he spent his time in literary studies and agricultural pursuits—a country gentleman with a full library and broad acres.

"Such life as his was that of John Hampden before the country squire suddenly emerged from obscurity as a debater, a leader of Parliament, and a soldier to plead and fight and die in the people's cause against a tyrant's and a tax-gatherer's exactions. Such life as his was that of many of the fathers of this republic, and when Jefferson Davis entered public life in 1843, he came as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Henry, Mason, Clay, Calhoun and Andrew Jackson had come before him—from a Southern plantation, where he had been the head of a family and the master of slaves.

"From 1843 to 1861 the life of Jefferson Davis was spent for the most part in public services, and they were as distinguished as the occasions which called them into requisition were numerous and important. A presidential elector, a member of the House of Representatives, a United States Senator (once by appointment and twice by election), a colonel of the Mississippi volunteers in Mexico, twice a candidate for governor of his State before the people, these designations give suggestion of the number and dignity of his employments.

"How he led the Mississippi riflemen in storming Monterey without bayonets; how he threw them into the famous 'V' to receive and repulse the Mexican lancers at the crisis of the

battle of Buena Vista; how, though wounded and bleeding from a musket-shot, he sat his horse and would not quit the field till victory had crowned it, is a picture that hangs conspicuously in the galleries of our history. The movement, prompt, original, and decisive, disclosed the general of rare ability; the personal conduct avouched the hero.

"Colonel Davis," said General Taylor in his report, 'though severely wounded remained in the saddle until the close of the action. His distinguished coolness and gallantry at the head of his regiment on this day entitle him to the particular notice of the government.'

"Colonel Davis won the battle of Buena Vista, and Buena Vista made General Taylor President.

"As Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Pierce, a position which he only accepted after repeated solicitation, he was an officer second to none who has ever administered that department, in executive faculty and in benefits bestowed on the military service.

"It was under his direction that George B. McClellan, then a captain, afterwards general-in-chief and commander of the Army of the Potomac, was sent with a commission to the Crimea to observe military operations and to study the tactics and conditions of the European armies there engaged; the result of which introduced many improvements.

"There was nothing that came within his jurisdiction that he did not methodize and seek to extend to the widest range of utility. Material changes were made in the model of arms. Iron gun-carriages were introduced and experiments made which led to the casting of heavy guns hollow, instead of boring them after the casting. The army was increased by two regiments of cavalry and two of infantry. Amongst his earnest recommendations were the revision of army regulations; the increase of the medical corps; the introduction of light-infantry tactics; rifled muskets and balls; the exploration of the western frontiers, and the maintenance of large garrisons for the defense of settlers against the Indians. And there was no direction in which was not felt his comprehensive understanding and his diligent hand.

"His efforts to obtain increased pay for officers and men and pensions to their widows betokened those liberal sentiments to the defenders of their country which he never lost opportunity to evince or express.

"He refused to carry politics into the matter of clerical appointments, and in selecting a clerk was indifferent whether he was a Democrat or a Whig. To get the best clerk was his sole

thought, and while I am not prepared to condemn as spoilsmen those who seek agents in unison with their principles, I can readily recognize the simplicity and loftiness of a nature which pays no heed to considerations of partisan advantage.

"The confidence which he inspired was indicated by the trust reposed in him by Congress to take charge of the appropriations made for the construction of the new Senate chamber and Hall of Representatives, and of those also to locate the most eligible route for the railway to connect the Mississippi Valley with the Pacific Coast.

"The administration of Franklin Pierce closed in 1857, and it had presented the only instance in our history of a cabinet unchanged for four years in the individuals who composed it. None have filled the executive chair with more fidelity to public interests than Franklin Pierce, and the words with which his Secretary of War eulogized him were worthily spoken by one to whom they were equally applicable: 'Chivalrous, generous, amiable, true to his friends and his faith, frank and bold in his opinions, he never deceived any one. And if treachery had ever come near him it would have stood abashed in the presence of his truth, his manliness, and his confiding simplicity.'

"In his first public appearance in 1843 Mr. Davis had uttered the key-note of his political faith by moving to instruct the delegates from Mississippi to vote for John C. Calhoun as a presidential nominee in a National Democratic Convention.

"Calhoun was, as he regarded, 'the most trusted leader of the South and the greatest and purest statesman of the Senate,' and while he did not concur in his doctrines of nullification, he adopted otherwise his constitutional views, and in the most part the politics which he advocated. Taking his seat in the House of Representatives in December, 1845, he at once launched into the work and debates of that body, and with his first address made that impression of eloquence and power which he maintained throughout his parliamentary career. John Quincy Adams is said to have predicted on hearing it that he would make his mark, and his prophecy was very soon fulfilled. He advocated in a resolution offered by himself the very first month of his service the conversion of some of the military posts into schools of instruction, and the substitution of detachments furnished proportionately by the States for the garrisons of enlisted men; and on the 29th of the same month made a forcible speech against Know-Nothingism, which was then becoming popular. He had barely risen into distinguished view by his positions and speeches on these and other subjects, such as the Mexican war and the Oregon question, ere he

resigned to take the field in Mexico, and when he returned to public life after the Mexican war, it was as a member of the United States Senate.

"It was in that body that his rich learning, his ready information on current topics, and his shining abilities as an orator and debater were displayed to most striking advantage. The great triumvirate Clay, Webster, and Calhoun were in the Senate then, as were also Cass, Douglas, Bright, Dickinson, King, and others of renown, and when Calhoun ere long departed this life the leadership of the States'-Rights party fell upon Jefferson Davis.

"The compromise measures of Mr. Clay of 1850 he opposed and insisted on adhering to the line of the Missouri compromise of 1820, on the ground that 'pacification had been the fruit borne by that tree and it should not have been ruthlessly hewn down and cast into the fire.' Meeting Mr. Clay and Mr. Berrien, of Georgia, together in the capitol grounds one day Mr. Clay urged him in a friendly way to support his bill, saying 'he thought it would give peace to the country for thirty years, and then he added to Mr. Berrien, 'You and I will be under the ground before that time, but our young friend here may have trouble to meet.'

"Mr. Davis replied: 'I cannot consent to transfer to posterity an issue that is as much ours as theirs, when it is evident that the sectional inequality will be greater than now and render hopeless the attainment of justice.'

"This was his disposition, never to evade or shift responsibility, and that he did meet it is the reason why the issue is now settled, and that ourselves, not our children, were involved in civil war.

"When Clay on one occasion bantered him to future discussion, 'now is the moment,' was his prompt rejoinder. But these collisions of debate did not chill the personal relations of these two great leaders. Henry Clay was full of that generosity which recognized the foeman worthy of his steel, and frequently evinced his admiration and friendship for Jefferson Davis. Besides, there was a tie between them that breathed peace over all political antagonisms. Lieutenant-Colonel Clay, the son of the Whig leader, had been slain in the battle of Buena Vista. 'My poor boy,' said he to Senator Davis, 'usually occupied about one half of his letters home in praising you,' and his eyes filled with tears. When turning to him once in debate, he said: 'My friend from Mississippi, and I trust that he will permit me to call him my friend, for between us there is a tie the nature of which we both understand.'

"Without following, as indeed I could not in this brief hour, the bearings of questions that came before the Senate during his service, or portraying the scenes of digladiation in which they were dealt with, I but pronounce the general verdict when I say that his great parliamentary gifts ranked him easily with the foremost men of that body. He was measured by the side of the giants of his time and in nothing found unequal.

"In connection with the Mexican war two speeches were made in the House of Representatives, which were filled with the doctrines which all Americans have inherited from the fathers of the republic.

"The one of them was made by a man who with a mind as broad as the continent advocated the railroad to connect the Mississippi Valley with the West, and who poured out from a heart thrilling with the great traditions of his country inspiring appeal for fraternity and union.

"*'We turn,'* said he *'from present hostility to former friendship, from recent defection to the time when Massachusetts and Virginia, the stronger brothers of our family, stood foremost and united to defend our common rights. From sire to son has descended the love of our Union in our hearts, as in our history are mingled the names of Concord and Camden, of Yorktown and Saratoga, of Moncton and Plattsburgh, of Chippewa and Erie, of Bowyer and Guilford, and New Orleans and Bunker Hill. Grouped together they form a monument to the common glory of our common country; and where is the southern man who would wish that monument even less by one of the northern names that constitute the mass? Who, standing on the ground made sacred by the blood of Warren, could allow sectional feeling to curb his enthusiasm as he looked upon that obelisk which rises a monument to freedom's and his country's triumph, and stands a type of the time, the men, and event it commemorates; built of material that mocks the waves of time, without niche or moulding for parasite or creeping thing to rest on, and pointing like a finger to the sky, to raise man's thoughts to philanthropic and noble deeds.'*

"Scarce had these words died upon the air when there arose another in the House of Representatives on February 12, 1848—one who had just voted that the war with Mexico was unnecessary and unconstitutional, and who now based his views of the rights attaching by the conquest on the rights of revolution. He said:

"*'Any people anywhere being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better,*

“‘This is a most valuable and most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world.

“‘Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it.

“‘Any portion of such people that can may revolutionize, putting down a minority intermingled with or near about them who oppose their movements.

“‘Such a minority was precisely the case of the Tories of the Revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by old lines or old laws, but to break up both and make new ones.’

“Who, think you, my countrymen, were these spokesmen?

“The one who thus glorified the Union was the Kentucky boy who had moved to Mississippi, and was about to lead her soldiers under the stars and stripes in battle, and who now fills the grave of a disfranchised citizen. The other, who thus held up revolution as the right which was ‘to liberate the world,’ was Abraham Lincoln, the Kentucky boy who moved to Illinois, and who is now hailed ‘as the defender and preserver of the nation.’

“Success has elevated the one to a high niche in Fame’s proud temple. But can failure deny to the other entrance there when we remember that the Temple of Virtue is the gateway of the Temple of Fame? Both of them in their speeches then stood for American principles; both of them in their lives afterwards were the foremost champions of American principles; both of them were revolutionists, and as such must be judged; and Jefferson Davis never advocated an idea that did not have its foundation in the Declaration of Independence; that was not deducible from the constitution of the United States as the fathers who made it interpreted its meaning; that had not been rung into his ears and stamped upon his heart from the hour when his father baptized him in the name of Jefferson and he first saw the light in a commonwealth that was yet vocal with the State’s-Right resolutions of 1798.

“We cannot see the hand on the dial as it moves, but it does move nevertheless, and so surely as it keeps pace with the circling sun, so surely will the hour come when the misunderstandings of the past will be reconciled and its clamors die away—and then it will be recognized by all that Jefferson Davis was more than the representative of a section, more than the intelligent guide of a revolution, more than the champion of secession. He will stand revealed as a political philosopher to be numbered amongst the great expounders of American principles and the great heroes and champions of the Anglo-Saxon race. When the turbid streams of war have cleared and flow

evenly in their channels it will be also seen that underneath the hostile currents which impelled two great peoples in collision there was a unity of sentiment which, operating from different poles of circumstances and interest, threw into separate masses those who by natural instinct would have cohered together.

"It is easier to note the differences that float upon the surface of social organizations than to detect the congruities and identities that lie beneath them; and critics in their analyses of character are more prone to exhibit the striking antitheses of contrast than to linger upon the neutral colors which are common and undistinguishing.

"Some fancy that they discern the germs of the controversy of 1861 in differences between the groups of colonists which settled in Virginia and in Massachusetts, and which they think impressed upon the incipient civilizations of the North and South opposing characteristics. The one, they say, brought the notions of the Cavaliers, the other of the Puritans to America, and that an irrepressible conflict existed between them. To so believe is to be deceived by the merest surface indications. The Puritans and the Cavaliers of England have long since settled their differences in the Old World, and become so assimilated that the traces of old-time quarrel, and indeed of political identity, have been completely obliterated; and it would be strange indeed if in little England they of the same race and language were thus blended, that in America, where social adaptation is so much easier and more rapid, they should have remained separate and hostile. Many Cavaliers went to New England, and many Puritans came to Virginia and the South, and their differences disappeared as quickly as they now disappear between disciples of different parties from different sections when thrown into new surroundings with common interests.

"To understand the causes of conflict we must consider the unities of our race and note the interventions of local causes which differentiated its northern and southern segments.

"When this is done it will be realized that each section has been guided by the predominant traits which it possessed in common, and which inhered in the very blood of its people, and that differences of physical surrounding, not the differences of moral and intellectual character, led to their crystallization in masses separated by diversities of interest and opinion and their resulting passions. These diverse interests and opinions sprung out of the very soil on which they made their homes even as the pine rises to towering heights in the granite

hills of the North, and the palmetto spreads its luxuriant foliage on the southland: The bear of the Polar region takes his whiteness from the cold sky, and the bear of the tropics turns dark under the blazing heavens. The same breeze upon the high seas impels one ship north, another south, one east and another west according to the angle in which it strikes the sail. Natural causes operating under fixed laws changed the civilization of the North and South, but though their people were moved in opposite directions he who searches for the impelling forces will find them nearly, if not quite, identical.

"What are the unities of our race? They are—first, aversion to human bondage; second, race integrity; third, thirst for power and broad empire; fourth, love of confederated union; fifth, assertion of local liberty, if possible, within the bounds of geographical and governmental union; sixth, but assertion of local liberty and individual right under all circumstances, at all times, and at any cost. These traits are so strong as to be the natural laws of the race. One or another of them has lost its balance in the conflict between interest and instinct, but only to reappear with renewed vigor when the suppressing circumstances were removed; and he who follows their operation will hold the key to the ascendancy of Anglo-Saxon character, and to its wonderful success in grasping imperial domains and crowning freedom as their sovereign.

"It will not do to dispute the existence of these natural laws of race, because they have been time and again overruled by greed, by ambition, or by the overwhelming influence of alien or hostile forces. As well dispute the courage of the race because now and then a division of its troops have become demoralized and broken in battle. Through the force of these laws this race has gone around the globe with bugles and swords, and banners and hymn-books, and school-books and constitutions, and codes and courts, striking down old-time dynasties to ordain free principles; sweeping away barbaric and savage races that their own seed might be planted in fruitful lands; disdaining miscegenation with inferior races, which corrupts the blood and degenerates the physical, mental, and moral nature; widening the boundaries of their landed possessions, parcelling them out in municipal sub-divisions, and then establishing the maximum of local and individual privilege consistent with the common defense and general welfare of their grand aggregations; and then again rising in the supreme sovereignty of unfearing manhood against the oppressions of the tax-gatherer and the sword, re-casting their institutions, flinging rulers from their high places, wrenching

government by the mailed hand into consistency with their happiness and safety, and proclaiming above all the faith of Jefferson—'that liberty is the gift of God.'

"I shall maintain that the Southern people have been as true to these instincts as any portion of their race, and have made for them as great sacrifices; that the Southern Confederacy grew out of them, and only in a subsidiary degree in antagonism to any one of them; and I shall also maintain that Jefferson Davis is entitled to stand in the Pantheon of the world's great men on a pedestal not less high than those erected for the images of Hampden, Sidney, Cromwell, Burko, and Chatham, of the fatherland, and Washington and Hamilton, Jefferson and Adams, Madison and Franklin, of the New World, who, however varying in circumstances or in personality, were liberty-leaders and representatives of great peoples, great ideas, and great deeds.

"On what ground will he be challenged? Did not the Southern folk show originally an aversion to slavery more manifestly even than those of the North? South Carolina protested against it as early as 1727, and as late as 1760. Georgia prohibited it by law. Virginia sternly set her face against it and levied a tax of ten dollars per head on every negro to prevent it. They were all overridden by the avarice of English merchants and the despotism of English ministers. 'Do as you would be done by' is not yet the maxim of our race, which will push off on its weaker brethren that it will not itself accept; and thus slavery was thrust on the South; an uninvited—aye, a forbidden guest. Quickly did the South stop the slave trade. Though the constitution forbade the Congress to prohibit it prior to 1808, when that year came every Southern State had itself prohibited it, Virginia leading the list. When Jefferson Davis was born it was gone altogether save in one State, South Carolina, where it had been revived under combination between large planters of the South and ship-owners and slave-traders of the North.

"Fine exhibition, too, was that of unselfish Southern patriotism when in 1787 by Southern votes and Virginia's generosity, and under Jefferson's lead, the great northwestern territory was given to the Union and to freedom.

"But the South yielded to slavery, we are told. Yes; but did not all America do likewise? Do we not know that the Pilgrim fathers enslaved both the Indian and African race, swapping young Indians for the more docile blacks, lest the red slave might escape to his native forest?

"Listen to this appeal to Governor Winthrop: 'Mr. Endicott and myself salute you on the Lord Jesus. We have heard of a

division of women and children and would be glad of a share—viz., a young woman or a girl and a boy if you think good.’

“Do we not hear Winthrop himself recount how the Pequods were taken ‘through the Lord’s great mercy, of whom the males were sent to Bermuda and the females distributed through the bay towns to be employed as domestic servants?’ Did not the prisoners of King Philip’s war suffer a similar fate? Is it not written that when one hundred and fifty Indians came voluntarily into the Plymouth garrison they were all sold into captivity beyond the seas? Did not Downing declare to Winthrop ‘if upon a just war the Lord should deliver them (the Narragansetts) we might easily have men, women, and children enough to exchange for Moors, which will be more gainful pillage to us than we can conceive, for I do not see how we can thrive until we get in a stock of slaves sufficient to do all our business?’ Were not choice parcels of negro boys and girls consigned to Boston from the Indies and advertised and sold at auction until after independence was declared? Was not the first slave ship in America fitted out by the Pilgrim colony? Was not the first statute establishing slavery enacted in Massachusetts in 1641, with a certain comic comprehensiveness providing that there should ‘never be any bond slavery unless it be of captives taken in just war, or of such as willingly sold themselves or were sold to them?’ Did not the united colonies of New England constitute the first American confederacy that recognized slavery; and was not the first fugitive slave law originated at their bidding? All this is true. Speak slowly, then, O! man of the North, against the southern slave owners, or the southern chief, lest you cast down the images of your ancestors, and their spirits rise to rebuke you for treading harshly on their graves. On days of public festival when you hold them up as patterns of patriotism, take care lest you be accused of passing the counterfeit coin of praise. Disturb not too rudely the memories of the men who defended slavery; say naught of moral obliquity, lest the venerable images of Winthrop and Endicott be torn from the historic pages of the Pilgrim Land, and the fathers of Plymouth Rock be cast into utter darkness.

“When independence was declared at Philadelphia in 1776, America was yet a unit in the possession of slaves, and when the constitution of 1787 was ordained the institution still existed in every one of the thirteen States save Massachusetts only. True its decay had begun where it was no longer profitable, but every State united in its recognition in the Federal compact, and the very fabric of our representative government

was built upon it, as three-fifths of the slaves were counted in the basis of representation in the Congress of the United States, and property in it was protected by rigid provisions regarding the rendition of fugitive slaves escaping from one State to another.

"Thus embodied in the constitution, thus interwoven with the very integuments of our political system, thus sustained by the oath to support the constitution, executed by every public servant and by the decisions of the supreme tribunals, slavery was ratified by the unanimous voice of the nation, and was consecrated as an American institution and as a vested right by the most solemn pledge and sanction that man can give.

"Deny to Jefferson Davis entry to the Temple of Fame because he defended it? Cast out of it first the fathers of the republic. Brand with the mark of condemnation the whole people from whom he inherited the obligation, and by whom was imposed upon him the oath to support their deed. America must prostrate herself in sackcloth and ashes, repent her history, and revile her creators and her being ere she can call recreant the man of 1861 who defended the heritage and promise of a nation.

"There is a statue in Washington city of him who uttered the words 'charity to all, malice to none,' and he is represented in the act of breaking the manacles of a slave.

"Suppose there were carved on its pedestal the words: 'Do the southern people really entertain fears that a Republican administration would directly or indirectly interfere with the slaves, or with them about their slaves?'

"'The South would be in no more danger in this respect than it was in the days of Washington.'

"This was his utterance December 22, 1860, after South Carolina had seceded.

"Carve again:

"'I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it now exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.' These are the words of his inaugural address March 4, 1861.

"Carve yet again:

"'Resolved, That this war is not waged upon our part with any purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the constitution and to preserve the Union.'

"This resolution Congress passed (and he signed it) after the first battle of Manassas.

"And yet once more:

"I did not at any time say that I was in favor of negro suffrage. I declared against it. I am not in favor of negro citizenship."

"This opinion he never changed.

"These things show in the light of events—the emancipation proclamation, the reconstruction acts, the black suffrage, the anarchy that reigned—that the South read truly the signs of the irrepressible conflict.

"They show further that by the right of revolution alone can Abraham Lincoln be defended in overthrowing the institution which he pledged himself to guard like Washington, and with it the constitution which he had sworn 'to defend and maintain.' And if Jefferson Davis appealed to the sword and need the mantle of charity to cover him, where would Lincoln stand unless the right of revolution stretched that mantle wide, and a great people wrapped him in its mighty folds?

"As time wore on the homogeneous order of the American people changed. It was not conscience but climate and soil which effected this change, or rather the instinct of aversion to bondage rose up in the North just in proportion as the temptation of interest subsided.

"The inhospitable soil of New England repelled the pursuits of agriculture and compelled to those of commerce and the mechanic arts. In these the rude labor of the untutored African was unprofitable, and the harsh climate was uncongenial to the children of the Dark Continent translated from its burning suns to these frigid shores. Slavery there was an exotic; it did not pay, and its roots soon decayed, like the roots of a tropic plant in the Arctic zone.

"In the fertile plantations of the sunny South there was employment for the unskilled labor of the African, and under its genial skies he found a fitting home. Hence natural causes ejected him from the North and propelled him southward; and as the institution of slavery decayed in northern latitudes it thrived and prospered in the southern clime.

"The demand for labor in the North was rapidly supplied by new accessions of Europeans, and as the population increased their opinions were moulded by the body of the society which absorbed and assimilated them as they came; while on the other hand the presence of masses of black men in the South, and the reliance upon them for labor, repelled in both social and economical aspects the European immigrants who eagerly sought for homes and employment in the New World. More than this, northern manufacturers wanted high tariffs to

secure high prices for their products in southern markets, and southern farmers wanted low tariffs that they might buy cheaply. Ere long it appeared that two opposing civilizations lay alongside of each other in the United States; and while the roof of a common government was over both of them, it covered a household divided against itself in the very structure of its domestic life, in the nature of its avocations, in the economies of its labor, and in the very tone of its thought and aspiration.

"Revolution was in the air. An irrepressible conflict had arisen.

"There were indeed two revolutions forming in the American republic. The one was a northern revolution against a constitution which had become distasteful to its sentiments and unsuited to its needs. As the population of the east moved westward across the continent the southern emigrant to the new territories wished to carry with him his household servants, while the northerner saw in the negro a rival in the field of labor, which cheapened its fruits and degraded, as he conceived, its social status.

"Thus broke out the strife which raged in the territories of northern latitudes, and as it widened it assailed slavery in every form, and denounced as 'a covenant with death and with hell' the constitution which had guaranteed its existence.

"The formula of the northern revolution was made by such men as Charles Sumner, who took the ground of the higher law, that the constitution was itself unconstitutional, and that it was not in the power of man to create by oath or mandate property in a slave; a revolutionary idea striking to the root and to the subversion of the fundamental law which Washington, Adams, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, and their compeers had joined in making, and under which the United States had fought its battle and attained its wonderful growth for three quarters of a century.

"*'The Impending Crisis,'* Helper's book, appeared, and, endorsed by sixty-eight abolition members of Congress, went far and wide. The spirit of the times is indicated in its doctrines. 'Never another vote for a slavery advocate; no co-operation with slavery in politics; no fellowship in religion; no affiliation in society; no patronage to pro-slavery merchants; no guestship in a slave-waiting hotel; no fee to a pro-slavery lawyer; none to a pro-slavery physician; no audience to a pro-slavery parson; no subscription to a pro-slavery newspaper; no hiring of a slave; but the utmost encouragement of *'Free White Labor.'* **'FREE WHITE LABOR!'** This was the northern giant that stalked into the field.

"Meantime, the Northern revolution against the constitution was being combatted by the rise of the Southern revolution looking to withdrawal from a Union whose constitution was unacceptable to the Northern people.

"But it was not hatred to Union or love of slavery that inspired the South nor love of the negro that inspired the North. Profounder thoughts and interests lay beneath these currents. The rivalry of cheap negro labor, aversion to the negro and to slavery alike were the spurs of Northern action; that of the South was race integrity. FREE WHITE DOMINION! The Southern giant rose and faced its foe.

"The instinct of race integrity is the most glorious, as it is the predominant characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the sections have it in common. Fiercely did it sweep the red men before it; swiftly did it brush away the Chinese in the West and North, burning their homes, cutting their throats when they pressed too hard in rivalry, and then breaking treaties to hurl them back across the Pacific ocean to their native shores. Four million of black men lived in the South side by side with the white race; and race integrity now incensed the South to action.

"Look farther southward beyond the confines of our country and behold how the Latin races have commingled their blood with the aborigines and the negroes, creating mongrel republics and empires where society is debased and where governments resting on no clear principles, swing like pendulums between the extremes of tyranny and license.

"On the contrary, the American element at the South, and I quote a profound Northern writer in saying it, 'guarded itself with the strictest jealousy from any such baleful contaminations.' But what a picture of horror rose before its eyes as it contemplated the freeing of the slaves. John C. Calhoun had drawn that picture in vivid colors which now recalling the days of carpet-bag and negro ascendancy seems like a prophet's vision. 'If I owned the four millions of slaves in the South,' said Robert Lee, 'I would sacrifice all for the Union.' And so indeed would the southern people. But Lee never indicated how such sacrifice could obtain its object, nor was it possible that it could. It was not the property invested in the slave that stood in the way, for emancipation with compensation for them was then practicable, and was again practicable in early stages of the war, and was indeed offered. But free the slaves, they would become voters; becoming voters they would predominate in numbers, and so predominating what would become of white civilization?

"This was the question which prevented emancipation in Virginia in 1832. Kill slavery—what will you do with the corpse? Only silent mystery and awful dread answered that question in 1861, while the clamors of abolition grew louder, and the forces were accumulating strength to force the issue. In fourteen northern States the fugitive slave law had been nullified. In new territories armed mobs denied access to southern masters with their slaves. Negro equality became a text of the hustings and incendiary appeals to the slaves themselves to murder and burn filled the mails.

"The insurrection of Nat Turner had given forecast of scenes as horrible as those of the French revolution, and the bloody butcheries of San Domingo seemed like an appalling warning of the drama to be enacted on southern soil.

"The crisis was now hastened by two events. In 1854 the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision declared the Missouri compromise of 1820, which limited the extension of slavery to a certain line of latitude, unconstitutional. This was welcome to the South but it fired the northern heart. In 1859 John Brown, fresh from the border warfare of Kansas, suddenly appeared at Harper's Ferry with a band of misguided men, and murdering innocent citizens invoked the insurrection of the slaves. This solidified and almost frenzied the South and in turn the fate he suffered threw oil upon the northern flames. Thus fell out of the gathering clouds the first big drops of the bloody storm. In 1860 Abraham Lincoln was elected President, and in his inaugural address he proclaimed his party's creed that the Dred Scott decision might be reversed. The southern States were already in procession of secession. The high tides of the revolution were in their flow.

"Pause now upon the threshold, and geography and history will alike tell you that neither in its people nor its leader was there lack of love for the Union, and that it was with sad hearts that they saw its ligaments torn asunder. Look at the southern map. There may be read the name of Alamance, where in 1771, the first drop of American blood was shed against arbitrary taxation, and at Mecklenburg, where was sounded the first note of independence. Before the declaration at Philadelphia there had risen in the southern sky what Bancroft termed 'the bright morning star of American Independence,' where on the 28th of June, 1776, the guns of Moultrie at the Palmetto fort in front of Charleston announced the first victory of American arms. At King's Mountain is the spot where the rough-and-ready men of the Carolinas and the swift riders of Virginia and Tennessee had turned the tide of victory in our favor, and

there at Yorktown is the true birthspot of the free nation. Right here I stand to-night on the soil of that State which first of all America stood alone free and independent. Beyond the confines of the South her sons had rendered yeoman service; and would not the step of the British conqueror have been scarce less than omnipotent had not Morgan's riflemen from the Valley of Virginia, and the peerless commander of Mount Vernon, appeared on the plains of Boston? You may follow the tracks of the Continentals at Long Island, Saratoga, Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, Valley Forge, Monmouth, and Morristown by the blood and the graves of the Southern men who died on Northern soil, far away from their homes, answering the question with their lives: Did the South love the Union?

"Did not the South love American institutions? What school boy cannot tell? Who wrote the great declaration? Who threw down the gage, 'Liberty or Death?' Who was the chief framer of the constitution? Who became its great expounder? Who wrote the bill of rights which is copied far and wide by free commonwealths? Who presided over the convention that made the constitution and became in field and council its all-in-all defender? Jefferson, Henry, Madison, Marshall, Mason, Washington, speak from your graves and give the answer.

"Did not the South do its part in acquiring the imperial domain of the nation? When the revolution ended the thirteen States that lay on the Atlantic seaboard rested westward in a wilderness, and the Mississippi marked the extreme limits of their claims, as the Appalachian range marked the bounds of civilization. The northwestern territory, north of the Ohio river, which now embraces Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, was conquered by George Rogers Clarke, a soldier of Virginia, under commission from Patrick Henry, as governor. But for this conquest the Ohio would have been our northern boundary, and by Virginia's gift and Southern votes this mighty land was made the dowry of the Union.

"Kentucky, the first-born State that sprung from the Union, was a Southern gift to the new confederation. The great territory stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Rocky Mountain's gate and to far off Oregon, was acquired by Jefferson as President from Napoleon, then first consul of France, and the greatest area ever won by diplomacy in history, added to the Union. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, offered the bill in 1812 which proclaimed the second war of independence. President Madison, of Virginia, led the country through it, and at New Orleans, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, achieved its culminating victory.

"It is a Northern scholar, Theodore Roosevelt, who says: 'Throughout all the fighting in the northwest, where Ohio was the State most threatened, the troops of Kentucky formed the bulk of the American army, and it was a charge of their mounted riflemen which at a blow won the battle of the Thames.

"Again on the famous January morning, when it seemed as if the fair Creole city was already in Pakenham's grasp, it was the wild soldiery of Tennessee, who laying behind their mud breastworks, peered out through the lifting fog at the scarlet array of the English veterans, as the latter, fresh from their victories over the best troops of Europe, advanced for the first time to meet defeat.'

"In 1836 Samuel Houston, sprung from the soil of that very county which now holds the ashes of Lee and Jackson, won the battle of San Jacinto, and achieved Texan independence. In 1845, under James K. Polk, of Tennessee, a Southern President, it was admitted into the Union, and a little later the American armies, led by two Southern generals, Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott, and composed more than half of Southern soldiers, made good the cause of the Lone Star State, enlarged its boundaries, and acquired New Mexico and California. Thus was stretched the canopy of the wide heavens that now spread over the American republic; and counting the constellation of forty-two stars that glitter in it, forget not, ye who have sentiment of justice, that over thirty of them were sown there by measures and by deeds in which Southern States and Southern soldiers took a leading part, and in which the patriotism and love of Union of the South never faltered.

"If the people with such a history could have adopted secession mighty indeed must have been the propulsion to it. I shall not discuss its policy, for it would be as vain a thing to do as to discuss that of the Revolution of 1776. Each revolution concluded the question that induced it. Slavery was the cause of our civil war, and with the war its cause perished. But it should be the desire of all to understand each other and to think well of each other, and the mind capable of just and intelligent reflection should not fail in judging the past to remember the conditions and views that controlled the southern people and their leader.

"Remember that their forefathers with scarce less attachment to the British government, and with less conflict of interest, had set the precedent, seceding themselves from the British empire, tearing down ancient institutions, revolutionizing the very structure of society, and giving proud answer to all accusers in the new evangel of the west that the people

have a right to alter or abolish government whenever it becomes destructive to their happiness or safety.

"I have found nowhere evidence that Jefferson Davis urged secession, though he believed in the right, approved the act of Mississippi after it had been taken, felt himself bound by his State allegiance whether he approved or no, and then, like all his Southern countrymen, did his best to make it good. Remember that the Federal constitution was silent as to secession, that the question was one of inference only, and that implications radiated from its various provisions in all directions.

"If one argued that the very institute of government implied perpetuity, as Lincoln did in his first inaugural address, another answered that reservation to the States of powers not delegated rebutted the implication; another that the government and the constitution had come into being in that free atmosphere which breathed the declaration that they must rest upon the consent of the governed; and yet another answered in Lincoln's own language that any people anywhere had the right to shake off a government, and that this was the right that 'would liberate the world.'

"Remember that this right of secession had never been denied until recent years, that it had been preached upon the hustings, enunciated in political platforms, proclaimed in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, embodied in our literature, taught in schools and colleges, interwoven with the texts of jurisprudence, and maintained by scholars, statesmen and constituencies of all States and sections of the country.

"Remember, furthermore, that secession was an open question in 1861. No statute had ever declared, no executive had ever proclaimed, no court had held it to be unconstitutional. The States had declared themselves to be free and independent. American sovereignty was hydra-headed, and each State had its own statute, defining and punishing treason against itself. No man could have an independent citizenship of the United States, but could only acquire citizenship of the federation by virtue of citizenship of one of the States. The eminent domain of the soil remained in the State; and to it escheated the property of the interstate and heirless dead. Was not this the sovereign that 'had the right to command in the last resort'?

"Tucker had so taught in his commentaries on Blackstone, writing from old Williamsburg; so Francis Rawle, the eminent lawyer whom Washington had asked to be Attorney-General, writing on the constitution in Philadelphia; and so DeTocqueville, the most acute and profound of foreign writers on American institutions.

"Where could an arbiter be found? There was no method of invoking the Supreme Court; it had no jurisdiction to coerce a State or summon it to its bar. Nor could its decree be final. For it is a maxim of our jurisprudence uttered by Jefferson, and reiterated by Lincoln in his first inaugural address, that its decisions may be reconsidered and reversed and bind only the clients.

"Recall the history of the doctrine, forget not that the first mutterings of secession had come from the North as early as 1793, in opposition to the threatened war with England, when the sentiments uttered by Theodore Dwight in his letter to Wolcott were widespread: 'Sooner would ninety-nine out of a hundred of our inhabitants separate from the Union than plunge themselves into an abyss of misery.'

"Nullification broke out in the South in 1798 led by Jefferson, and again in 1830 led by Calhoun, but in turn secession or nullification was preached in and out of congress, in State legislatures, in mass meetings and conventions in 1803, 1812, and in 1844 to 1850, and in each case in opposition made by the North to wars or measures conducted to win the empire and solidify the structure of the Union.

"While Jefferson was annexing Louisiana, Massachusetts legislators were declaring against it as 'forming a new confederacy to which the States united by the former compact were not bound to adhere.'

"While new States were being admitted into the Union out of its territory and the war of 1812 was being conducted Josiah Quincy was maintaining the right of secession in Congress; the eastern States were threatening to exercise that right, and the Hartford convention was promulgating the doctrine.

"When Texas was annexed and Jefferson Davis was in Congress advocating it Massachusetts was declaring it unconstitutional and that any such 'act or admission would have no binding obligation on its people.'

"While the Mexican war was being fought and the soldier-statesman of Mississippi was carrying the stars and stripes in glory over the heights of Monterey, and bleeding under them in the battle shock of Buena Vista, Abraham Lincoln was denouncing the war as unconstitutional and Northern multitudes were yet applauding the eloquence of the Ohio orator who had said in Congress that the Mexicans should welcome our soldiers 'with bloody hands to hospitable graves.'

"Consider these grave words, which are but freshly written in the life of Webster by Henry Cabot Lodge, who is at this time a Republican representative in Congress from the city of Boston, Mass.

"When the constitution was adopted by the votes of States at Philadelphia and accepted by votes of States in popular conventions it was safe to say there was not a man in the country, from Washington and Hamilton on the one side to George Clinton and George Mason on the other, who regarded the new system as anything but an experiment entered upon by the States, *and from which each and every State had the right to peaceably withdraw—a right which was very likely to be exercised.*"

"Recall the contemporary opinions of Northern publicists and leading journals. The New York *Herald* considered coercion out of the question. On the 9th of November, 1860, the New York *Tribune*, Horace Greeley being the editor, said:

"If the cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless, and we do not see how one party can have a right to do what another party has a right to prevent. We must ever resist the asserted right of any State to remain in the Union and nullify or defy the laws thereof; to withdraw from the Union is quite another matter."

"This was precisely the creed of Jefferson Davis.

"Again, on the 17th of December, after the secession of the South Carolina, that journal said:

"If the Declaration of Independence justified the secession from the British empire of three millions of colonists in 1776 we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five millions of Southerners from the Federal Union in 1861. If we are mistaken on this point why does not some one attempt to show wherein and why?"

"And yet again on the 23d of February, after Mr. Davis had been inaugurated as President at Montgomery, it said:

"We have repeatedly said, and we once more insist, that the great principal embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of American Independence that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is sound and just, and that if the slave States, the cotton States, or the Gulf States only choose to form an independent nation they have clear moral right to do so."

"The controlling truth was that two incompatible and hostile civilizations were in ceaseless conflict, and the balance of power between them, like the balance of power in Europe, dominated the politics of the country. There was equilibrium between these rival powers and sections when their race began and each in turn threatened secession as the equilibrium trembled to the one side or the other.

"This was the cause of northern hostility to the Louisiana, the Texas, and Mexican annexations, and this the cause of southern contention for territorial rights in Kansas and Nebraska.

"Having given the North generous advantage in the north-western territory in 1787, and foreseeing the doom of her institutions and the upheaval of her society, with the balance of power lost to her, and unable to maintain herself in the Union on an issue which involved not only two thousand millions of property, but far more than that, the peace of society, and the integrity, purity, and liberty of the white race, the South adopted in 1861 the measure which the northern States had often threatened but never attempted against the Union, the measure which all Americans had not only attempted, but had consecrated as just in principle and vindicated by deed in 1776.

"The historian will note that while the United States declared war on the ground that secession was treason, they practically treated it as a political question of territorial integrity. They accorded belligerent rights to the Confederacy, exchanged prisoners, and gave paroles of war, and revolutionized all theories and constitutional mandates to carry their main point—the preservation of the Union. General Grant says of their legislation in his memoirs: 'Much of it was no doubt unconstitutional, but it was hoped that the laws enacted would subserve their purpose before their constitutionality could be submitted to the judiciary and a decision obtained.' Of the war he says: 'The constitution was not framed with a view to any such rebellion as that of 1861-'65. While it did not authorize rebellion it made no provision against it. Yet,' he adds, 'the right to resist or suppress rebellion is as inherent as the right of an individual to preserve his life when it is in jeopardy. The constitution was, therefore, in abeyance for the time being, so far as it in any way affected the progress and termination of the war.'

"This is revolution.

"Indicted for treason Jefferson Davis faced his accusers with the uplifted brow and dauntless heart of innocence, and eagerly asked a trial. If magnanimity had let him pass, it would have been appreciated, but they who punished him without a hearing before they set him free, now proceeded to amend the constitution to disfranchise him and his associates, finding, like Grant, nothing in it, as it stood against such movement as he led.

"It may be that but for the assassination of President Lincoln—most infamous and unhappy deed—which

"Upgraded the universal peace
And poured the milk of concord into hell,"

the country would have been spared the shame of President Davis's cruel incarceration, and the maiming of the constitution.

"For I can scarcely believe that he who three times overruled emancipation; who appealed to 'indispensable necessity' as justification for 'laying strong hands on the colored element;' who candidly avowed Northern 'complicity' in the wrongs of his time; who said, 'I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me'; who had preached revolution in 1848, and revolutionized all things to save the Union in 1862—I can scarce believe it possible that one of his broad mind and generous heart would have persecuted an honorable foe. It has been a wonder to me that those who justly applaud his virtues have not copied his example; wonder, indeed, that all men have not seen that the events which controlled him controlled also his antagonist.

"The United States have been unified by natural laws, kindred to those which unified the South in secession, but greater because wider spread. Its physical constitution in 1861 answered to the Northern mind the written constitution, and the traditions of our origin to which the South appealed. The Mississippi river, the natural outlet of a new-born empire to the sea, was a greater interpreter to it than the opinions of statesmen who lived when the great new commonwealths were yet in the wilderness, and before the great republic spanned the father of waters.

"The river seeking its bed as it rolls oceanward pauses not to consider whose are the boundaries of the estates through which it flows. If a mountain barrier stands in way it forms a lake until the accumulated waters break through the impeding wall or dash over it in impetuous torrents. So nations in their great movements seem to be swept out of the grooves defined by the laws of man, and are oftentimes propelled to destinies greater than those conjured in their dreams.

"The rivalry, not the harmony of sections, won the empire of the Union; its physical constitution proved more powerful than its written one; in the absence of a judge all appealed to the jury of the sword. We belong to a high-handed race and understand the law of the sword, for the men of independence in 1776 and 1861 were of the same blood as those who in each case cried, 'Disperse, ye rebels.' And were I of the North I would prefer to avow that it made conquest by the high hand than coin the great strife that marshalled over three millions of soldiers into police-court technicalities and belittle a revolution continent-wide into the quelling of an insurrection, and the vicarious punishment of its leader. The greatest conqueror proclaims his naked deed.

"As we are not of the North but of the South, and are now like all Americans, both of and for the Union, bound up in its destinies, contributing to its support and seeking its welfare, I feel that as he was the hero in war who fought the bravest, so he is the hero now who puts the past in its truest light, does justice to all, and knows no foe but him who revives the hates of a bygone generation.

"If we lost by war a Southern union of thirteen States, we have yet a common part in a continental union of forty-two, to which our fathers gave their blood, and upon which they shed their blessings, and a people who could survive four years of such experience as we had in 1861-'65, can work out their own salvation on any spot of earth that God intended for man's habitation. We are in fact in our father's home, and it should be, as it is, our highest aim to develop its magnificent possibilities and make it the happiest dwelling place of the children of men.

"The Southern leader was no secessionist *per se*. His antecedents, his history, his services, his own earnest words often uttered, attest his love of the Union and his hope that it might endure. In 1853, in a letter to Hon. William J. Brown, of Indiana, he repudiated the imputation that he was a disunionist.

"'Pardon, he said, 'pardon the egotism in consideration of the occasion when I say to you that my father and uncles fought in the Revolution of 1776, giving their youth, their blood, and their little patrimony to the constitutional freedom which I claim as my inheritance. Three of my brothers fought in the war of 1812, two of them were comrades of the Hero of the Hermitage, and received his commendation for gallantry at New Orleans. At sixteen years of age I was given to the service of my country. For twelve years of my life I have borne its arms and served it zealously if not well. As I feel the infirmities which suffering more than age has brought upon me, it would be a bitter reflection indeed if I was forced to conclude that my countrymen would hold all this light when weighed against the empty panegyric which a time-serving politician can bestow upon the Union, for which he never made a sacrifice.

"'In the Senate I announced if any respectable man would call me a disunionist I would answer him in monosyllables. But I have often asserted the right for which the battles of the Revolution were fought, the right of a people to change their government whenever it was found to be oppressive and subversive of the objects for which governments are instituted, and have contended for the independence and sovereignty of the States;

a part of the creed of which Jefferson was the apostle, Madison the expounder, and Jackson the consistent defender.'

"Four years later, when Senator Fessenden, of Maine, said, turning to him, 'I have avowed no disunion sentiments on this floor, can the honorable gentleman from Mississippi say as much?' Mr. Davis answered: 'Yes, I have long sought for a respectable man to allege the contrary.' And the imputation ended with the unanswered challenge to produce the evidence. Even when secession seemed a foregone conclusion, Mr. Davis strove to avert it, being ready at any time to adopt the Crittenden measures of compromise if they were accepted by the opposition, and when the Representatives and Senators from Mississippi were called in conference with the governor of that State in December, 1860, he still advised forbearance 'as long as any hope of a peaceful remedy remained,' declaring that he felt certain from his knowledge of the people North and South that 'if once there was a clash of arms the contest would be one of the most sanguinary the world had ever witnessed.' But a single member of the conference agreed with him; several of its members were so dissatisfied with his position that they believed him entirely opposed to secession and as seeking delay with the hope that it might be averted; and the majority overruling his counsels, he then announced that he would stand by any action which might be taken by the convention representing the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi. Thus he stood on the brink of war, conservative, collected, appreciating the solemn magnitude of the crisis, and, although the pencil of hostile passion has otherwise portrayed him, I do not believe there was a man living in 1861 who could have uttered more sincerely than he the words of Addison, 'Is there not some chosen curse, some hidden thunder in the stars of Heaven, red with uncommon wrath to blast the man who owes his greatness to his country's ruin?'

"Pleading still for conciliation, on January 10, 1861, it was the heart of a patriot and not that of the ambitious aspirant from which flowed these words:

"'What, Senators, to-day is the condition of the country? From every corner of it comes the wailing cry of patriotism pleading for the preservation of the great inheritance we derived from our fathers. Is there a Senator who does not daily receive letters appealing to him to use even the small power which one man here possesses to save the rich inheritance our fathers gave us? Tears are trickling down the faces of men who have bled for the flag of their country and are willing now to die for it; but patriotism stands powerless before the plea

that the party about to come to power adopted a platform, and that come what will, though ruin stare us in the face, consistency must be adhered to, even though the government be lost.'

"Even as he spoke, though perhaps as yet unknown to him, Mississippi the day before had passed the ordinance of secession.

"On the 20th of January he rose in the Senate to announce that fact, and that 'of course his functions there were terminated.'

"In language characterized by dignity and moderation, in terms as decorous and in sentiments as noble as became a solemn crisis and a high presence, he bade farewell to the Senate.

"*'In the course of my service here,'* he said, *'associated at different times with a great variety of Senators, I see now around me some with whom I have served long. There may have been points of collision, but whatever of offence there has been to me I leave here. I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offence I have given which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, Senators, in this hour of our parting to offer you my apology for any pain which in the heat of discussion I have inflicted. I go hence unincumbered of the remembrance of any injury received, and I have discharged the duty of making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered.'*

"In clear statement he summarized his political principles:

"*'It is known to you, Senators, who have served with me here, that I have for many years advocated as an essential attribute of State sovereignty the right of a State to secede from the Union;'* but he hoped none would *'confound this expression with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union and to disregard the constitutional obligation by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory.'* *'Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis of State sovereignty. There was a time when none denied it.'*

"He pointed out that the position he then assumed was the same that he had occupied when Massachusetts had been arraigned at the bar of the Senate, and when the doctrine of coercion was ripe and to be applied against her because of the rescue of a fugitive slave in Boston. *'My opinion then was the same as it is now. I then said that if Massachusetts chose to take the last step which separates her from the Union, it is her right to go, and I will neither vote one dollar nor one man to force her back; but will say to her God speed, in memory of*

the kind associations which once existed between her and the other States.'

"In concluding, he said: 'I find in myself perhaps a type of the general feeling of my constituents towards yours. I am sure I feel no hostility toward you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussions there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say in the presence of my God, I wish you well, and such I am sure is the feeling of the people whom I represent towards those whom you represent.

"I, therefore, feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceable relations with you, though we must part.

"They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it.

"The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of our country, and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers who delivered them from the power of the Lion to protect us from the ravages of the Bear, and thus, putting our trust in God and in our firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we may.'

"Well was that pledge redeemed. South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, and North Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee, all seceded, while Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland were divided in sentiment. Jefferson Davis became by unanimous selection, President of the Confederate States of America, the capital first planted at Montgomery was removed here to Richmond, and for four years the new republic waged for its life the mightiest warfare of modern times. 'There was something melancholy and grand,' says a Northern historian, 'in the motives that caused Virginia at last to make common cause' with the South. Having made it she has borne her part with a sublimity of heroism such as was never surpassed, and has uttered no cry in the majesty of her sorrows.

"No State had done more for peace than Virginia, as none had done more originally for Union; no State more reluctantly or more unselfishly drew the sword; no State wielded a brighter or sterner blade after it was drawn; no State suffered so much by it; no State used triumph with more generosity or faced defeat with greater dignity; no State has abided the fate of war with greater magnanimity or greater wisdom; and no State turns her face with fairer hope or steadier courage to the future. It seemed the very sarcasm of destiny that the Mother of States should have been the only one of all the American Common-

wealths that was cut in twain by the sword. But it is the greatness of spirit, not the size of the body, that makes the character and glory of the State, as of the man; and old Virginia was never worthier the love of her sons and the respect of all mankind than to-day as she uncovers her head by the bier of the dead chieftain whose fortunes she followed in storm and trial, and to whose good fame she will be true, come weal, come woe.

"I shall make no post-mortem examination of the Confederacy in search of causes for its fall. When an officer during the war was figuring on prospects of success General Lee said to him: 'Put up your pencil, colonel; if we follow the calculations of figures we are whipped already.'

"Twenty millions of people on the one side, nine millions (and half of them slaves) on the other; a great navy, arsenals, armories, factories, railroads, boundless wealth and science, and an open world to draw upon for resources and reinforcements upon the one side, and little more than a thin line of poorly-armed and half-fed soldiery upon the other, pitted one man against two—a glance of the eye tells the story of the unequal contest. As my noble commander, General Early, said: 'I will not speculate on the causes of failure, as I have seen abundant causes for it in the tremendous odds brought against us.'

"That President Davis made mistakes I do not doubt; but the percentage of mistakes was so small in the sum of his administration and its achievements so transcended all proportions of means and opportunities that mankind will never cease to wonder at their magnitude and their splendor.

"Finances went wrong, some say. Finances always go wrong in failures; but not worse in this case than in the Revolution of 1776, when Washington was at the head. So far did they go wrong then that not even success could rescue the worthless paper money of our fathers from repudiation and oblivion, and even to this day the very worst fling that can be made at the Confederate note reaches a climax in the expression, 'It is not worth a continental.'

"Blame Jefferson Davis for this or that; discount all that critics say, and then behold the mighty feat which created and for four years maintained a nation; behold how armies without a nucleus were marshalled and armed—how a navy, small indeed, but one that revolutionized the naval warfare of all nations and became the terror of the seas, was fashioned out of old hulks or picked up in foreign places; see how a world in arms was held at bay by a people and a soldiery whom he held together with an iron will and hurled like a flaming thunderbolt at their foes.



MEMBERS OF THE FIRST CONFEDERATE CABINET.

From photographs furnished by W. W. Davies, of the Lee Gallery, Richmond, Va. Most of them taken about the time of their appointment.

S. R. Mallory.
L. P. Walker.

R. Toombs.
G. Trenholm.

J. P. Benjamin.
J. N. Reagan.

"In his cabinet he gathered the foremost civilians of the land—Toombs, Hunter, Benjamin, Watts, Davis, Memminger, Trenholm, Walker, Randolph, Seddon, Breckinridge, Mallory, Reagan. Good men and true.

"To the leadership of his soldiers whom did he delegate? If some Messonier could throw upon the canvas Jefferson Davis in the midst of those chiefs whom he created, what grander knighthood could history assemble? Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, Joseph E. Johnston, G. T. Beauregard, Samuel Cooper and Braxton Bragg were generals of the full rank. Stonewall Jackson, Forrest, Polk, Hardee, Ewell, D. H. Hill, A. P. Hill, Hood, Richard Taylor, Holmes, R. H. Anderson, Pemberton, Early, Kirby Smith, Longstreet, Hampton, S. D. Lee, A. P. Stewart, Buckner, Wheeler and Gordon were their lieutenants. Major-generals, brigadiers and field officers—cavalry leaders, artillerists and infantry commanders—who became world-renowned throng upon the memory; the names of Stuart, Morgan, Ashby, Cleburne and their compeers spring from the full heart to the lip. Would that time permitted me to call that brilliant roll of the living and the dead; but why need the voice pronounce what all would speak?

"Men judge Napoleon by his marshals; judge Jefferson Davis and his cause by his chosen chieftains, and the plea of words seems weak indeed by the side of men and deeds.

"Troop behind them those armies of 'tattered uniforms and bright muskets'; but no, it is beyond the reach of either brush or chisel to redeem to the imagination such men, such scenes, as shine in their twenty-two hundred combats and battles. Not until some new-born Homer shall touch the harp can mankind be penetrated by a sense of their heroic deeds, and then alone in the grand majestic minstrelsy of epic song.

"And now that war is flagrant, far and wide, on land and sea and river, over the mountain and the plain rolls the red battle-tide, and rises the lofty cheer. The son falls, the old father steps in his place. The father falls, the stripling of the play-ground rushes to the front; the boy becomes a man. Lead fails; old battle-fields are raked over, children gather up bullets as they would pluck berries, household ornaments and utensils are broken, and all are moulded into missiles of war. Cannon fail; the very church bells whose mellow chimes have summoned to the altar, are melted and now resound with the grim detonations of artillery. Clothes fail; old garments are turned over, rags and exercise are raiment. The battle-horse is killed, the ship goes down; the unhorsed trooper and the unshipped tar trudge along with the infantry. The border States

are swept away from the Confederacy, the remaining ones gird their loins the tighter. Virginia is divided; there is enough of her left for her heroic heart to beat in. New Orleans is gone; Vicksburg falls; Gettysburg is lost; armies wither; exiles make their homes in battle; slender battalions do the duty of divisions. Generals die in the thick fight; captains become generals; a private is a company. Luxuries disappear; necessities become luxuries. Fields are wasted, crops and barns are burned, flocks and herds are consumed, and naught is left but 'man and steel—the soldier and his sword.'

"The desolate winter lays white and bleak upon the land; its chill winds are resisted by warm and true affections.

"Atlanta, Mobile, Charleston, Savannah falls—the Confederacy is cut to pieces. Its fragments become countries, with frontiers on skirmish lines and capitals on horseback.

"Ports are sealed—the world and the South are parted. All the dearer seems the scant sky that hangs over her bleeding children.

"On and on and on come the thickening masses of the North—brave men, bravely led and ably commanded; and as those of the South grow thinner, theirs grow stronger. Hope sinks; despair stiffens courage.

"Everything fails but manhood and womanhood. The woman cooks and weaves and works, nurses the stricken, and buries her dead, and cheers her living. The man stands to his gun behind Johnston, behind Lee. Petersburg and Richmond starve and bleed and yet stand dauntless. And here amongst you—while the thunders shake the capitol and the window-panes of his home and the earth trembles—here stands Jefferson Davis, unshaken, untrembling, toiling to give bread to his armies and their kindred, toiling to hold up the failing arms of his veterans, unbelieving that heaven could decree the fall of such a people.

"At last the very fountains of nature fail. The exhausted South falls prone upon its shield.

"It is gone. All gone. Forever gone. The Confederacy and its sons in gray have vanished; and now at last hoary with years the chieftain rests, his body mingling with the ashes of the brave which once quickened with a country's holy passion.

"Hither let that body be borne by the old soldiers of the Confederacy. Here in Richmond by the James, where was his war home; where his child is buried; where his armies were marshalled; where the Congress sat; where was the capital, the arsenal, the citadel, the field of glory, and at last the tomb of the Confederacy—here let him be buried, and the land of Wash-

ington and Lee and Stonewall Jackson will hold in sacred trust his memory and his ashes.

"The restless tides of humanity will rush hither and thither over the land of battles. The ages will sweep on, and

'Rift the hills, roll the waters, flash the lightnings, weigh the sun.'

"The white sails of commerce will thicken on your river and the smoke of increasing factories will blacken the skies. Mountains will pour forth their precious metals, and fields will glow in the garniture of richer harvests. The remnants of lives spared from the battle will be interwoven with the texture of the Union; new stars will cluster upon the flag, and the sons of the South will bear it as their fathers bore it to make the bounds of freedom wider yet. Our great race will meet and solve every problem, however dark, that it now faces, and a people reconciled and mighty will stretch forth their arms to stay those of the oppressor. But no greater souls will rise than those who find rest under the Southern sod, from Sumter's battered wall to the trailing vines and ivy leaves of Hollywood, and none will come forth of truer heart or cleaner hands or higher crest to lead them.

"To the dust we give his body now; the ages receive his memory. They have never failed to do justice, however tardy, to him who stood by his people and made their cause his own.

"The world does not to-day think the less of Warren because he fell at Bunker Hill, a red-handed colonial rebel, fighting the old flag of his sovereign even before his people became secessionists from the crown, nor because his yeomen were beaten in the battle.

"The great character and work of John Hampden wear no stigma, though he rode out of the battle at Chalgrove stricken to death by a loyal bullet and soon filled a rebel's grave.

"Oliver Cromwell is a proud name in English history, though the English republic which he founded was almost as short-lived as the Confederacy and was soon buried under the re-established throne of the Stuarts.

"And we but forecast the judgment of the years to come when we pronounce that Jefferson Davis was great and pure as statesman, man, and patriot.

"In the eyes of Him to whom a thousand years are as a watch in the night, the war and the century in which it came are but as a single heart-throb in the breast of time, and when the myriads of this great land shall look back through unclouded skies to the old heroic days the smoke and stain of the battle

will have vanished from the hero's name. The tall chieftain of the men who wore the gray will stand before them 'with a countenance like the lightning and in raiment as white as snow.'"

But after all that could be said upon this question, only a single statement answers it. When the United States government had Mr. Davis in its power, and the Northern people were clamoring for his trial and conviction for treason, they kept him in prison for two years; and after consulting their ablest lawyers, and, as it is understood, at the advice of their Chief-Justice Chase, did not dare to go into trial because they knew that he had committed no treason and done no wrong, and they were not willing to give him the opportunity, for which he begged, of vindicating himself and his people at the bar of history. They confessed judgment by refusing to try him, and it is too late now to attempt to brand him and his people with the foul stigma of treason.

XIV.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR.

After leaving the Senate Mr. Davis returned to Mississippi, and promptly accepted the position tendered him as Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the volunteer forces of the State.

He longed for peace and was in favor of making every reasonable sacrifice to attain it; but he feared the worst, and favored making the most active preparations to meet the war which he believed the Republicans of the North would force upon the South.

While actively engaged in organizing the forces of his State, and preparing for whatever emergency might come, the delegates of the "Provisional Congress" assembled at Montgomery, Ala., and among their first acts unanimously elected as President of the Confederate States, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi.

So far from its being true, as has been falsely alleged, that this was the object of Mr. Davis's ambition—that he conspired to break up the Union in order to be President of a Southern Confederacy—the proof is conclusive that he neither sought nor desired this position. He had expressed himself in the strongest terms to his friends as preferring to serve in the army, and had his wishes been consulted another would have been chosen to this position of high honor and great responsibility.

But when it was made known to him that the united voice of all the States of the Confederacy looked to him as the leader

and guide of the new "Republic of Republics," he sacrificed his own preferences, went promptly to Montgomery, and was inaugurated on the 18th of February, 1861.

The ceremony of the inauguration was very simple, consisting in the taking of the oath of office and the inaugural address of President Davis, but an immense crowd of enthusiastic Confederates heard the address and cheered it to the echo.

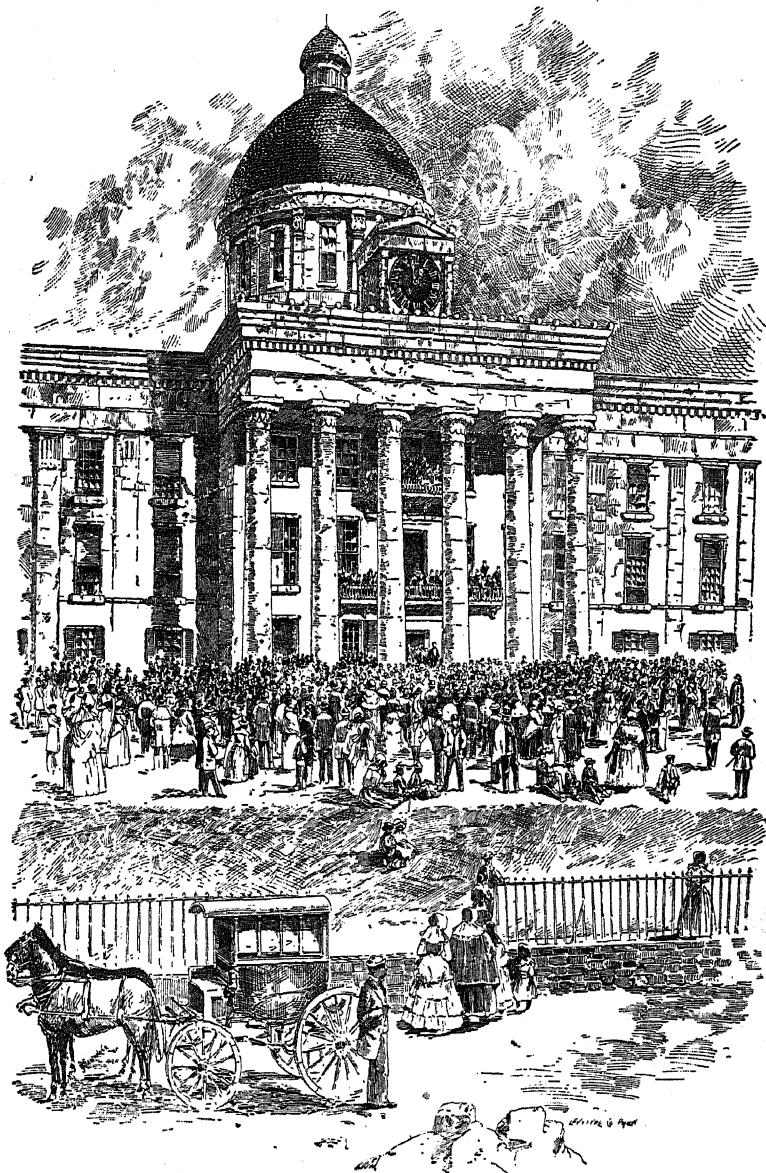
As a clear, able, and eloquent statement of the views of Mr. Davis, and as a defense of the Confederate cause, this address is worthy of the most careful study, and is given in full as follows:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT DAVIS, DELIVERED AT THE
CAPITOL, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1861.

*Gentlemen of the Congress of the Confederate States of America,
Friends and Fellow-Citizens:*

"Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned to me with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people.

"Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent government to take the place of this, and which, by its greater moral and physical power, will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office, to which I have been chosen, with the hope that the beginning of our career, as a Confederacy, may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and, with the blessing of Providence, intend to maintain. Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish governments whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established.



INAUGURAL AT MONTGOMERY, ALA.

The carriage that brought Mr. Davis to the Capitol is shown in the foreground.

"The declared purpose of the compact of union from which we have withdrawn, was 'to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity;' and when in the judgment of the sovereign States now composing this Confederacy, it had been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and had ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box, declared that so far as they were concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 had defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion for its exercise, they as sovereigns, were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and He, who knows the hearts of men, will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit. The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States and which has been affirmed and re-affirmed in the bills of rights of States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States, here represented, proceeded to form this Confederacy, and it is by abuse of language that their act has been denominated a revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained, and the rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent, through whom they communicated with foreign nations, is changed; but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations.

"Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of just obligations, or any failure to perform any constitutional duty; moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others; anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States

will be found equal to any measures of defense which honor and security may require.

"An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest, and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the northeastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that a mutual interest would invite good will and kind offices. If, however, passion or the lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency, and to maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth. We have entered upon the career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued. Through many years of controversy with our late associates, the Northern States, we have vainly endeavored to secure tranquility, and to obtain respect for the rights to which we are entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation; and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled; but if this be denied to us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us, with firm resolve, to appeal to arms and invoke the blessings of Providence on a just cause.

"As a consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide for the speedy and efficient organization of branches of the Executive Department, having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and the postal service.

"For purposes of defense, the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon the militia; but it is deemed advisable, in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well-instructed and disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace estab-

lishment. I also suggest that, for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have doubtless engaged the attention of Congress.

"With a constitution differing only from that of our fathers, in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent, freed from the sectional conflicts which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that States from which we have recently parted, may seek to unite their fortunes with ours under the government which we have instituted. For this your constitution makes adequate provision; but beyond this, if I mistake not, the judgment and will of the people, a re-union with the States from which we have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of the Confederacy, it is requisite that there should be so much homogeneity that the welfare of every portion shall be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered which must and should result in separation.

"Actuated solely by the desire to preserve our own rights and promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check; the cultivation of our fields has progressed as heretofore; and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, and in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of the producer and consumer can only be interrupted by an exterior force, which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets—a course of conduct which would be as unjust towards us as it would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad. Should reason guide the action of the government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated by even the strongest desire to inflict injury upon us; but if otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the meantime, there will remain to us, besides the ordinary means before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of the enemy.

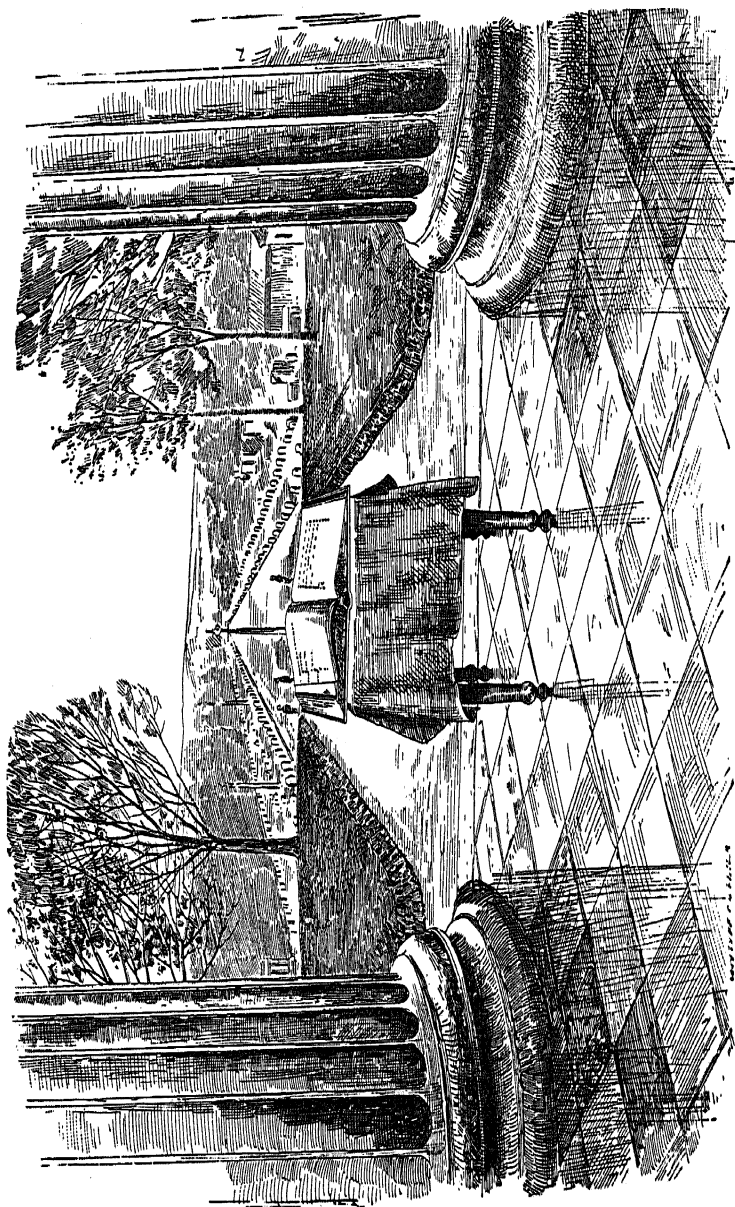
"Experience in public stations, of subordinate grades to this which your kindness has conferred, has taught me that care, and toil, and disappointment, are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate, but you shall not find in me either a want of zeal or fidelity to the cause that is to me highest in hope and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction—one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duty required at my hands.

"We have changed the constituent parts but not the system of our government. The constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States, in their exposition of it; and, in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning.

"Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of the instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectations, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good will and confidence which welcomed my entrance into office.

"It is joyous, in the midst of perilous times, to look around upon a people united in heart, where one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole—where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor, and right, and liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard—they cannot long prevent—the progress of a movement sanctified by its justice, and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which, by his blessing, they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity, and with a continuance of his favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, and to prosperity."

Hon. A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, had been elected Vice-President of the Confederacy, and the following were selected as members of the Cabinet: Hon. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, Secretary of State; Hon. L. P. Walker, of Alabama, Secretary



THE BIBLE USED IN TAKING THE OATH AT THE INAUGURAL.

of War; Hon. C. C. Memminger, of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury; Hon. S. R. Mallory, of Florida, Secretary of the Navy; Hon. J. H. Reagan, of Texas, Postmaster-General; Hon. J. P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, Attorney-General.

The very first action of the Confederate government was to declare their wish to settle all differences with the United States government and to "adjust everything pertaining to the common property, common liabilities, and common obligations of that union upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith."

To this end Hon. A. B. Roman, of Louisiana; Hon. Martin J. Crawford, of Georgia, and Hon. John Forsyth, of Alabama, were appointed on the 25th of February commissioners to proceed to Washington, and seek a peaceful and satisfactory adjustment of all matters between the two governments.

Meantime Virginia had led in the call for the famous "Peace Conference," and conservative men of every section were laboring for peace. But all in vain. Hon. Zack Chandler, of Michigan, voiced the sentiments of the ultra men who now had control of the government, when he said "*without a little blood letting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush;*" the new President was bent on his purpose "to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts;" and while there were at the North some very strong and notable protests against any attempt to coerce the sovereign States of the South, yet events rapidly tended in that direction, and the efforts of the Confederate government at a peaceful solution of the difficulties met a sad and signal failure.

We have not space here for the details, but the correspondence of the Confederate commissioners with the authorities at Washington, and the statements of Judge John A. Campbell, of the Supreme Court, who acted as an intermediary between them and Secretary of State W. H. Seward, show that they

acted with rare discretion and always in the interests of peace, while Mr. Seward was guilty of a duplicity and bad faith, which would have been a disgrace to a semi-civilized or barbarous nation, and is a foul blot on the escutcheon of the United States.

The Secretary promised distinctly and repeatedly that Sumter should be evacuated, and wrote, "*Faith as to Sumter fully kept. Wait and see,*" at the very time that an armed expedition was on its way to provision and reinforce the garrison. South Carolina had ceded the site on which Sumter had been built to the general government, *for the protection of the harbor of Charleston*, and now that the fort was to be used not for its original purpose, but for the destruction of her beautiful city, the State had *the clear right to demand it back*, and the Confederate authorities acted with rare patience and forbearance when they waited so long in the vain hope of getting peaceable possession of their own.

But when they received information that this powerful armament was about to enter the harbor to reinforce Sumter, and make it impregnable to their assaults, in opening fire upon the fort they acted *as strictly in self-defence as the man who uses whatever force may be necessary to disarm an assassin about to strike him without waiting for the fatal blow*.

All, therefore, that has been written or spoken about the South "firing the first gun" is the veriest nonsense and bosh.

I overheard a very lively discussion at Winchester, Va., when "old Stonewall" captured it in May, 1862, from "Quartermaster Banks," between a Federal colonel, who was a prisoner, and a private soldier in the Thirteenth Virginia regiment.

After the discussion had progressed for some time the colonel, with a considerable air of confidence, said to "Johnny":

"I will settle the discussion, sir, by asking you just one question. *Who fired the first gun in this war?*"

As quick as a flash the Confederate replied:

"John Brown at Harper's Ferry, sir. He fired the first gun. And Mr. Lincoln, in attempting to reinforce Sumter, fired the second gun. And the Confederates have acted on the defensive all of the time. We did not invade your country, but you invaded ours; you go home and attend to your own business and leave us to attend to ours, and the war will close at once."

Did not this humble private soldier in his reply to the Federal colonel give the philosophy of the whole question? And does the world's history afford a clearer example of a brave people standing on the defensive and resisting the invasion of their rights and of their territory' than that of the people of the South?

But the government at Washington accomplished its purpose in inducing the Confederates to capture Sumter, raised the cry that "the flag had been insulted," "fired the Northern heart" by utterly misrepresenting the facts, and deliberately inaugurated war to force the seceded States back into the Union. Mr. Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand men to coerce the seceded States, and called upon Virginia and other border States to furnish their quota, and he thus inaugurated the most iniquitous war of modern times; while from that day every effort has been made to cast the odium of it on Mr. Davis and the Confederates.

Looking back at it from the results and in the calm light of twenty-nine years after the event, it is very easy to say that the South ought not to have seceded and brought upon herself the "overwhelming numbers and resources" against which she fought, and yet it is quite certain that General Lee voiced the real sentiment of the true people of the South when, several years after the war, he said to General Wade Hampton: "We could have pursued no other course without dishonor. And sad as the result has been, if it had all to be done over again, we should be compelled to act in precisely in the same manner."

But the odds against us were fearful as a very brief statement will clearly show:

General Lee (in a circular letter which, after the war, he addressed to his leading officers asking their help in the preparation of his proposed history of his campaigns) said: "It will be difficult to get the world to appreciate the odds against which we fought," and this has been fully realized. Even our Confederate writers are often misled into gross exaggerations of our numbers, and it is a rare thing to find a Northern writer who does not follow the estimates made during the war, and greatly overstate Confederate numbers and resources. But the official reports, the "field returns," etc., are now accessible

The census of 1860 shows that the fourteen States from which the Confederacy drew any part of its forces had a white population of only 7,946,111, of which 2,498,891 belonged to Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, which three States actually furnished (because of the force of circumstances they could not control) more men to the Federal than to the Confederate armies; so that the total population upon which the Confederacy could draw was only 5,447,220, while the Federal government had (exclusive of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri) a population of 19,011,360. Add to this the patent facts that we soon lost large portions of our territory—that the Federal armies were largely recruited from our negro population—and that, by means of large bounties and other inducements, they drew from the dense populations of Europe a very large proportion of their levies, and it will be seen that the odds in numbers against the Confederacy must have been enormous. The statement that has sometimes been made that the 4,000,000 of negroes in the South "were the same as soldiers, because they did the work in the fields which white men would have had to do," is sufficiently refuted by saying that from the first the negroes were enticed into the Federal lines—that they were enlisted by thousands in the Federal armies and employed in

other capacities which relieved white soldiers—and that it was very common for the young negro men to run off leaving only the old men, the women, and the children, as a burden on the plantation, and a heavy tax on the planter.

Secretary Stanton (page 31 of his final report) states that there were actually mustered into the service of the United States from the 15th of April, 1861, to the 14th of April, 1865, 2,656,553 men. In 1881 the adjutant-general's office published a tabulated statement of the men furnished by each State to the United States armies, from which it appears that there were actually mustered into the service of the United States during the war 2,859,132 men.

Mr. William Swinton, after a careful investigation of the Confederate records, states that 600,000 men were put into the Confederate armies during the entire war. In a correspondence between Dr. Joseph Jones, of New Orleans (first secretary of the Southern Historical Society), and General S. Cooper, the accomplished Adjutant-General of the Confederacy (see Southern Historical papers, vol. VII., page 287), it is clearly shown that the entire number of men mustered into the Confederate service did not exceed 600,000—that not more than 400,000 were enrolled at any one time—that the Confederates never had in the field more than 200,000 men capable of bearing arms at any one time, *i. e.*, exclusive of sick, wounded, and disabled—that one-third of the entire number, or 200,000, were either killed upon the field or died of wounds or disease—that another third of the entire number were captured—and that in April, 1865, the available force of the Confederates numbered *scarcely* 100,000 men, to whom there were opposed over 1,000,000 Federal soldiers.

Add to this great disparity of numbers the well-known facts that the South was an agricultural and not a manufacturing people—that our ports were blockaded and we were shut in from the markets of the world—that we were all of

the time deficient in clothes, equipments, arms, ammunition, transportation, rations, *everything* necessary to the efficiency of armies save the skill of our generals and the brave hearts of our men—and it will be conceded that General Lee did not put it too strongly when he said in his farewell address that we were “*compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.*”

But although Mr. Davis had done everything in his power to avert war he bravely met the issue when forced upon him, and, despite scant numbers and resources, for four years he maintained the contest with an ability, skill, and heroism which astonished the world, which *deserved* success, and which would unquestionably have *won* it, but for causes beyond his control.

As soon as Virginia passed her ordinance of secession (April 17, 1861), and cast in her lot with her Southern sisters, Mr. Davis proposed the removal of the Confederate capital to Richmond, and this was promptly agreed upon.

Mr. Davis himself arrived in Richmond the last of May, his journey hither being a series of ovations at every city, town and village along the route, and was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations by the people.

His headquarters were first at the Spotswood hotel, and then in “the White House of the Confederacy,” which the city of Richmond purchased as a gift to the President, but which he persistently declined to receive, and only consented to occupy on condition that full rent should be paid for it.

A detailed sketch of the life of Mr. Davis in Richmond, and his administration of the affairs of the Confederate government—his joy at a long line of victories which illumine brightest pages of the world’s history, and his calm, dignified bearing amid disasters and final failure—would make a volume many times larger than this, and cannot, of course, be given here.



MRS. DAVIS IN FULL DRESS GIVING A RECEPTION AT THE "WHITE HOUSE."

Mrs. Davis is in the foreground in this picture. The gentleman who is talking with her is Col. Lloyd J. Beall, formerly of the U. S. Army, and a classmate of Mr. Davis and General Lee at West Point. The face between Colonel Beall's and Mrs. Davis is that of Colonel, afterwards General Custis Lee, son of Gen. Robert E. Lee. The next male head to the left of the reader is that of Colonel Ives, of the President's Staff. To the right of Colonel Beall is Mr. Davis's well-known face. Next to him that of Colonel Burton N. Harrison, the President's Private Secretary. Next, again, that of Colonel Wm. M. Brown, of the President's staff.

We can only give a few illustrations of the salient points of his life in Richmond, and his conduct of the war.

The *Richmond Dispatch* thus relates some of the incidents of his life in Richmond:

"Mr. Davis came to Richmond from Montgomery, Ala., upon the removal of the capital here, and reached this city May the 29th, 1861.

"War was just then beginning in earnest. The enthusiasm of our people ran high. The uniforms of our soldiers were as yet unstained by the mud of the trenches. The gold braid on the officers' coats was untarnished. Sugar, coffee, tea, dry goods, and medicines were to be had at slightly advanced prices. South Carolina troops were encamped at the old fair grounds (Monroe Park), and the ladies of the city lavished upon them their best attentions. Virginia troops were rendezvousing at the new fair grounds (Exposition grounds), and Jackson Park (between the old reservoir and Harvietown) was being filled with Southern regiments. All were getting ready to go to the field of Manassas. Many regiments were already there, while another army was under Magruder on the Peninsula.

"Mr. Davis was received here with distinguished honors, and quarters were assigned him at the Spotswood hotel, which then stood at the southeast corner of Main and Eighth streets, but was destroyed by fire December 25, 1870.

"Here speeches were made, welcome after welcome extended, and crowds pressed forward to be introduced to Mr. Davis and members of his family.

"Mrs. Davis was thus described:

"She is a tall, commanding figure, with dark hair, eyes and complexion, and strongly marked characteristics, which lie chiefly in the mouth. With firmly-set yet flexible lips there is indicated much energy of purpose and will, but beautifully softened by the usually sad expression of her dark, earnest eyes. Her manners are kind, graceful, easy, and affable, and her receptions are characterized by the dignity and suavity which should very properly distinguish the drawing-room entertainments of the Chief Magistrate of a republic.'

"Proud of becoming the capital of the Confederacy, desirous to do honor to President Davis, and anxious to give him the

heartiest possible welcome here, the city council purchased and furnished what was ever afterwards known as 'the Jeff. Davis mansion,' and offered it to him as a free gift.

"He declined it.

"He would not accept any present of value; but he agreed to make the house his home upon condition that the city should receive from the government, whose duty it was to furnish him a home, rent therefor. He occupied the house in the early summer of 1861, and bade farewell to it April 2, 1865.

"From the windows of this house there was a view northward into the county of Henrico. It is a high hill, at the foot of which runs Shockoe creek. Before the President was a prospect of small farms and orchards; of humble suburban houses set in the midst of trees, and four miles off he caught a glimpse of the tall green trees growing in the swamps of the Chickahominy.

"His outlook was to the front—not toward the James. The river was back of him, and at the battles around Richmond in June, 1862, had he been at home instead of in the saddle with his generals (as he often was) he could have seen the flash of our artillery at Mechanicsville and at Ellerson's mill. From the windows of the house looking east he could see the James meandering towards Drewry's Bluff and Dutch Gap.

"The house was built in 1817 and 1818 by Dr. John Brockenbrough, from whom it passed to Mr. James M. Morson, and thence to Hon. James A. Seddon, and thence to Mr. Lewis D. Crenshaw.

"Mr. Crenshaw sold it, and most of the furniture which it contained, to the city for \$40,000.

"From the front porch the entrance door opened into the principal hall (14x18 feet), elliptical in form with two niches, each containing a bronze statue utilized, if not designed, for gas purposes. The front of the building to the right of the hall was divided into a staircase hall, with two niches containing marble statuettes, and a cosy library (11-3x14 feet), and to the left was a private stairway, and the entry affording ingress to the dining-room and egress from the building. The elegant apartments for entertaining were in rear and *en suite*, the parlor (18x24 feet) being located between the withdrawing-room (about 22 feet square) and the dining-room about (22x

29 feet). Each of these rooms was lighted by a large side-light window extending to the floor and affording access to a noble piazza (12x67 feet) facing the south. The dining-room had two additional windows on the east side, both opening upon a terrace.

"It was from the window of this building that President Davis's little son Joe fell and lost his life.

"As you entered the house from Clay street on the right was a small ante-room to the beautiful parlors where all State receptions were held during the war. On the opposite side of the hall or passage was the library and dining-room. Upstairs were the chambers and private office of Mr. Davis. In the basement was the pantry and store-rooms of various sorts."

This house was occupied as Federal headquarters on the capture of Richmond, and has for some years been used as one of the public school buildings of the city; but there are plans on foot to convert it into a Confederate museum and library, and it is hoped that this will be done.

"The President's office was on the third floor of the Treasury building (custom-house) and at the head of the steps as you entered from Bank street.

"Within two years past the custom-house building has been remodelled and enlarged and a new front has been put on Bank street, but the rooms which he occupied have been left intact and are reached almost exactly as they were twenty-five years ago.

"The room of the private secretary of the President, Burton N. Harrison, was that which subsequently became the office of the United States Marshal.

"The room across the passage, long occupied as the office of the clerk of the United States District Court, was the room used by President Davis.

"The aids to the President (in 1863) were: Colonel William M. Browne, residence on Franklin street, Church Hill, second door from Twenty-sixth street; Colonel James Chestnut, of South Carolina; Colonel William Preston Johnston, of Kentucky, residence at Mr. Dill's on the Meadow-Bridge road; Colonel Joseph C. Ives, of Mississippi, residence corner Grace and First streets; Colonel G. W. Custis Lee, of Virginia, resi-

dence Franklin between Seventh and Eighth street; Colonel John T. Wood, residence Sixth street south of Main, in rear of Second Baptist church. President's Private Secretary, Burton N. Harrison, of Mississippi, residence at the President's house. Messenger, Master William Davies (now proprietor of a photograph gallery here).

"Unless detained by pressing business Mr. Davis usually left his office at about 5 o'clock. Sometimes Mrs. Davis would come for him in her carriage, but oftener, he would walk, and about sundown would be seen on his horse (he was a beautiful rider) galloping along some street leading to the country.

"On one of these rides when he was passing through the eastern section of the city in the neighborhood of Gillie's creek and Williamsburg avenue he was fired upon and narrowly escaped death from the bullet of an assassin hidden in one of the small houses in that vicinity.

"The matter was kept very quiet indeed, few people in Richmond ever heard of it, but the arrest of a man suspected of the crime was made at the time. No positive evidence could be procured against him and he was discharged.

"This incident has recently been the subject of a letter written by Mr. Davis, in which he states his positive conviction that the shot which he so narrowly escaped was not a chance-shot fired in his direction by accident, but one aimed at him by the hand of an assassin.

"Mr. Davis left the city to be present at the battle of Manassas and soon after that conflict at arms returned to Richmond and made a speech from a window of the Spotswood.

"During the seven-days' battles in front of this city he was often on the field, but with these exceptions and one or two visits South, he remained in Richmond constantly during the war."

He was present at the close of the battle of First Manassas ["Bull Run", it is called by Northern writers] on the 21st of July, 1861, and sent from the field the following characteristic dispatch:

"MANASSAS JUNCTION, Sunday Night.

"Night has closed upon a hard-fought field. Our forces were victorious. The enemy were routed, and precipitately fled abandoning a large amount of arms, knapsacks, and baggage.



"THERE COMES THE PRESIDENT."

At the battle of First Manassas, where T. J. Jackson won his sobriquet of "Stonewall," he was wounded during the first of the fight but refused to leave the field or have his wound attended to until after the battle was over. While the surgeons were dressing his wound, a party of horsemen were seen approaching, and some one said that it was President Davis. Jackson pushed aside the surgeons and exclaimed, "Here comes the President. Hurrah for the President! Give me ten thousand men and I will be in Washington to-night."

The ground was strewn for miles with those killed, and the farm-houses and ground around were filled with the wounded. Pursuit was continued along several routes towards Leesburg and Centreville, until darkness covered the fugitives. We have captured many field batteries and stands of arms, and one of the United States flags. Many prisoners have been taken. Too high praise can not be bestowed, whether for the skill of the principal officers, or the gallantry of all our troops. The battle was mainly fought on our left. Our forces was 15,000; that of the enemy estimated at 35,000. JEFF'N DAVIS."

It was afterwards charged that he stopped the pursuit of the enemy that night, and was responsible for the long inactivity which followed that great victory; but the proof is overwhelming that he was very anxious to have a vigorous pursuit and issued an order to that effect, and that he was pressing General Johnston for weeks and months after the battle to utilize the victory by an advance across the Potomac.

On his return to Richmond after this battle he received a most enthusiastic ovation, and made brief but ringing speeches at the depot and to an immense crowd that gathered at the Spotswood hotel that night.

He "counseled moderation and forbearance in victory, with unrelaxed preparations" for the future struggles of the war; and used that famous utterance: "*Never be haughty to the humble nor humble to the haughty.*"

At this period his popularity with his people knew no bounds. It was only after disaster came that grumblers arose to criticise and condemn his conduct of affairs; but he always had with him the hearts of an overwhelming majority of the soldiers and the people.

In November, 1861, he was, without opposition, elected by the people President of the "permanent" government of the Confederate States, and on the 22d of February, 1862, he was, inaugurated. Mr. Alfriend, who was present on the occasion,

has so vividly described the scene that we quote his account in full:

"The inaugural ceremonies were as simple and appropriate as those witnessed at Montgomery a year previous. The members of the Confederate Senate and House of Representatives, with the members of the Virginia Legislature, awaited in the hall of the House of Delegates the arrival of the President. In consequence of the limited capacity of the hall, comparatively few spectators—a majority of them ladies—witnessed the proceedings there. Immediately fronting the chair of the speaker were the ladies of Mr. Davis's household, attended by relatives and friends. In close proximity were the members of the cabinet.

"A contemporary account thus mentions this scene: 'It was a grave and great assemblage. Time-honored men were there, who had witnessed ceremony after ceremony of inauguration in the palmiest days of the old confederation; those who had been at the inauguration of the iron-willed Jackson; men who, in their fiery Southern ardor, had thrown down the gauntlet of defiance in the halls of Federal legislation, and in the face of the enemy avowed their determination to be free; and finally witnessed the enthroning of a republican despot in their country's chair of state. All were there; and silent tears were seen coursing down the cheeks of gray-headed men, while the determined will stood out in every feature.'

"The appearance of the President was singularly imposing, though there were visible traces of his profound emotion, and a pallor, painful to look upon, reminded the spectator of his recent severe indisposition. His dress was a plain citizen's suit of black. Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, temporary president of the Confederate Senate, occupied the right of the platform; Mr. Boccock, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the left. When President Davis, accompanied by Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, chairman of committee of the arrangements on the part of the Senate, reached the hall and passed to the chair of the speaker, subdued applause, becoming the place and the occasion, greeted him. A short time sufficed to carry into effect the previously arranged programme, and the distinguished procession moved to the Washington monument, where a stand was prepared for the occasion.

"Hon. James Lyons, of Virginia, chairman of the House committee of arrangements, called the assemblage to order, and an eloquent and appropriate prayer was offered by Bishop Johns, of the Diocese of Virginia. The President, having received a most enthusiastic welcome from the assemblage, with a clear and measured accent, delivered his inaugural address:

"Fellow-citizens: On this, the birthday of the man most identified with the establishment of American independence, and beneath the monument erected to commemorate his heroic virtues and those of his compatriots, we have assembled, to usher into existence the permanent government of the Confederate States. Through this instrumentality, under the favor of Divine Providence, we hope to perpetuate the principles of our revolutionary fathers. The day, the memory, and the purpose seem fitly associated.

"It is with mingled feelings of humility and pride that I appear to take, in the presence of the people, and before high Heaven, the oath prescribed as a qualification for the exalted station to which the unanimous voice of the people has called me. Deeply sensible of all that is implied by this manifestation of the people's confidence, I am yet more profoundly impressed by the vast responsibility of the office, and humbly feel my own unworthiness.

"In return for their kindness, I can only offer assurances of the gratitude with which it is received, and can but pledge a zealous devotion of every faculty to the service of those who have chosen me as their chief magistrate.

"When a long course of class legislation, directed not to the general welfare, but to the aggrandizement of the northern section of the Union, culminated in a warfare on the domestic institutions of the Southern States; when the dogmas of a sectional party, substituted for the provisions of the constitutional compact, threatened to destroy the sovereign rights of the States, six of those States, withdrawing from the Union, confederated together to exercise the right and perform the duty of instituting a government which would better secure the liberties for the preservation of which that Union was established.

"Whatever of hope some may have entertained that a returning sense of justice would remove the danger with which

our rights were threatened, and render it possible to preserve the union of the constitution, must have been dispelled by the malignity and barbarity of the Northern States in the prosecution of the existing war. The confidence of the most hopeful among us must have been destroyed by the disregard they have recently exhibited for all the time-honored bulwarks of civil and religious liberty. Bastiles filled with prisoners, arrested without civil process, or indictment duly found; the writ of *habeas corpus* suspended by executive mandate; a State legislature controlled by the imprisonment of members whose avowed principles suggested to the Federal executive that there might be another added to the list of seceded States; elections held under threats of a military power; civil officers, peaceful citizens, and gentle women incarcerated for opinion's sake, proclaimed the incapacity of our late associates to administer a government as free, liberal, and humane as that established for our common use.

"For proof of the sincerity of our purpose to maintain our ancient institutions, we may point to the constitution of the Confederacy and the laws enacted under it, as well as to the fact that, through all the necessities of an unequal struggle, there has been no act, on our part, to impair personal liberty or the freedom of speech, of thought, or of the press. The courts have been open, the judicial functions fully executed, and every right of the peaceful citizen maintained as securely as if a war of invasion had not disturbed the land.

"The people of the States now confederated became convinced that the government of the United States had fallen into the hands of a sectional majority, who would pervert the most sacred of all trusts to the destruction of the rights which it was pledged to protect. They believed that to remain longer in the Union would subject them to a continuance of a disparaging discrimination, submission to which would be inconsistent with their welfare and intolerable to a proud people. They, therefore, determined to sever its bonds, and establish a new confederacy for themselves.

"The experiment, instituted by our revolutionary fathers, of a voluntary union of sovereign States, for purposes specified in a solemn compact, had been prevented by those who, feeling power and forgetting right, were determined to respect no law but their own will. The government had ceased to answer

the ends for which it had been ordained and established. To save ourselves from a revolution which, in its silent but rapid progress, was about to place us under the despotism of numbers, and to preserve, in spirit as well as in form, a system of government we believed to be peculiarly fitted to our condition and full of promise for mankind, we determined to make a new association, composed of States homogeneous in interest, in policy, and in feeling.

"True to our traditions of peace and love of justice, we sent commissioners to the United States to propose a fair and amicable settlement of all questions of public debt or property which might be in dispute. But the government at Washington, denying our right to self-government, refused even to listen to any proposals for a peaceful separation. Nothing was then left to us but to prepare for war.

"The first year in our history has been the most eventful in the annals of this continent. A new government has been established, and its machinery put in operation, over an area exceeding seven hundred thousand square miles. The great principles upon which we have been willing to hazard every thing that is dear to man have made conquests for us which could never have been achieved by the sword. Our Confederacy has grown from six to thirteen States; and Maryland, already united to us by hallowed memories and material interests, will, I believe, when able to speak with unstified voice, connect her destiny with the South. Our people have rallied, with unexampled unanimity, to the support of the great principles of constitutional government, with firm resolve to perpetuate by arms the rights which they could not peacefully secure. A million of men, it is estimated, are now standing in hostile array, and waging war along a frontier of thousands of miles; battles have been fought, sieges have been conducted, and, although the contest is not ended, and the tide for the moment is against us, the final result in our favor is not doubtful.

"The period is near at hand when our foes must sink under the immense load of debt which they have incurred—a debt which, in their efforts to subjugate us, has already attained such fearful dimensions as will subject them to burdens which must continue to oppress them for generations to come.

"We, too, have had our trials and difficulties. That we are

to escape them in the future is not to be hoped. It was to be expected, when we entered upon this war, that it would expose our people to sacrifices, and cost them much both of money and blood. But we knew the value of the object for which we struggled, and understood the nature of the war in which we were engaged. Nothing could be so bad as failure, and any sacrifice would be cheap as the price of success in such a contest.

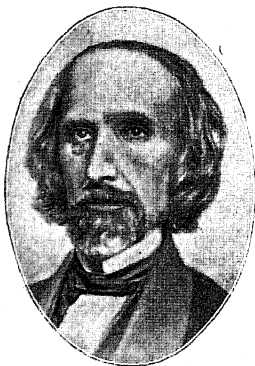
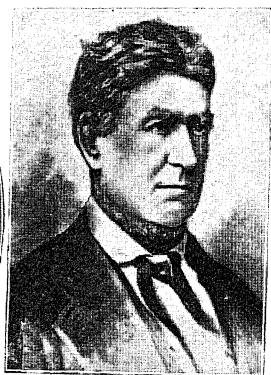
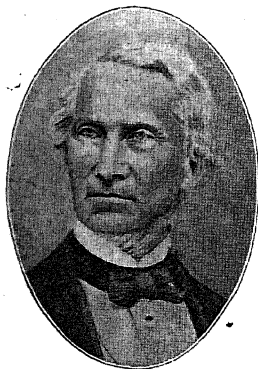
"But the picture has its lights as well as its shadows. This great strife has awakened in the people the highest emotions and qualities of the human soul. It is cultivating feelings of patriotism, virtue and courage. Instances of self-sacrifice and of generous devotion to the noble cause for which we are contending are rife throughout the land. Never has a people evinced a more determined spirit than that now animating men, women, and children in every part of our country. Upon the first call, the men fly to arms; and wives and mothers send their husbands and sons to battle without a murmur of regret.

"It was, perhaps, in the ordination of Providence that we were to be taught the value of our liberties by the price which we pay for them.

"The recollections of this great contest, with all its common traditions of glory, of sacrifices and of blood, will be the bond of harmony and enduring affection amongst the people, producing unity in policy, fraternity in sentiment, and joint effort in war.

"Nor have the material sacrifices of the past year been made without some corresponding benefits. If the acquiescence of foreign nations in a pretended blockade has deprived us of our commerce with them, it is fast making us a self-supporting and an independent people. The blockade, if effectual and permanent, could only serve to divert our industry from the production of articles for export, and employ it in supplying commodities for domestic use.

"It is a satisfaction that we have maintained the war by our unaided exertions. We have neither asked nor received assistance from any quarter. Yet the interest involved is not wholly our own. The world at large is concerned in opening our markets to its commerce. When the independence of the Confederate States is recognized by the nations of the earth, and we are free to follow our interests and inclinations by cul-



MEMBERS OF THE SECOND CABINET.

From photographs by W. W. Davies.

T. Bragg.
C. G. Memminger.
J. A. Seddon.

T. H. Watts.
R. M. T. Hunter.

G. Davis.
J. C. Breckinridge.
G. W. Randolph.

tivating foreign trade, the Southern States will offer to manufacturing nations the most favorable markets which ever invited their commerce. Cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, provisions, timber, and naval stores will furnish attractive exchanges. Nor would the constancy of these supplies be likely to be disturbed by war. Our confederate strength will be too great to attempt aggression; and never was there a people whose interests and principles committed them so fully to a peaceful policy as those of the Confederate States. By the character of their productions, they are too deeply interested in foreign commerce wantonly to disturb it. War of conquest they cannot wage, because the constitution of their Confederacy admits of no coerced association. Civil war there cannot be between States held together by their volition only. This rule of voluntary association, which cannot fail to be conservative, by securing just and impartial government at home, does not diminish the security of the obligations by which the Confederate States may be bound to foreign nations. In proof of this, it is remembered that, at the first moment of asserting their right of secession, these States proposed a settlement on the basis of a common liability for the obligations of the general government.

"Fellow-citizens, after the struggles of ages had consecrated the right of the Englishman to constitutional representative government, our colonial ancestors were forced to vindicate that birthright by an appeal to arms. Success crowned their efforts, and they provided for their posterity a peaceful remedy against future aggression.

"The tyranny of an unbridled majority, the most odious and least responsible form of despotism, has denied us both the right and the remedy. Therefore we are in arms to renew such sacrifices as our fathers made to the holy cause of constitutional liberty. At the darkest hour of our struggle, the provisional gives place to the permanent government. After a series of successes and victories, which covered our arms with glory, we have recently met with serious disasters. But, in the heart of a people resolved to be free, these disasters tend but to stimulate to increased resistance.

"To show ourselves worthy of the inheritance bequeathed to us by the patriots of the Revolution, we must emulate that heroic devotion which made reverse to them but the crucible in which their patriotism was refined.

"With confidence in the wisdom and virtue of those who will share with me the responsibility and aid me in the conduct of public affairs; securely relying on the patriotism and courage of the people, of which the present war has furnished so many examples, I deeply feel the weight of the responsibilities I now, with unaffected diffidence, am about to assume; and, fully realizing the inadequacy of human power to guide and to sustain, my hope is reverently fixed on Him, whose favor is ever vouchsafed to the cause which is just. With humble gratitude and adoration, acknowledging the Providence which has so visibly protected the Confederacy during its brief but eventful career, to Thee, O God! I trustingly commit myself, and prayerfully invoke Thy blessing on my country and its cause."

"The effect of this address upon the public was electrical. The anxious and dispirited assemblage, which, for more than an hour previous to the arrival of the President, had braved the inclement sky and traversed the almost impassable avenues of capitol square, in eager longing for reassuring words from him upon whose courage and will so much depended, was not disappointed. A consciousness of a burden removed, of doubts dispelled, of the reassured feeling, which comes with strengthened conviction that confidence has not been misplaced, animated and thrilled the crowd as it caught the impressive tones and gestures of the speaker. In the memory of every beholder must forever dwell the imposing presence of Mr. Davis, as, with uplifted hands, he pronounced the beautiful and appropriate petition to Providence, which forms the peroration."

Without going into the details we may say, in general, that Mr. Davis gave his personal attention to all of the departments of government; that he did everything in his power to provide for the exigencies of the public service, and that he did everything that ability, zeal, and self-sacrificing patriotism could do to promote the success of the Confederate cause.



DAVIS, LEE, AND JACKSON IN COUNCIL.

When Jackson was moving from the Valley to take his place in the Seven Days' Battles around Richmond, he left his command at Frederick's Hall, in Louisa county, at two o'clock in the morning, and pressing horses on the way galloped into Richmond to breakfast, held a council with President Davis and General Lee, which is represented by the picture, and returned to the army, without the people of Richmond knowing that he had been here or his command knowing that he had been absent.

XV.

THREE YEARS OF CARNAGE.

Our space does not permit us to tell the story of the Confederate disasters of the early part of 1862, in the capture of Roanoke Island, New Orleans, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, &c., nor of how Stonewall Jackson electrified the Confederacy with his laconic dispatch, "God blessed our arms with victory at McDowell yesterday," and startled and alarmed the North by his brilliant "Valley campaign."

Nor can we detail the story of Lee's splendid victories in the "Seven days' battles," which raised the siege of Richmond, forced McClellan to the protection of his gunboats, transferred the seat of war to Northern Virginia, where he won on the plains of Manassas a victory which effectually dismounted "Headquarters in the saddle," and enabled the Confederates to cross into Maryland, capture Harper's Ferry, fight the drawn battle of Sharpsburg, and close the campaign with the crushing defeat of Burnside at Fredericksburg, the 13th of December, 1862.

Nor can we tell of how that superb soldier and stainless gentleman, Albert Sidney Johnston, to whom Mr. Davis clung despite of disasters and severe criticism, gathered together his scattered forces and won at Shiloh a victory which would unquestionably have resulted in the destruction or capture of Grant's whole army, had not our peerless leader been stricken down in the full tide of victory.

Nor can we tell of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, The Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court-house,

Cold Harbor, Dalton, Atlanta, Petersburg, and hundreds of other hard-fought fields which illustrated American heroism, but in which General Grant's famous policy of "attrition" was finally successful, and the Confederates were starved into the final result of Appomattox and Greensboro.

Nor can we tell in full how grandly our noble chief bore himself amid all of these changing fortunes. We can only give a few illustrations of his life and character during these eventful years.

General Richard Taylor gave the following incident which illustrates President Davis's methods of making his appointments:

"On the eve of returning to the army I learned of my promotion to brigadier, to relieve General Walker, transferred to a brigade of Georgians. This promotion seriously embarrassed me. Of the four colonels whose regiments constituted the brigade, I was the junior in commission, and the other three had been present and 'won their spurs' at the recent battle, so far the only important one of the war. Besides, my known friendship for President Davis, with whom I was connected by his first marriage with my elder sister, would justify the opinion that my promotion was due to favoritism. Arrived at headquarters I obtained leave to go to Richmond where, after an affectionate reception, the President listened to the story of my feelings, the reasons on which they were based, and the request that the promotion should be revoked. He replied that he would take a day for reflection before deciding the matter. The following day I was told that the answer to my appeal would be forwarded to the army, to which I immediately returned. The President had employed the day in writing a letter to the senior officers of the brigade, in which he began by stating that promotions to the grade of general officer were by law intrusted to him, and were made for considerations of public good, of which he alone was judge. He then out of abundant kindness to me went on to soothe the feelings of these officers with a tenderness and delicacy of touch worthy a woman's hand, and so effectually as to secure me their hearty support. No wonder that all who enjoy the

friendship of Jefferson Davis love him as Jonathan did David."

The Raleigh *News and Observer* gives the following:

"In the early summer of 1862, he was asked to confer on some North Carolinian the appointment of brigadier-general. He was pressed to make a political appointment. It was said that public considerations required that an appointment of that character should be made. Mr. Davis was on the battle-field and saw the admirable conduct of Colonel Pender. He assented to the request to make an appointment for North Carolina; but despite the great political pressure put upon him, he conferred the honor on the young colonel, who thus became the youngest brigadier, at the time, in the service. President Davis made no mistake in adhering to his own judgment in that instance. Pender more nearly approached Jackson than any other of General Lee's lieutenants."

The friendship between Mr. Davis and General Albert Sidney Johnston was very tender, but the firmness with which he resisted every effort to have Johnston removed after the disasters at Henry and Donelson—saying, to an able and influential delegation who were urging a change: "If Albert Sidney Johnston is not a general, then the Confederacy has none to give you"—showed his sound judgment as well as his adhesion to the right.

He wrote General Johnston at this time the following letter:

"RICHMOND, VA., March 12, 1862.

"*My Dear General*—The departure of Captain Wickliffe offers an opportunity, of which I avail myself to write you an unofficial letter. We have suffered great anxiety because of recent events in Kentucky and Tennessee; and I have been not a little disturbed by the repetitions of reflections upon yourself. I expected you to have made a full report of events precedent and consequent to the fall of Fort Donelson. In the meantime I made for you such defense as friendship prompted and many years of acquaintance justified; but I needed facts to rebut the wholesale assertions made against you to cover others and to condemn my administration. The pub-

lic, as you are aware, have no correct measure for military operations; and the journals are very reckless in their statements.

"Your force has been magnified, and the movements of an army have been measured by the capacity for locomotion of an individual.

"The readiness of the people among whom you are operating to aid you in every method has been constantly asserted; the purpose of your army at Bowling Green wholly misunderstood; and the absence of an effective force at Nashville ignored. You have been held responsible for the fall of Donelson and the capture of Nashville. It is charged that no effort was made to save the stores at Nashville, and that the panic of the people was caused by the army.

"Such representations, with the sad forebodings naturally belonging to them, have been painful to me, and injurious to us both; but, worse than this, they have undermined public confidence, and damaged our cause. A full development of the truth is necessary for future success.

"I respect the generosity which has kept you silent, but would impress upon you that the question is not personal but public in its nature; that you and I might be content to suffer, but neither of us can willingly permit detriment to the country. As soon as circumstances will permit, it is my purpose to visit the field of your present operations; not that I should expect to give you any aid in the discharge of your duties as a commander, but with the hope that my position would enable me to effect something in bringing men to your standard. With a sufficient force, the audacity which the enemy exhibits would no doubt give you the opportunity to cut some of his lines of communication, to break up his plan of campaign; and, defeating some of his columns, to drive him from the soil as well of Kentucky as of Tennessee.

"We are deficient in arms, wanting in discipline, and inferior in numbers. Private arms must supply the first want; time and the presence of an enemy, with diligence on the part of commanders, will remove the second; and public confidence will overcome the third. General Bragg brings you disciplined troops, and you will find in him the highest administrative capacity. General E. K. Smith will soon have in East Tennessee a sufficient force to create a strong diversion in

your favor; or, if his strength cannot be made available in that way, you will best know how to employ it otherwise. I suppose the Tennessee or Mississippi river will be the object of the enemy's next campaign, and I trust you will be able to concentrate a force which will defeat either attempt.

"The fleet which you will soon have on the Mississippi river, if the enemy's gunboats ascend the Tennessee, may enable you to strike an effective blow at Cairo; but, to one so well informed and vigilant, I will not assume to offer suggestions as to when and how the ends you seek may be attained. With the confidence and regard of many years, I am very truly your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS."

In reply, General Johnston wrote him the famous letter of March 18th, 1862, in which he detailed the events which had culminated in the disasters of Henry and Donelson, ably vindicated himself from the charges that had been made against him, and concluded by saying: "The test of merit, in my profession, with the people, is success. It is a hard rule, but I think it right. If I join this corps to the forces of Beauregard (I confess a hazardous experiment), then those who are now declaiming against me will be without an argument."

Colonel T. M. Jack, in a letter addressed to Colonel Wm. Preston Johnston in 1877, gives a graphic account of the circumstances under which President Davis received this letter:

"Just before the battle of Shiloh your father sent me to Richmond, as bearer of dispatches to President Davis. Among these dispatches was the celebrated letter in which success is recognized as the test of merit in the soldier. My duties, of course, were merely executive to deliver the dispatches in person and return with the answers quietly and promptly.

"Arriving at Richmond, and announcing my business to the proper officer, I was at once shown into the office of Mr. Davis and presented to him. I had never before met the President of the Confederacy. He received me with courtesy, even with kindness, asking me at once, 'How is your general, my friend General Johnston?' There was an earnestness in the ques-

tion which could not be misunderstood. Replying briefly, I handed him my dispatches which he was in the act of opening, when an officer entered the room, to whom the President presented me as General Lee. This was my first meeting with him also, and the last. He had not then attained the full measure of his fame. He was not as yet the idol of the Southern people. These things came afterwards, with the recognition by all fair-minded Christendom of the greatness of the Christian chieftain. There was something fascinating in his presence. His manner struck me as dignified, graceful and easy. He seated himself by my side at the window, and engaged me in conversation about the movements of our Western army, while the President read, in silence, the dispatches of your father. These two historic figures, together in the capital of the Confederacy,—the one chatting pleasantly with a young and unknown officer, the other engrossed with the last formal papers of the ranking general in the field of the Confederate forces after their retreat, and on the eve of a pitched battle on chosen ground,—fastened themselves on the canvas of my memory in bright and lasting colors. Listening to the pleasing tones of the general's voice, I watched at the same time, with eager interest, the countenance of the President, as he read the clear, strong and frank expression of his old friend and comrade, full of facts, and breathing sentiments of the noblest spirit. There was softness then in his face; and as his eye was raised from the paper, there seemed a tenderness in its expression, bordering on tears, surprising and pleasing at that critical juncture in the civil and military leader of a people in arms.

"Next day the President handed me his dispatches, which were delivered to the general at Corinth, as he was preparing for the field.

"How did the President receive you?" he asked in a playful way, as I handed him the dispatches. 'As the aide-de-camp of his friend,' was my response, in the same spirit; after which he made no further allusion to the mission."

The following was the reply borne to General Johnston by Colonel Jack:

"RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, March 26, 1862.

"My Dear General—Yours of the 18th inst. was this day delivered to me by your aide, Mr. Jack. I have read it with

much satisfaction. So far as the past is concerned, it but confirms the conclusions at which I had already arrived. My confidence in you has never wavered, and I hope the public will soon give me credit for judgment rather than continue to arraign me for obstinacy.

"You have done wonderfully well, and now I breathe easier in the assurance that you will be able to make a junction of your two armies. If you can meet the division of the enemy moving from the Tennessee before it can make a junction with that advancing from Nashville, the future will be brighter. If this cannot be done, our only hope is that the people of the Southwest will rally en masse with their private arms, and thus enable you to oppose the vast army which will threaten the destruction of our country.

"I have hoped to be able to leave here for a short time, and would be much gratified to confer with you, and share your responsibilities. I might aid you in obtaining troops; no one could hope to do more unless he underrated your military capacity. I write in great haste, and feel that it would be worse than useless to point out to you how much depends upon you.

"May God bless you is the sincere prayer of your friend,

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

The battle of Shiloh gloriously vindicated General Johnston, and the "obstinacy" of President Davis, in refusing to yield to popular clamor and remove him from command.

On receiving the news from Shiloh, President Davis sent the following message to Congress:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States of America:

"The great importance of the news just received from Tennessee induces me to depart from the established usages, and to make to you this communication in advance of official reports. From official telegraphic dispatches, received from official sources, I am able to announce to you, with entire confidence, that it has pleased Almighty God to crown the Confederate arms with a glorious and decisive victory over our invaders.

"On the morning of the 6th the converging columns of our army were combined by its commander-in-chief, General Albert Sidney Johnston, in an assault on the Federal army, then encamped near Pittsburg, on the Tennessee river.

"After a hard-fought battle of ten hours, the enemy was driven in disorder from his position, and pursued to the Tennessee river, where, under the cover of the gunboats, he was at the last accounts endeavoring to effect his retreat by aid of his transports. The details of this great battle are yet too few and incomplete to enable me to distinguish with merited praise all of those who may have conspicuously earned the right to such distinction, and I prefer to delay our own gratification in recommending them to your special notice, rather than incur the risk of wounding the feelings of any by failing to include them in the list. When such a victory has been won over troops as numerous, well disciplined, armed, and appointed, as those which have been so signally routed, we may well conclude that one common spirit of unflinching bravery and devotion to our country's cause must have animated every breast from that of the commanding general to that of the humblest patriot who served in the ranks. There is enough in the continued presence of invaders on our soil to chasten our exultation over this brilliant success, and to remind us of the grave duty of continued exertion until we shall extort from a proud and vain glorious enemy the reluctant acknowledgment of our right to self-government.

"But an all-wise Creator has been pleased, while vouchsafing to us his countenance in battle, to afflict us with a severe dispensation, to which we must bow in humble submission. The last, long, lingering hope has disappeared, and it is but too true that General Albert Sidney Johnston is no more. The tale of his death is simply narrated in a dispatch from Colonel William Preston in the following words:

"General Johnston fell yesterday, at half-past two o'clock, while leading a successful charge, turning the enemy's right and gaining a brilliant victory. A minie-ball cut the artery of his leg, but he rode on until, from loss of blood, he fell exhausted, and died without pain in a few moments. His body has been entrusted to me by General Beauregard, to be taken to New Orleans, and remain until instructions are received from his family.'

"My long and close friendship with this departed chieftain and patriot forbid me to trust myself in giving vent to the feelings which this intelligence has evoked. Without doing injustice to the living, it may safely be said that our loss is irreparable. Among the shining hosts of the great and good who now cluster around the banner of our country, there exists no purer spirit, no more heroic soul, than that of the illustrious man whose death I join you in lamenting.

"In his death he has illustrated the character for which through life he was conspicuous—that of singleness of purpose and devotion to duty with his whole energies. Bent on obtaining the victory, which he deemed essential to his country's cause, he rode on to the accomplishment of his object, forgetful of self, while his very life-blood was fast ebbing away. His last breath cheered his comrades on to victory. The last sound he heard was their shout of victory. His last thought was his country, and long and deeply will his country mourn his loss.

JEFFERSON DAVIS."

Very similar to his friendship for Albert Sidney Johnston and his clinging to him when there was a cruel outcry against him, was his unwavering friendship for and confidence in Robert E. Lee, when, after his West Virginia campaign, he was so severely censured by the newspapers, and the feeling against him was so strong that nearly all of the officers on the South Carolina and Georgia sea coast signed a protest against his being placed in that important command.

The following correspondence between General Lee and the President after the battle of Gettysburg is honorable alike to both:

CAMP ORANGE, August 8th, 1863.

"*Mr. President.*—Your letters of July 28th and August 2d have been received, and I have waited for a leisure hour to reply, but I fear that will never come. I am extremely obliged to you for the attention given to the wants of this army, and the efforts made to supply them. Our absentees are returning, and I hope the earnest and beautiful appeal made to the country in your proclamation may stir up the whole people,

and that they may see their duty and perform it. Nothing is wanted but that their fortitude should equal their bravery to insure the success of our cause. We must expect reverses; even defeats. They are sent to teach us wisdom and prudence, to call forth greater energies, and to prevent our falling into greater disasters. Our people have only to be true and united, to bear manfully the misfortunes incident to war, and all will come right in the end.

"I know how prone we are to censure, and how ready to blame others for the non-fulfillment of our expectations. This is unbecoming in a generous people, and I grieve to see its expression. The general remedy for the want of success in a military commander is his removal. This is natural, and in many instances proper; for no matter what may be the ability of the officer, if he loses the confidence of his troops, disaster must sooner or later ensue.

"I have been prompted by these reflections more than once since my return from Pennsylvania to propose to your Excellency the propriety of selecting another commander for this army. I have seen and heard of expressions of discontent in the public journals as to the result of the expedition. I do not know how far this feeling extends in the army. My brother officers have been too kind to report it, and so far, the troops have been too generous to exhibit it. It is fair, however, to suppose that it does exist and success is so necessary to us that nothing should be risked to secure it. I, therefore, in all sincerity, request your Excellency to take measures to supply my place. I do this with the more earnestness, because no one is more aware than myself of my inability for the duties of my position. I cannot even accomplish what I myself desire. How can I fulfill the expectations of others? In addition I sensibly feel the growing failure of my bodily strength. I have not yet recovered from the attack I experienced the past spring. I am becoming more and more incapable of exertion, and am thus prevented from making the personal examination and giving the personal supervision to the operations in the field which I feel to be necessary. I am so dull that in making use of the eyes of others I am frequently misled. Everything, therefore, points to the advantages to be derived from a new commander, and I the more anxiously urge the matter upon your Excellency from my

belief that a younger and abler man than myself can readily be obtained. I know that he will have as gallant and brave an army as ever existed to second his efforts, and it would be the happiest day of my life to see at its head a worthy leader—one that would accomplish more than I could perform and all that I have wished. I hope your Excellency will attribute my request to the true reason—the desire to serve my country and to do all in my power to insure the success of her righteous cause.

“I have no complaints to make of any one but myself. I have received nothing but kindness from those above me, and the most considerate attentions from my comrades and companions in arms. To your Excellency I am especially indebted for uniform kindness and consideration. You have done everything in your power to aid me in the work committed to my charge without omitting anything to promote the general welfare. I pray that your efforts may at length be crowned with success, and that you may long live to enjoy the thanks of a grateful people.

“With sentiments of great esteem, I am very respectfully and truly yours,

“R. E. LEE, *General*.

“His Excellency JEFFERSON DAVIS,

“*President of Confederate States.*”

“RICHMOND, VA., August 11, 1863.

“*General R. E. Lee, Commanding Army of Northern Virginia:*

“Yours of the 8th instant has just been received. I am glad that you concur so entirely with me as to the wants of our country in this trying hour, and am happy to add that after the first depression consequent upon our disasters in the West indications have appeared that our people will exhibit that fortitude which we agree in believing is alone needful to secure ultimate success.

“It well became Sidney Johnston, when overwhelmed by a senseless clamor, to admit the rule that success is the test of merit; and yet there has been nothing which I have found to require a greater effort of patience than to bear the criticisms of the ignorant, who pronounce everything a failure which does not equal their expectations or desires, and can see no good result which is not in the line of their own imaginings.

I admit the propriety of your conclusions that an officer who loses the confidence of his troops should have his position changed, whatever may be his ability; but when I read the sentence I was not at all prepared for the application you were about to make. Expressions of discontent in the public journals furnish but little evidence of the sentiment of the army. I wish it were otherwise, even though all the abuse of myself should be accepted as the results of honest observation.

"Were you capable of stooping to it, you could easily surround yourself with those who would fill the press with your laudations, and seek to exalt you for what you had not done, rather than detract from the achievements which will make you and your army the subject of history and object of the world's admiration for generations to come.

"I am truly sorry to know that you still feel the effects of the illness you suffered last spring, and can readily understand the embarrassments you experience in using the eyes of others, having been so much accustomed to make your own reconnaissances. Practice will, however, do much to relieve that embarrassment, and the minute knowledge of the country which you had acquired will render you less dependent for topographical information.

"But suppose, my dear friend, that I were to admit, with all their implications, the points which you present, where am I to find that new commander who is to possess the greater ability which you believe to be required? I do not doubt the readiness with which you would give way to one who could accomplish all that you have wished, and you will do me the justice to believe that if Providence should kindly offer such a person for our use I would not hesitate to avail [myself] of his services.

"My sight is not sufficiently penetrating to discover such hidden merit, if it exists, and I have but used to you the language of sober earnestness, when I have impressed upon you the propriety of avoiding all unnecessary exposure to danger, because I felt our country could not bear to lose you. To ask me to substitute you by some one in my judgment more fit to command, or who would possess more of the confidence of the army, or of the reflecting men of the country, is to demand an impossibility.

"It only remains for me to hope that you will take all pos-

sible care of yourself, that your health and strength may be entirely restored, and that the Lord will preserve you for the important duties devolved upon you in the struggle of our suffering country for the independence of which we have engaged in war to maintain. As ever, very respectfully and truly,
 "JEFF'N DAVIS."

We do not know how we can better illustrate the life and character of this great man during this eventful period than by giving the recollections of him of men who were in position to see and know him intimately.

RECOLLECTIONS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN H. REAGAN,
 FORMER CONFEDERATE POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

The following from the *Baltimore Sun* will be found of great interest and value:

"WASHINGTON, December 6.

'Senator Reagan, of Texas, who was Postmaster-General of the Southern Confederacy, was seated in his comfortable library on P street when a representative of the *Sun* was announced. The Senator had before him several letters which he had recently received from Mr. Davis. He said that Mr. Davis had been so generally misunderstood that anything said in his behalf might be subjected to the same misconstruction. The public had the impression that Mr. Davis was an austere and arbitrary man, when just the reverse was the case. He had two characters—one for public affairs and one for his personal and private relations. He was not hasty at forming conclusions, and was ever ready to receive suggestions from his friends and political advisers. 'I remember well the first cabinet meeting I attended,' said the Senator. 'Mr. Davis then informed his advisers that he wanted us to be as frank with him as he would be with us.' In the preparation of his messages to Congress he invited the fullest and freest discussion of the subjects treated. I remember well one of his favorite remarks, and that was, 'if a paper can't stand the criticism of its friends it will be in a bad way when it gets into the hands of its enemies.' I have always remembered that remark, because it has frequently been my guide in matters of legislation.

"In the organization of the various departments under the Confederacy Mr. Davis at one of the cabinet meetings informed us that we would be called upon to select the men whom we needed to assist us and he would appoint them. But he impressed upon us the fact that we would be held responsible for the conduct and efficiency of the appointees. Mr. Davis was a civil-service reformer in a certain sense, but not in the sense of the present administration of the law on that subject. He was firm in his conclusions and patient in his investigations. In his domestic life he was amiable and gentle, but in official life he knew no word but duty. I remember very well our last formal cabinet meeting. It was after we had left Richmond and were traveling through the southern portion of North Carolina. I believe it was just near the border of the two States, North and South Carolina. It was under a big pine tree that we stopped to take some lunch. Mr. Trenholm, the Secretary of the Treasury, was absent. He had been taken sick at Charlotte, and after trying to keep up with us for about twenty miles he gave out and tendered his resignation. The resignation of Mr. Trenholm was discussed, and it was finally accepted, and I was selected to take charge of his office in conjunction with that of Postmaster-General. I remember on that occasion Mr. Davis said, when I requested to be relieved from that additional duty: 'You can look after that without much trouble. We have concluded that there is not much for the Secretary of the Treasury to do, and there is but little money left for him to steal.' That was sometime in April, 1865.

"Sometime after that George Davis, the Attorney-General, asked Mr. Davis's advice about retiring from the cabinet. The Attorney-General said he wanted to stand by the Confederacy, but his family and his property were at Wilmington, and he was in doubt as to where his duty called him. 'By the side of your family,' promptly responded Mr. Davis. After the Attorney-General left us there were only four members of the cabinet left to continue the journey to Washington, Ga., which was our destination. There was Breckinridge, Secretary of War; Benjamin, Secretary of State; Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, and myself. We put up at Abbeville, S. C., for the night because we were informed that a lot of Yankee cavalry were in Washington, Ga. At that point Ben-

jamin said he proposed to leave the country and get as far away from the United States as possible. Mr. Davis asked him how he proposed to get down to the coast, 'Oh,' replied Benjamin, 'there is a distinguished Frenchman whose name and initials are the same as mine, and as I can talk a little French I propose to pass myself off as the French Benjamin.'

"While passing through South Carolina I was particularly struck with Mr. Davis's generosity. We were passing a little cabin on the road, and we stopped to get a drink of water. A woman, poorly clad, came out to serve us. She recognized Mr. Davis and informed him that her only son was named after him. It was a very warm day, and the cool water was very refreshing. Mr. Davis took from his pocket the last piece of coin he possessed, and gave it to the woman and told her to give it to his namesake. At our next stopping place we compared our cash accounts, and Mr. Davis had a few Confederate notes, which was every cent of money he possessed in this world.

"Senator Reagan did not see Mr. Davis again until after the Democratic convention held in Baltimore in 1872. 'On my way home,' he said, 'I met him in Memphis.' I did not see him again until about two years ago. We have corresponded during all these years, and only three weeks ago I received a long letter from him expressing his regret that he could not accept my invitation for him to visit Washington this winter and be my guest.' Here Senator Reagan exhibited a number of letters in Mr. Davis's own handwriting, and the writing was more like that of an expert correspondence clerk than like that of an old gentleman of 81. In one of the letters Mr. Davis, after thanking Senator Reagan for certain courtesies and several congressional documents, referred to the *Congressional Directory*, and observed that the compiler of that book in reviewing the extension of the Capitol building made no mention of Jefferson Davis, although the latter was on the committee that prepared the bill and advocated its passage. He also corrects a general error with reference to the statue on the dome of the Capitol. He says the sculptor was not Crawford, as some people claim, but Hiram Powers. It is intended to represent America. Senator Reagan's son is named Jefferson Davis Reagan, and in all of Mr. Davis's letters he invariably made some pleasant allusion to his namesake.

"'Mr. Davis,' added Senator Reagan, 'was one of the few men who measured the full force of the war. He from the first contended that it was likely to last a number of years instead of a few months, as many persons predicted. It was at first proposed to enlist an army of two or three hundred thousand men for six months, for by that time it was supposed that the war would be over. Mr. Davis promptly disposed of that suggestion by declaring that it would take at least a year to organize an efficient army, as soldiers could not be made in a few days. He said it would be wiser to establish a smaller army, one that we could afford to arm and equip. From the first he maintained that it would be a long and bloody war, but many Southern men differed with him, and the result was we were obliged to pass that terrible act of conscription to keep our men in the service.

"'There is another question that I wish to touch upon in this connection,' said the Senator. 'I have frequently referred to the question of his disabilities, and we have discussed the subject from various standpoints. Invariably Mr. Davis declared that he could not conscientiously ask to have his disabilities removed, for he could not induce himself to believe that he had done wrong. He was firm in his convictions on that point, and nothing could move him.'

"'What were his characteristics?'

"'He was a man of great labor, of great learning, of great integrity, of great purity.'

"'What, from your knowledge and acquaintance with the man, was the principal motive which actuated him in going into the rebellion?'

"'To secure a government that should be friendly to the people. He was an intense believer in the doctrine that the States should control absolutely their domestic affairs, and that the general government had no power or authority to act outside of the matters specially delegated to it.'

"'There was, then, no vindictiveness, no hostility to the Northern people.'

"'Not at all; not at all. So far from that being the case, Mr. Davis had served in the army and in the War Department, had been a member of both branches of Congress, during all of which experience he associated with the Northern people in such relations that for a year or two before the war



GEN. A. P. HILL ORDERING PRESIDENT DAVIS AND GEN. LEE TO THE REAR.

A scene during the Seven Days' fight around Richmond, when Mr. Davis was almost constantly on the field and often exposed to great danger.

the radical Southern leaders did not confer with him at all. I know this, for I was here, and familiar with what was going on.'

"Why was he elected to the presidency of the Confederacy if the leaders felt so disposed toward him?"

"Because they recognized his ability and integrity of character, and knew that he could be depended on."

"Did his trouble during the war with General Johnston, grow out of the lack of confidence expressed before the rebellion began?"

"I do not care to go into that trouble, for it is one about which I know but little. This much, however, I can say: That before the differences arose between them (and they related to questions of rank and precedence merely in appointments), they were the best of friends. Both were conservative by nature; both were ardent States-rights men, and their divergence was not occasioned by any variance of views as to policy."

"What will be the effect of his death upon the South?"

"There will be general sorrow of the people, for the people of the South greatly loved him."

"Will it affect in any way the sentiment in favor of accepting the results of the war of the rebellion as final?"

"Not at all. Why, Mr. Davis himself always urged the fullest acceptance of the present condition of affairs."

"Why, then, did he not ask to have his disabilities removed?"

"Because he did not feel that he had done anything which required him to ask any man's pardon. He had done his duty as he had conscientiously seen it, and he had no apologies to make therefor. Mr. Davis was greatly misjudged in many ways. He was the most devout Christian I ever knew, and the most self-sacrificing man. When his plantation was in danger of being seized and the property destroyed he was urged by friends to send a force of men to protect it. 'The President of the Confederacy,' he responded, 'cannot afford to use public means to preserve private interests, and I cannot employ men to take care of my property'; and so when his hill property in Hinds county was threatened, and all his books and papers were in danger of destruction, he again resisted all persuasions of friends to have them protected."

"Mr. Reagan said he knew nothing about the intention of the southern members of Congress, whether or not any of them would attend the funeral, as at that time he had seen no one."

RECOLLECTIONS OF HON. GEORGE DAVIS, OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CONFEDERATE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

In his address at the memorial meeting at Wilmington, N. C., Hon. George Davis recalled his association with President Davis in such touching and eloquent style that we quote his remarks in full:

"Mr. Davis opened his remarks by quoting from Psalms LXXXII., 6 and 7: 'I have said, ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.'

"Jefferson Davis, said the speaker, was a prince, a true prince in all that was most noble. To die in the purple of power of state, to fall in the rush of battle where cannons roar and bayonets are flashing, to sink in the arms of victory, to end in the glare and dazzle of proud achievements—these things were not for him.

"After long years of toil and anxiety, of strife and bitterness, of struggle and failure, of hatred and insult and slander, of poverty and misfortune, of weariness, pain and suffering, having finished his course he now rests from his labors—rests in peace. He has passed from earth enduring unto the end.

Oh ! let him pass. He hates him
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer.'

"Whatever was great in his public life—and there was much—whatever was memorable in his actions as soldier, scholar, orator, statesman, patriot, these things I relegate to history. I desire only to utter a few simple words in loving remembrance of the chief I honor, of the man I admire, of the dead friend whom I loved. What manner of man was this for whom ten millions of people are in grief and tears this day? No man ever lived upon whom the glare of public attention beat more fiercely, no man ever lived more sharply criticised, more unjustly slandered, more sternly censured, more strongly condemned, more bitterly hated, more wrongly

maligned, and though slandered by enemies, betrayed by false friends, carped at by ignorant fools, no man ever lived who could more fearlessly, like a great man who long preceded him, 'leave the vindication of his fair fame to the next age and to men's charitable speeches.' Standing here to-day by his open grave, and in all human probability not very far from my own, I declare to you that he was the most honest, truest, gentlest, bravest, tenderest, manliest man I ever knew; and what more could I say than that? My public life was long since over, my ambition went down with the banner of the Lost Cause, and like it never rose again. I have had abundant time in all these quiet years, and it has been my favorite occupation, to review the occurrences of that time and retrospect over the history of that tremendous struggle, to remember with love and admiration the great men who bore their parts in its events.

"I have often thought what was it that the southern people had to be most proud of in all the proud things of their record. Not the achievements of our arms. No man is more proud of them than I; no man rejoices more in Manassas, Chancellorsville, and in Richmond; but all nations have had their victories. There is something, I think, better than that, and it was this—that through all the bitterness of that time, and throughout all the heat of that bitter contest, Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee never spoke a word, never wrote a line, that the whole neutral world did not accept as the very indisputable truth. You all remember that Mr. Davis did not send a message to Congress, in which he portrayed the condition and causes of things, that all the world did not know it to be true. You know, Mr. Chairman, and you remember, you old gray jackets; yes, you all remember, that when General Lee in his quiet, modest, reverent way would telegraph to Mr. Davis at Richmond that God had mercifully blessed our arms, all the lying bulletins that flashed over a continent could not make the world believe that there had been a Federal victory. Aye, truth was the guiding star of both of them, and that is a grand thing to remember; upon that my memory rests more proudly than upon anything else. It is a monument better than marble, more durable than brass. Teach it to your children, that they may be proud to remember Jefferson Davis."

"Mr. Davis stated that Jefferson Davis was one of the few men he had ever known, one of two or three he had known,

who did not grow smaller as you got nearer to them. 'The more you knew him,' said Mr. Davis, 'the nearer you came to him; the more you saw and heard him the greater he grew.'

"He has been growing greater and greater for twenty-five years; he will be greater one hundred years hence than he is to-day. Such wonderful and accurate information I never saw. He seemed to me to have traversed the whole course of science and of nature and of art. Whatever was the topic of conversation, from making a horseshoe to interpreting the constitution, from adjusting a jack-plane to building a railroad, he not only seemed to know all about it, but could tell you the most approved methods of doing it all. Some people have an idea, and not a few I expect, that Mr. Davis was a cold, severe, austere, unfeeling man. There never was a more untrue opinion. No man ever had a better right to know than I. For sixteen months I had the honor to be at the head of the law department of his government, and every sentence of a military court that went to Mr. Davis was referred to me for examination and report. I do not think that I am a very cruel man, but I declare to you that it was the most difficult thing in the world to keep Mr. Davis up to the measure of justice. He wanted to pardon everybody, and if ever a wife or mother or a sister got into his presence it took but a little while for their tears to wash out the records.

"The speaker here referred very feelingly to a touching incident of tenderness and affection displayed by Jefferson Davis at the death-bed of the wife of General Dick Taylor.

"I do not know," said Mr. Davis, "but I profess to you that I thoroughly believe that he never could read the story of 'Little Nell' or the death of Colonel Newcombe without his eyes being bedimmed with tears. Once he was indisposed in Richmond, so sick that the physician confined him to the bed. To relieve the monotony his wife was reading to him one morning some story—I do not remember what. He was so quiet that Mrs. Davis thought that he was asleep, but did not stop for fear of awaking him. She got to that portion of the book where the villain of the story got the heroine into his power and was coming it pretty strong over her, when suddenly she heard him exclaim: 'The infernal villain!' and looking around, the President was sitting up in bed with both fists clenched. Well, this is a little thing; do you respect him

less for it? It showed that he was a man, not a cold image set up on a pedestal for us to admire—a man with the faults and weaknesses of human nature, but a man with the great virtues, great human nature. I never saw a man more simple in his habits of life. He surrounded himself with no barriers of forms and ceremonies. The humblest soldier in the ranks, the plainest citizen in the Confederacy, could have as easy access to him as the members of his cabinet when such demands on his time were consistent with the interests of his country. No man ever lived who more thoroughly despised the mere show and tinsel of state and power, and the trappings of office. Nowadays if Mr. Secretary takes it in his head to go a junketing, or a negro is to be sent on a mission to an insignificant nation of negroes who do not want him, nothing but a war-ship of the government will suffice to sustain their dignity.

“Mr. Davis was at the head of one of the grandest armies that the world ever saw in a time when ‘laws were silenced in the midst of arms,’ and I give you my word I never saw him attended by a guard or by an orderly. His domestic servants were all that were needed and all that he would have. I say he was never attended by a guard; he was once, and I shall never forget his delight when he told me of it. When General Lee was encamped on the banks of the Chickahominy near Richmond, Mr. Davis was in the habit every afternoon after the business of his office was over of riding out to his headquarters. Upon these visits he always went on horseback and generally alone. Upon one occasion he was detained later than usual, and night had fallen before he left General Lee’s tent. As he rode along he heard a horse approaching rapidly and presently a cheery young voice called out ‘Good evening,’ and, as he turned to salute, a young lad rode up to his side—a young boy of some 16 or 17 years of age, but he wore the gray jacket, and had his rifle on his shoulder and his revolver in his belt. ‘Good evening. Is your name Davis—Jefferson Davis?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘Well, don’t you think you are doing very wrong to be riding around in the dark by yourself?’ Mr. Davis said he was within our lines and had nothing to fear from Confederate soldiers. ‘It ain’t right,’ said the boy, ‘for there are bad men in our army as well as in all armies.’ When about two miles from Richmond and the outposts were reached he said: ‘Well, I reckon I’ll go back now.’ The brave lad

thought of the President as in danger and he made himself his body guard, determined to see him through; and he would have died for him there upon that lonely road with as much bravery and cheerfulness as thousands of his comrades were dying every day for the cause Mr. Davis represented.

“Ah, his people loved him, and have met together to-day to show it to the world. I once witnessed a scene which showed how the people loved him. In May, 1867, after two years of the most brutal treatment, the most brutal imprisonment the world ever saw, outside of Siberia, unrelieved by the slightest touch of kindness or generosity, Mr. Davis was brought to trial before the Federal court in Richmond. I chanced to be there, and promised Mrs. Davis, as soon as I had any intimation of what the court was going to do, to come and report. I sat in the court when Chief-Justice Chase announced that the prisoner was released. I never knew how I got out of that court-house, or through the crowd that lined the streets, but I found myself in Mrs. Davis's room and reported. In a little while I looked out of a window and saw that the streets were lined with thousands and thousands of the people of Richmond, and scarcely passage was there even for the carriage in which Mr. Davis rode at a funeral gait; and as he rode every head was bared, not a sound was heard, except now and then a long sigh, and so he ascended to his wife's chamber. That room was crowded with friends, male and female. As Mr. Davis entered they rushed to him and threw their arms around him. They embraced each other; old soldiers, men of tried daring, cried like infants. Dear old Dr. Minnegerode lifted up his hands, with big tears rolling down his cheeks, and the assembled company knelt down while he offered up a short thanksgiving to God for having restored to us our revered chieftain.

“Now what more can I say? I have endeavored to give you these little personal traits of Mr. Davis in order that you might know him better. He was a high-toned, pure-hearted, Christian gentleman, and if our poor humanity has any higher form than that I know not what it is. His great and active intellect never exercised itself with questioning the being of God or the truth of His revelations to man. He never thought it wise or smart to scoff at mysteries which he could not understand. He never was daring enough to measure infinite

power and goodness by the poor narrow gauge of a limited, crippled human intellect. Where he understood he admired, worshiped, adored. Where he could not understand he rested unquestionably upon a faith that was as the faith of a little child—a faith that never wavered, and that made him look always undoubtingly, fearlessly, through life, through death, to life again.”

REMINISCENCES OF EX-GOVERNOR F. R. LUBBOCK OF MR.
DAVIS'S STAFF.

Ex-Governor F. R. Lubbock, of Texas, has been one of Mr. Davis's most ardent admirers and devoted friends, and we are indebted to him for the following reminiscences of his friend, on whose personal staff he served, and with whom he was most intimately associated :

“I had know very little of Mr. Davis personally previous to 1860. Of course his history as a soldier and statesman was well known to all men who had read of the Mexican war and had kept posted in the politics of the country. But the Confederacy was the era from which I date our friendship.

“I was elected Governor of the State of Texas in August, 1861, a few months after commencement of hostilities between the States.* As soon after as it was possible, I hastened to Richmond that I might confer with the President of the Confederate States, and learn from him how I could best aid the Confederacy. On arriving at Richmond I found Mr. Davis absent from the city, and with the army. I proceeded to join him and returned with him to the seat of government. The interview was most interesting to me. He imparted much information as to his future plans of operation, suggesting ways in which the governors of the several States could strengthen the power and further the onward march of the Confederacy without impairing their rights or trenching upon their sovereignty. In a few days I returned to Texas, determined to give to the government of the Confederate States every assistance in my power.

“Having signified my determination to enter the army at the expiration of my gubernatorial term the President did me

the honor on the 5th of November, 1863, the day my term expired, to appoint me assistant adjutant-general in the Confederate army with rank of lieutenant-colonel, and I was on that day assigned to duty by Lieutenant-General E. Kirby Smith, commanding the Trans-Mississippi department.

"In June, 1864, while with the army in Louisiana, I was nominated by the President of the Confederate States and confirmed by the Senate to be an aide to the President with rank of colonel of cavalry. I was advised by Mr. Davis of my appointment and confirmation, which, as he said, was made without opportunity for consultation or information as to my wishes for the reason that he required at once the services of some one well informed as to the wants and demands of the Trans-Mississippi department. He desired, should I accept, that I would report to him as soon as convenient. In a very few hours after receiving my commission I left the army in Louisiana, and repairing to Richmond reported for duty. My reception was all I could have desired. Mr. Davis, always kind and polite, assured me of his pleasure at my coming so promptly, and made me feel quite at home in his military family.

"My first impression when I entered into his presence confirmed my previously-formed opinion of his grand and dignified character, of his patriotism and devotion to the work to which he had been called by his people. Constant attendance day by day upon the Executive, which, in his office, or during his quite frequent visits to the field, the camp and the hospital founded in my heart a strong love for the man, and still more increased my admiration for the soldier and the statesman. Frequently visiting his home in Richmond and seeing him with his talented and lovely wife and surrounded by his children, I knew him as the noble husband and affectionate Christian parent. Beside the happiness of his family he appeared never to be concerned about anything but the welfare of his people. From the day I took service with him to the very moment that we were separated, subsequent to our capture, I witnessed his unselfishness. He forgot himself and displayed more self-abnegation than any human being I have ever known. While Commander-in-Chief, with thousands at his command, he always declined escorts and guards, and when cautioned about exposing himself to danger, he invariably

replied: 'I have no fears for myself,' and in the most unpretentious manner he would visit the lines of the army oftener with one aide than more. While fond of society he rarely, if ever, sought it during the war, it being his pleasant duty to give every hour of his time to his country. While burdened with weighty matters of state he was kindly attentive to all classes of people. He was as polite and affable to the humblest soldier or his messenger boy as to the officer of highest rank in the army. For this reason he was loved by all who served near his person. He was always welcomed with great cordiality when visiting the troops in their quarters.

"It has been asserted that he was harsh and severe to those with whom he differed. This is an entire misapprehension of his nature and disposition. Though tenacious of his own opinions and quite fixed in his judgment when formed, he seemed to me to be much 'more tolerant than other men of ability and power with whom I have been associated,' while others would be intolerant and very exacting during our struggle he would be the apologist of many who failed in their duty, treating delinquents with compassion and leniency.

"I shall not speak of him as an orator seldom equalled. As a conversationalist he surpassed all I have ever known. His accurate observations and extensive reading made him most charming as a companion, and as a traveling companion the life of any party. After the war was over I had the pleasure of accompanying him in England, France and Scotland. He would astonish the residents by his wonderful recitals of their great historical events both of peace and war. I remember on one occasion, in company with a party of Scotch friends, his description of their great battles and the knowledge of their battle-fields amazed his listeners. He quoted Burns and Scott repeatedly—he was very fond of both authors—and this remark, afterwards incorporated in a book published in Scotland, was made by one of the company: 'If Scott's works were destroyed they could be reproduced by the ex-President of the Confederate States.'

"If, however, Mr. Davis was great during the war he was grand when disaster and defeat overtook the Confederate cause. I loved and admired him while in power; as the head of the Lost Cause a captive in the hands of the foe I loved and admired him still. His great dignity and firmness of character did

honor to the people whom he represented, while his brave resignation adorned the Christian religion. No murmur escaped his lips, while the hot blood of indignation fired my heart and tongue at the indignities heaped upon him in his most trying hour. Since then, thank God, he has lived long enough to win the respect of his intelligent enemies by his manly bearing, and to secure the gratitude of his friends by giving to us a history that tells both sides of the great issues that divided the States.

"And now, though deprived of his citizenship and made the mark at which the shafts of the 'bloody shirt' politicians are hurled, he stands before the united country recognized as the greatest living man of the day; and when he departs hence a great and good man, a Christian, pure and unsullied, will enter the better land in which his citizenship will not be denied him and where his noble soul can put forth full energy and be happy, while impartial history will fully accord to him greatness and goodness."

"The above article was written more than five years ago. The end has come and our grand old chief has been laid to rest. The writer was present to look once again upon his noble features before they were forever shut from view. It was glorious to see how the States honored him. It was more glorious to see how the old veterans, the masses of men, the fair women, and the lovely children eager to strew with flowers the bier of their illustrious dead, flocked to the great city of the Southland where true hearts had made for him such princely obsequies.

"What homage to his name that so many of the States are contending for the possession of his very dust. Wherever it is laid it will be a sacred spot to be visited in after years by the lovers of constitutional liberty. Then, inspired by the voice that rises from that tomb, they shall consecrate anew their energies to the preservation of our government as bequeathed to us by our sires of the Revolution."

THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

It has been the custom of Northern writers to represent Mr. Davis as guilty of the utmost cruelty in the conduct of the war—of being knowingly and deliberately "guilty of the hor-



Bust by Volek, from which the Confederate Postage Stamp was engraved during the Confederacy.
Original in the possession of W. W. Davies, Lee Gallery, Richmond, Va.

rors of Andersonville"—and of violating in the conduct of the war not only the principles of States' rights, for which he contended, but the usages of civilized warfare as well.

Never was there a charge with less foundation made—never a bolder effort to falsify history by attempting to fix on the Confederate government the iniquities of which the Federal government was guilty.

The accomplished editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer* well puts it when he says:

"It is profitless to discuss how far any measure of the Confederate government was right or wrong, but as for Mr. Davis, he had the responsibility; he had full knowledge of all the circumstances; he had the general plan of the whole war from Texas to the Potomac to subserve and watch and to carry out. It is to our glory that there was no Fort Lafayette at the South. It is to the honor of the Confederate government that no Confederate secretary ever could touch a bell and send a citizen to prison."

On the floor of the House of Representatives in 1876, Hon. James Blaine, of Maine, made a furious attack on Mr. Davis as "the author of the crimes of Andersonville."

Hon. B. H. Hill, of Georgia, was, fortunately for the truth of history, a member of the House and made an able, eloquent, and perfectly triumphant reply to Mr. Blaine, in which he completely vindicated the name and fame of the great Confederate leader.

The author was at that time secretary of the Southern Historical Society, and in two successive numbers of the *Southern Historical Society Papers* (March and April, 1876,) we took up and discussed the whole question of the "Treatment of Prisoners During the War Between the States." We published letters from Mr. Davis, General Lee, Vice-President A. H. Stephens, the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, Judge Robert Ould, the report of the Confederate Congressional Committee on the Treatment of Prisoners, statements of the United

States Assistant Secretary of War, Hon. Charles A. Dana, General B. F. Butler, General U. S. Grant, and a large number of others, and we closed our discussion with the following summing up of the points made:

"We think that we have established the following points:

"1. The laws of the Confederate Congress, the orders of the War Department, the regulations of the Surgeon-General, the action of our generals in the field, and the orders of those who had the immediate charge of the prisoners, all provided that prisoners in the hands of the Confederates should be kindly treated, supplied with the same rations which our soldiers had, and cared for when sick in hospitals placed on *precisely the same footing as the hospitals for Confederate soldiers*.

"2. If these regulations were violated in individual instances, and if subordinates were sometimes cruel to prisoners, it was without the knowledge or consent of the Confederate government, which always took prompt action on any case reported to them.

"3. If the prisoners failed to get their full rations and had those of inferior quality, the Confederate soldiers suffered in precisely the same way and to the same extent, and it resulted from that system of warfare adopted by the Federal authorities, which carried desolation and ruin to every part of the South they could reach, and which in starving the Confederates into submission brought the same evils upon their own men in Southern prisons.

"4. The mortality in Southern prisons (fearfully large, although *over three per cent. less than the mortality in Northern prisons*) resulted from causes beyond the control of our authorities—from epidemics, &c., which might have been avoided, or greatly mitigated, had not the Federal government declared medicines 'contraband of war'—refused the proposition of Judge Ould that each government should send its own surgeons with medicines, hospital stores, &c., to minister to soldiers in prison—declined his proposition to send medicines to its own men in Southern prisons, without being required to allow the Confederates the same privilege—refused to allow the Confederate government to buy medicines for gold, tobacco, or cotton, which it offered to pledge its honor should be used only for Federal prisoners in its hands—refused to exchange

sick and wounded—and neglected from August to December, 1864, to accede to Judge Ould's proposition to send transportation to Savannah and receive *without equivalent* from ten to fifteen thousand Federal prisoners, notwithstanding the fact that this offer was accompanied with a statement of the utter inability of the Confederacy to provide for these prisoners and a detailed report of the fearful mortality at Andersonville, and that Judge Ould again and again urged compliance with his humane proposal.

"5. We have proven, by the most unimpeachable testimony, that the sufferings of Confederate prisoners in Northern 'prison pens' were terrible beyond description—that they were starved in a land of plenty—that they were frozen where fuel and clothing were abundant—that they suffered untold horrors for want of medicines, hospital stores, and proper medical attention—that they were shot by sentinels, beaten by officers, and subjected to the most cruel punishments upon the slightest pretexts—that friends at the North were refused the privilege of clothing their nakedness or feeding them when starving—and that these outrages were perpetrated not only with the full knowledge of, but under the orders of E. M. Stanton, United States Secretary of War. We have proven these things by Federal as well as Confederate testimony.

"6. We have shown that all the suffering of prisoners on both sides could have been avoided by simply carrying out the terms of the cartel, and that for the failure to do this the *Federal authorities alone* were responsible; that the Confederate government originally proposed the cartel, and were always ready to carry it out in both letter and spirit; that the Federal authorities observed its terms only so long as it was to their interest to do so, and then repudiated their plighted faith and proposed other terms, which were greatly to the disadvantage of the Confederates; that when the government at Richmond agreed to accept the hard terms of exchange offered them, these were at once repudiated by the Federal authorities; that when Judge Ould agreed upon a new cartel with General Butler, Lieutenant-General Grant refused to approve it and Mr. Stanton repudiated it; and that the policy of the Federal government was to refuse all exchanges, while they 'fired the Northern heart' by placing the whole blame upon the 'rebels,' and by circulating the most heartrending stories of 'rebel barbarity' to prisoners.

"If either of the above points has not been made clear to any sincere seeker after the truth, we would be most happy to produce further testimony. And we hold ourselves prepared to maintain against all comers *the truth of every proposition we have laid down in this discussion*. Let the calm verdict of history decide between the Confederate government and their calumniators."

We had proof-slips of the above summary made, and sent them to leading newspapers and magazines all through the North with the request that they would, if they could, show the incorrectness of any point made or any statement given in the discussion. We have seen no serious attempt to refute any of the points made, and we still hold ourselves *prepared to maintain them*.

In recent numbers of *Belford's Magazine* there are papers from Mr. Davis himself in which he ably and triumphantly vindicates himself and the Confederacy against the charge of cruelty to prisoners.

We would not revive the bitter memories of the war and shall not go into the revolting details; but it is due to the truth of history that we should say that while Sherman's march through Georgia and the Carolinas was one prolonged scene of pillage, arson, and outrage which will continue a dark blot on the name of "The Great Bummer," and Sheridan's devastation of the Shenandoah Valley, concerning which he boasted that he had made the country such a waste "that a crow flying over would be compelled to carry his own rations," is utterly indefensible—we can point with just pride to the beautiful order for the protection of private property which General Lee issued in Pennsylvania, and to the conduct of our ragged, starving "Boys in Gray" there, which excited the wonder and admiration of the world.

Professor Philip Stanhope Worsley, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, England, in presenting to General R. E. Lee a copy of his "Translation of the Iliad of Homer," in Spen-

cerian stanza, wrote on the fly-leaf of the volume the following inscription :

"To General R. E. Lee—the most stainless of living commanders, and, except in fortune, the greatest—this volume is presented with the writer's earnest sympathy and respectful admiration."

"The grand old bard that never dies,
Receive him in our English tongue!
I send thee, but with weeping eyes,
The story that he sung.

"Thy Troy is fallen, thy dear land
Is marred beneath the spoiler's heel.
I cannot trust my trembling hand
To write the things I feel.

"Ah, realm of tombs! But let her bear
This blazon to the last of times:
No nation rose so white and fair,
Or fell so pure of crimes.

"The widow's moan, the orphan's wail,
Come round thee; yet in truth be strong!
Eternal right, though all else fail,
Can never be made wrong.

"An angel's heart, an angel's mouth,
Not Homer's, could alone for me
Hymn well the great Confederate South,
Virginia first, and Lee.

P. S. W."

In the beautiful letter which General Lee wrote in reply he very gracefully brings out that this was a tribute to the Confederacy and not to him:

"LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA, February 10, 1866.

"*Mr. P. S. Worsley:*

"My Dear Sir—I have received the copy of your translation of the 'Iliad,' which you so kindly presented to me. Its perusal has been my evening's recreation, and I have never enjoyed the beauty and grandeur of the poem more than as recited by you. The translation is as truthful as powerful, and faithfully reproduces the imagery and rythm of the bold original.

"The undeserved compliment to myself in prose and verse, on the first leaves of the volume, I receive as your tribute to the merit of my countrymen who struggled for constitutional government.

"With great respect, your obedient servant,
[Signed] R. E. LEE."

Mr. Davis always repudiated very indignantly the insinuation that he ever violated the principle of "States' Rights," or did anything that could be construed into even a willingness to usurp power which the Confederate constitution did not give him.

General W. T. Sherman made a statement to this effect, to which Mr. Davis made a reply so able and conclusive that we give it in full as printed in the *Southern Historical Society Papers*:

PRESIDENT DAVIS IN REPLY TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

[In our last issue, we noticed a slander which General W. T. Sherman was pleased to make against the ex-President of the Confederacy, and Mr. Davis's emphatic denial, and his challenge of Sherman to produce the proof.

The following letter, published in the *Baltimore Sun*, is not only an able and unanswerable reply to Sherman, but contains other matter which should have a place in our records, and be handed down for the use of the future historian. No wonder that General Sherman has *thrown himself back on his dignity* (?!), and declined to reply to this terrible but deserved excoriation.]

BEAUVOIR, MISSISSIPPI, September 23, 1886.

Colonel J. Thomas Scharf, Baltimore, Maryland:

My Dear Sir—At various times and from many of my friends, I have been asked to furnish a reply to General W. T. Sherman's so-called report to the War Department, and which the United States Senate ordered to be printed as "Ex. Doc. No. 36, Forty-eighth Congress, second session." I have been compelled by many causes to postpone my reply to these invitations, and have in some instances declined, for the time being, to undertake the labor. A continuing sense of the great injustice done to me, and to the people I represented, by the Senate's making the malicious assault of General Sherman

a public document, and giving to his slander the importance which necessarily attaches to an executive communication to the Senate, has recently caused the request for a reply by me to be pressed with very great earnestness. For this reason I have decided to furnish my reply to you for publication in the *Baltimore Sun*.

More than twenty years after the storm of war between the States had ceased and the waves of sectional strife had sunk to the condition of a calm, the public harmony was disturbed by a retired general of the army making a gratuitous and gross assault upon a private individual, living in absolute retirement, and who could only have attracted notice because he had been the representative of the Southern States, which, organized into a confederacy, had been a party to the war.

The history of my public life bears evidence that I did all in my power to prevent the war; that I did nothing to precipitate collision; that I did not seek the post of Chief Executive, but advised my friends that I preferred not to fill it. That history General Sherman may slanderously assail by his statements, but he cannot alter its consistency; nor can the Republicans of the Senate change its unbroken story of faithful service to the Union of the constitution until, by the command of my sovereign State, I withdrew as her ambassador from the United States Senate. For all the acts of my public life as President of the Confederate States I am responsible at the bar of history, and must accept her verdict, which I shall do without the least apprehension that it will be swayed from truth by the malicious falsehoods of General Sherman, even when stamped as an "Ex. Doc." by the United States Senate.

Before a gathering of ex-soldiers of the Union army, General Sherman took occasion in the fall of 1884, to make accusations against me and to assert that he had personal means of information not possessed by others, and particularly that he had seen a letter written by myself, that he knew my handwriting, and saw and identified my signature to the letter. The gravamen of his accusation was that the letter to which he referred "had passed between Jeff. Davis and a man whose name it would not do to mention, as he is now a member of the United States Senate," and that "in that letter he (I) said he would turn Lee's army against any State that might attempt to secede from the Southern Confederacy." The position of general of the United States army, which General Sherman had filled, demanded that immediate contradiction of that statement should be made, and to that end I published in the *St. Louis Republican* the following denial:

"BEAUVOIR, MISSISSIPPI, November 6, 1864.

"*Editor St. Louis' Republican* :

"Dear Sir—I have to-night received the enclosed published account of remarks made by General W. T. Sherman, and ask the use of your columns to notice only so much as particularly refers to myself, and which is to be found in the following extracts :

"The following is taken from the *St. Louis Republican* :

"Frank P. Blair Post, G. A. R., opened their new hall, corner Seventeenth and Olive streets, last night.

"General Sherman addressed the assemblage. He had read letters which he believed had never been published, and which very few people had seen. These letters showed the rebellion to be more than a mere secession—it was a conspiracy most dire. Letters which had passed between Jeff. Davis and a man whose name it would not do to mention, as he is now a member of the United States Senate, had been seen by the speaker and showed Davis's position. He was not a secessionist. His object in starting the rebellion was not merely for the secession of the South, but to have this section of the country so that he could use it as a fulcrum from which to fire out his shot at the other sections of the country and compel the people to do as he would have them. Jeff. Davis would have turned his hand against any State that would secede from the South after the South had seceded from the North. Had the rebellion succeeded, General Sherman said, the people of the North would have all been slaves.'

"The following is from the *Globe-Democrat's* report :

"Referring to the late war, he said it was not, as was generally understood, a war of secession from the United States, but a conspiracy. 'I have been behind the curtain,' said he, 'and I have seen letters that few others have seen, and have heard conversations that cannot be repeated, and I tell you that Jeff. Davis never was a secessionist. He was a conspirator. He did not care for separation from the United States. His object was to get a fulcrum from which to operate against the United States, and if he had succeeded he would to-day be the master spirit of the continent and you would be slaves. I have seen a letter from Jefferson Davis to a man whose name I cannot mention, because he is a United States Senator. I know Davis's writing and saw his signature, and in that letter

he said he would turn Lee's army against any State that might attempt to secede from the Southern Confederacy.'

"This public assault, under the covert plea that it is based upon evidence which regard for a United States Senator does not permit him to present, will, to honorable minds, suggest the idea of irresponsible slander.

"It is thus devolved upon me to say that the allegation of my ever having written such a letter as is described is unqualifiedly false, and the assertion that I had any purpose or wish to destroy the liberty and equal rights of any State, either North or South, is a reckless, shameless falsehood, especially because it was generally known that for many years before, as well as during the war between the States, I was an earnest advocate of the strict construction State-rights theory of Mr. Jefferson. What motive other than personal malignity can be conceived for so gross a libel?

"If General Sherman has access to any letters purporting to have been written by me which will sustain his accusations, let him produce them, or wear the brand of a *base slanderer*.

"Yours respectfully,

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

The publication of the above letter attracted very general notice, and two interviews were had with General Sherman by reporters of the *Globe-Democrat* and from the *St. Louis Chronicle*. In the *Globe-Democrat* of November 25, 1884, General Sherman is reported as having said: "Whatever explanation I make will be made over my own signature. I do not propose to get into a fight with Jeff. Davis. * * When a man makes a newspaper statement he is never sure of being quoted correctly, but when he makes a statement in his own handwriting, he is sure of being placed in the right place."

The *St. Louis Chronicle* of November 24, 1884, reports General Sherman as saying: "This is an affair between two gentlemen. I will take my time about it and write to Mr. Davis himself. We will settle the matter between us." When asked by the reporter, "Have the papers misrepresented you in your remarks before the Frank Blair Post, G. A. R.?" he replied: "I say nothing about that. My reply to Mr. Davis will not be through the newspapers. They are not the arbiters of this question, nor the go-between for any dispute. I have nothing more to say."

It is hardly necessary for me to say that General Sherman did not write to me, and we have not settled the matter between us otherwise than as I settled it by denouncing his statement

as false and himself as a slanderer. There the matter would have rested so far as I was concerned, and anything that Sherman, on his own responsibility, might have afterwards said would have been treated by me with that silence which the mendacious utterings of an irresponsible slanderer deserved. But when the War Department of the United States was made the custodian of his slander, and the Republican Senators became its endorers, and the statements made at the Frank Blair Post were lifted into official importance, it became a duty alike to myself and to the people I represented, to follow the slanders with my denial, and to expose alike its author and his endorers.

The United States Senate, by resolution offered by Senator Hawley, and debated during January 12 and 13, 1885, called upon the President of the United States "to communicate to the Senate a historical statement concerning the public policy of the executive department of the Confederate States during the late war of the rebellion, reported to have been lately filed in the War Department by General William T. Sherman." It was by means of that resolution that the slander was revived, and its utterer enabled to mould together a pretended foundation for his baseless utterance at the Frank Blair Post. While the matter was fresh in the memory and under the searching inquiry of the newspaper reporters, General Sherman represented that he could not consistently give the name of the Senator to whom he said the letter had been written, and after every Senator from the Southern States had denied receiving any such letter, and many of them had expressed their belief that no such letter ever had been in existence, he failed to sustain his assertion by the production of proof of the existence of a letter from me such as he had alleged he had seen. After such full denial both by myself, the reputed writer, and by every Senator who could have been the receiver of that pretended letter, the Senate offered an opportunity to General Sherman to unload his slander deposited in the War Department, and to spread the vile mass on the files of the United States Senate.

In the interval between the meeting at the Frank Blair Post in November, 1884, and January 6, 1885, Dr. H. C. Robbins, of Cresson, Ogle county, Illinois, loaned Sherman a letter which he said had been written by the late Alexander H. Stephens to the late Herschel V. Johnson, both now dead. Sherman being unable to verify his authority for the assertion made by him at the Frank Blair Post, this Stephens-Johnson letter was to be substituted for the Davis letter, which, with the circumstan-

tiality needful to one having little credibility, Sherman said he had seen, knew to be mine from his acquaintance with my handwriting, and appended to which he identified my signature.

In view of the peremptory demand made for the letter, and in the absence of any answer as to where or when or in whose possession it was seen, a gentleman might hesitate to decide whether subterfuge were more paltry or absurd.

The next attempt at deception was to represent the war records in confusion, but this device failed as signally as had the other misrepresentations of General Sherman. On the 12th of December, five days after the publication of his certificate, the following press telegram swept that subterfuge away from him:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., December 12.

"The statement that the rebellion archives, now in the War Department, are in confusion, and that if the Davis letter, to which General Sherman has referred, were there, it would take much time, and involve great search to find it, is erroneous. The archives have all been gone over thoroughly in the preparation of the War Records in progress of publication, and persons in charge of the archives, and who have a knowledge of their contents, say that no such letter as that spoken of by General Sherman is now there, or has ever been there."

It is apparent, then, that Sherman never saw any such letter of mine as that which he said he had read and identified by my signature, and that the Stephens-Johnson letter was acquired after the speech had been made, and was seized upon to create a pretext upon which he could excuse his falsehood. The conclusive proof which had come to light by denials from Senators of having received from me any such letter, and by their denying that they had ever heard any such opinions expressed by me, placed Sherman in a dilemma from which to advance involved further falsehood, and from which retreat was only possible with humiliation and disgrace. He selected the easier course, and went forward with falsehood attending every step. In his letter to the War Department, of January 6, 1885, he says he found my letter at Raleigh, North Carolina, saying:

"Among the books collected at the capitol in Raleigh was a clerk's or secretary's copy-book, containing loose sheets and letters, among which was the particular letter of Mr. Davis to which I referred in my St. Louis speech, and notwithstanding," he said, "I gave it little attention at the time," yet he claimed twenty odd years after that he could recall its expressions and

repeat its purport. He said that the Stephens-Johnson letter was *the* letter, and here's "*the original*," but he reported to the War Department that "the *particular* letter of Mr. Davis" was found by him in Raleigh.

Senator Vance, upon hearing of the alleged Raleigh letter, promptly denied all knowledge of it, and wrote to the *Washington Post*, under date of December 13, 1885, that:

"Every letter ever written to me on a political topic by President Davis is to be found faithfully copied on the official letter-books of the executive department of North Carolina. Those letter-books were taken from me by General Sherman's troops at the closing of the war, and are now in possession of the War Department in this city. Aside from the letter-books, General Sherman never saw any letter addressed to me by President Davis. Although I have not seen those books and read their contents in almost twenty years, I am quite sure that no such letter can be found there. I could not have forgotten such a letter had it been received by me. The suggestion, therefore, that I am the person referred to in General Sherman's statement is entirely untrue. The attempt of some newspapers to give probability to this suggestion, by alleging that I was in bitter hostility whilst Governor of North Carolina to the administration of Mr. Davis, is based also upon a misrepresentation of the facts."

Senator Vance at the same time sent to the *Washington Post* a copy of my letter to him of date November 1, 1862, which he said "contains no such expression as a threat against States attempting to secede from the Confederacy, but does contain this expression; 'I feel grateful to you for the cordial manner in which you have sustained every proposition connected with the public defence.' This much is due to truth. I do not wish to pose as a martyr to the circumstances of those times, or as one ready to turn upon his associates after defeat. I desire to take my full share of responsibility for anything I did and said during those unhappy times."

"Great as were the abilities, and high as were the courage and faithfulness of Mr. Davis, I have no disposition to load him with all the misfortunes of defeat."

Before the publication of the above letter from Senator Vance in the *Washington Post*, interviews with Senator Vance had developed the fact that a correspondence had taken place during the war between Governor Vance and myself, and at that General Sherman also grasped as the foundation for his slander. A *St. Louis Republican* reporter on the 15th of December, 1884, asked General Sherman "Was Senator Vance, the

Senator referred to in your speech at the opening of the new headquarters of the Frank Blair Post?" "Well, sir," said General Sherman, very slowly, "I won't say that he wasn't."

My alleged Raleigh letter has never been found. Sherman says it was sent to Nashville, Savannah, Washington and St. Louis, and may have been finally burned in Chicago in the great fire in 1871. But in all its travels no other person but Sherman saw it; not a single officer at any headquarters has been produced who read it, and it passes belief that in the excitement of the closing days of the war, and during my imprisonment, when every letter of mine was carefully examined to find evidence upon which to convict and destroy me, that not an officer at all those headquarters should have read that letter. Every fair-minded man must therefore conclude that General Sherman stated at the Grand Army Post a willful and deliberate falsehood, and that his motive had its inspiration in that mean malice which has characterized his acts and writings in other respects towards the Southern people.

A man so lost to every sense of truth deserved to receive the contempt of every one who values veracity, but Senator Hawley, in offering the resolution above quoted, said: "Personally, however, he did not hesitate to say that in a controversy between Jefferson Davis and General Sherman he (Mr. Hawley) was on General Sherman's side all the time." High qualification that for an United States Senator, who may sit a judge in the Court of Impeachment, the highest tribunal of the land.

I leave Mr. Hawley by General Sherman's side, with no desire whatever to have either one or the other on my side. Senator Conger denied my equal citizenship with Sherman until "something" is done by me; if that "something" to be done is to take such part as that filled by Sherman and his indorsers on this occasion, the described inequality must ever remain. Another Senator (Ingalls) evinced very great indignation because "the Democratic party had in debate in the Senate taken sides with Jefferson Davis," and that "they had always indorsed him, always approved his course, and had declared that there was nothing wrong in his record that would convince posterity that he was not a man of honor and a patriot," and that "the Senator from Alabama (Mr. Morgan) and the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Vest) had taken occasion to inform the Senate that there were millions of people in the United States to-day who loved Jefferson Davis, and to whom Jefferson Davis was endeared by the memory of common hardships, common privations and common calamities." It is not surprising that such expressions of confidence and regard should have been

drawn out in a debate upon a resolution which had for its purpose the endorsement by the Senate of a mean slander, which was known to be unfounded in truth, and important only as covering with the mantle of the Senate the mendacity of a retired general of the army.

The Senate having given vitality to Sherman's slander, a full reply to the opinions and expressions therein is made, so that hereafter it may derive no credit even from its official character.

The so-called "historical statement concerning the public policy of the executive department of the Confederate States," as Sherman's letter to the War Department is headed in that "Ex. Doc.," opens with the following statement: "That I (Sherman) had seen papers which convinced me that even Mr. Davis, the President of the Southern Confederacy, had, during the progress of the war, changed his State-rights doctrines, and had threatened to use force—even Lee's army—should any State of the Confederacy attempt to secede from that government." With the mental process by which General Sherman is "convinced," I have no concern, but the "papers" in which he alleged that I "threatened" to use force against the States of the Confederacy, ought to be tangible and producible, and in an "historical statement," the Senate ought to have demanded the production of the proofs, and on the failure to produce them, and after denial by Senators who Sherman alleged had received them, such an "historical statement," already branded with falsehood and unsupported by evidence, ought to have been rejected with only wonder how it got before the Senate.

In the absence of all authority for the statement, or of any creditable witness, General Sherman asserts that I abandoned my State-rights doctrine, the unsupported assertion of a man whose reputation for veracity is not good, and who could have had no personal knowledge, must weigh light as a feather against all the testimony of my official life, as well as against the recollections of all those most intimately connected with me, not a few of whom criticised my strict adherence to the constitution and laws. *His* reiteration, even "a thousand times," will fail to convince any reasonable man that he did not know he never had seen any "papers" written by me threatening to use the army against any State of the Confederacy.

In this connection, I may refer to my action when Kentucky was invaded by the United States army and her people prevented by military power from acting for themselves on the question of secession. My personal friend and family physi-

cian, Dr. A. Y. P. Garnett, of Washington city, in a letter of the 17th of January last, recalls to my memory the application of himself and other friends to me to send military aid into Kentucky, there to support the friends of the Southern States. My letter of January 22d to Dr. Garnett, explains the principles that guided me on that occasion. In that letter I said:

"Yours of the 17th instant has this day been received and to your inquiry I reply that, though it is not in my power to recite the language employed in response to you and others who urged me to send Confederate troops into Kentucky to prevent the Federal government from intimidating the legislature and people of that State by a military occupation, and thus to prevent Kentucky from passing an ordinance of secession, I do well remember that to you, as to others, I answered substantially that I would not do such violence to the rights of the State. No one could have felt a deeper interest or more affectionate regard for Kentucky than I did, and it may well be that I did not believe the people of Kentucky, the State especially distinguished in the early period of her history for the assertion of State rights and State remedies, could be driven from the maintenance of a creed which had ever been her point of pride.

"My answer, as correctly stated by you, shows that my decision was not based on expediency, and however reluctant I may have been to reject the advice of yourself and other friends, in whose judgment and sincerity I had implicit confidence, I would not for all the considerations involved, disregard the limitations of our constitution and violate the cardinal principle which had been the guiding star of my political life."

The use made by General Sherman of an extract from a "Southern paper" as evidence that I encouraged expressions of hostility to State sovereignty, and was thus preparing to subvert the very Confederacy of which I was President, has drawn forth from Mr. Nat. Tyler, the surviving editor of the *Richmond (Va.) Enquirer*, the following letter:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., January 15, 1885.

"Hon. Jefferson Davis:

"Dear Sir—My attention has been called to an extract from the *Richmond Enquirer*, which has been incorporated by General W. T. Sherman in his letter of January 6, 1885, to the Secretary of War, and I have been asked if that extract is genuine. I have no means at hand of ascertaining whether or not the extract is from the *Enquirer*; but after carefully reading it, I am

disposed to regard it as genuine. It truthfully represents the views of the editorial management of the *Enquirer* at that time. I witnessed the extraordinary efforts which the United States authorities were making for our conquest and subjugation, and I considered it to be the duty of our people to make like sacrifices for safety and liberty. The 'convention' referred to in the extract was the convention proposed in North Carolina in the early part of 1864, in the contest for governor, between Mr. Holden and Governor Vance, and which had for its object to give opportunity of action to the incipient treason which was rife in that State under the leadership of Mr. Holden. The article from the *Enquirer* was intended to support Governor Vance and the Confederate cause, which the management of the paper regarded as paramount to all other considerations. I did not presume to speak for you or your administration, but to utter what I believed every true Confederate to hold—that the public defense demanded the exercise of every energy, and that all that hindered that defense should be swept away and remitted to more peaceful occasions.

"The *Enquirer* is the 'public journal' to which Mr. Stephens referred in his letter to Hon. H. V. Johnson, and which he represents as the 'organ' of your administration. I very distinctly remember his coming to the office and lecturing the editors on their support of the measures for the public defense; but, as his views were visionary and impracticable, his temper excited, and his influence under a cloud, we gave to his person all respect and to his advice the least attention that was possible. He was a good man and a true and zealous Confederate, but his 'balance' was decidedly out of plumb in the last year of the war, and in politics he wobbled whenever he discussed public affairs. I have always believed if you had assumed 'absolute power,' shot deserters and hung traitors, seized supplies and brought to the front every man capable of bearing arms, that a different result of the war might have been obtained. But your very sensitive respect for constitution and law, for the rights and sovereignties of States, is attested by the fact that the wildest license was allowed to the press, and that, right under your nose, to use Mr. Stephens's expression, the *Examiner* daily expressed sentiments of opposition to your measures, which, if any newspaper in the United States had dared to publish against Mr. Lincoln's recommendations, its editor would have been promptly imprisoned. By any comparison that can be made between your administration and that of President Lincoln, history will award to you far more respect for the essential features of personal liberty, for deference paid

to State authority, and for respect shown for constitutional restraint.

"With the best wishes for your continued good health, I am, dear sir, your sincere friend,

"NAT. TYLER."

It is apparent that this so-called "historical statement" had been seen by Republican Senators, and that they were not ignorant of its real character when the Hawley resolution was under discussion in the Senate. Those Senators then knew that General Sherman had, in his letter of January 6, 1885, to the Secretary of War, changed the issue between us from one of veracity to a rambling, shuffling discussion of a "conspiracy" and of "conspirators" in the winter of 1860-'61, and that which at the Frank Blair Post may have been "a white lie," not intended for publication, came before the Senate as an "historical statement," bolstered with other falsehoods equally without foundation or support in anything written or uttered by me. It now survives as an "Ex. Doc." of picturesque prevarication.

I know nothing of any "conspiracy" or of any "conspirators." There was no secrecy about any of the political affairs which led to the secession of the States in 1860-'61. There was no possibility of any concealment. The people were advised by the press, they acted knowingly, and the results, through all their various phases, were necessarily known to the people, by whom they were ratified and confirmed. To talk now of conspiracy and conspirators is shallow nonsense, and notwithstanding Sherman says that he "was approached by a number of the Knights of the Golden Circle," that accusation will be dismissed as the coinage of political demagogues. If Sherman was approached by "conspirators" they knew *their* man; they may have heard of his conversation at Vicksburg, his expressions of approval of Southern action, his talk of the "d—d Yankees" to Governor Roper, and such expressions, and may have regarded him as a fit conspirator with themselves. No man ever insulted me by approaching me with suggestions of conspiracy.

As to the action taken at the conference of some of the Southern Senators in January, 1861, and which is introduced in this "historical statement" as evidence of a "conspiracy," it is only necessary to say to those Senators who, in the debate on the Hawley resolution, referred to the letter of D. L. Yulee to Joseph Finnegan, and the resolutions attached thereto, that the resolutions were forwarded to the conventions of the States

then in session, and that they were the resolutions of Senators representing those States conveying to the conventions of the States the views of the Senators. Those resolutions were not discovered by General Sherman; they were not dug up from beneath the sod in any yard through which he marched. They were necessarily public since they were sent to conventions of the States, and they were printed in the newspapers. To speak of such action as a conspiracy, as Senator Sherman did in the debate on the Hawley resolution, shows to what defense he was driven to assist his brother out of the mire of mendacity in which he was floundering.

It was the opinion of that conference, in 1861, that secession was the only remedy left to the States; that every effort to preserve peace had failed, mainly through the action of that portion of the Republican party which refused all propositions for adjustment made by those who sought, in January, 1861, to justify confidence, insure peace, and preserve the Union. In the same month in which that conference was held, I served on a committee raised by the Senate to seek some possible mode of quelling the excitement that then existed. That committee was composed of the three political divisions of the Senate, and it was considered useless to report any measure which did not receive the concurrence of at least a majority of each division. The Republican Senators rejected every proposition that promised pacification, and the committee reported to the Senate that their consultation was a failure. Was there less conspiracy in the Republican senators combining to prevent pacification than there was in Southern Senators uniting in conference to advise the conventions of their States that their cause was hopeless in Washington? Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, assailed the Republican side of the Senate for their refusal to accept any terms that were offered to them, and demanded to know what they proposed to do, and in that connection referred to Senator Toombs and myself as having been willing to accept the line of 36° 30', or the Missouri compromise, and that the Republican Senators rejected the proposition. Which were the conspirators, the Senators who offered the Missouri compromise for the sake of peace, or the Senators who rejected that offering in order to enjoy "a little blood-letting?" The venerable Senator Crittenden, of the committee, used all his power and influence on the side of the peaceful efforts of the Southern Senators, and not unfrequently expressed himself in the most decided terms as to the conduct of the opposition. Party necessity may attribute the actions of the Southern Senators to conspiracy, but history will treat the actors of those days as they deserve, and to

her verdict, in common with my compatriots in that trying hour, the issue is referred.

The epithets which Senator Sherman in the debate applied to myself, are his mode of retaliation for my denunciation of his brother. I have been compelled to prove General Sherman to be a falsifier and a slanderer in order to protect my character and reputation from his willful and unscrupulous mendacity. If his brother, the Senator, felt the sting of that exposure, and his epithets are any relief, I am content that he shall go on the record as denouncing me as a "traitor" because I have proved his brother to be a liar.

As the Republican party renounced the issue of treason when it abandoned my trial in 1867, not at my instance, but in face of my defiance, its leaders of the present day but stultify themselves in the cry of traitor which they raise at the mention of my name. This is more a matter of traffic than of argument, but as it serves to keep alive the issues and prejudices of the war period, it is a device which, as politicians, they may not like to abandon. It is not surprising that the politicians of a party which, in the mad fury of its passions, deliberately hung a harmless and helpless woman, should continue to keep warm their malice against an old soldier, and long a civil official, by the frequent use of epithets. If it affords them any relief, it costs me so little concern that it would be uncharitable to deny them the enjoyment they take in hurling epithets at me, a game in which any fishwoman might successfully compete.

The Senate, when about to give its sanction to General Sherman's "historical statement," ought, in fairness, to have demanded of him the production of the verifying letters, papers, and information within his knowledge or possession. He says in that "Ex. Doc.": "But of him (myself) I have personal knowledge, not meant for publication, but to become a part of the 'Traditions of the Civil War,' which the Grand Army of the Republic will preserve." What fair and honorable purpose could the Senate have had in sanctioning such a base and infamous inuendo, as that above quoted from page 3 of the "Ex. Doc."? If that "personal knowledge" is withheld from publication for the purposes of future slanders, surely the Senate ought not to have made itself a party to that malice which hides its slanders until their subject shall have passed away, and contradiction and exposure become difficult, if not impossible. But I am not apprehensive of Sherman's additions to the "Traditions of the Civil War;" he stands pilloried before the public and all future history as an imbecile scold or an infamous slanderer—as either, he is harmless.

The statement on page 3, that a box containing private papers of mine was found at the house of my brother, Joseph E. Davis, is untrue. The error in the place where a box was seized by his pillagers would not have been material if made by a truthful man, but when an habitual falsifier falls into even a slight error of locality, it is not surprising that he should be suspected of having intentionally fixed upon my brother's residence to give point and probability to some other falsehood. The box of papers was found at a farmer's house several miles away from my brother's and the box did not contain a single letter written to me or by me at *Montgomery*. Therefore Sherman's statement that he abstracted from that box three letters which had been written to me by loyal officers of the United States army, and returned to the writers to protect them from the suspicion of complicity with the government of *Montgomery*, can have no other foundation in truth than, probably, the discovery of letters written at former times and received by me before the inauguration of the Confederate government at *Montgomery*.

It is due to the memory of the late Alexander H. Stephens, whose letter to Herschel V. Johnson has been made the foundation for this vile assault upon myself, to say, that if the letter is genuine, and has not been altered to serve Sherman's malice against myself, that it was written under excitement and when disappointment and apprehension of our overthrow had influenced his judgment and opinion, and that this private letter, written under its attending circumstances, never intended for publication, and expressing hasty opinions, will not be allowed to cast its shadow over the carefully prepared history of the war which Mr. Stephens has left to inform posterity of his views of public men and measures. I will be pardoned for extracting from Mr. Stephens's "War between the States" remarks complimentary to myself, since they completely refute the purpose for which the Johnson letter has been produced. In Volume II, page 624-5, commenting upon the meeting at the African church, in Richmond after the unsuccessful effort for peace in Hampton Roads, Mr. Stephens says:

"Many who had heard this master of oratory in his most brilliant displays in the Senate and on the hustings said they never before saw Mr. Davis so really majestic! The occasion and the effects of the speech, as well as all the circumstances under which it was made, caused the minds of not a few to revert to appeals by Rienzi and Demosthenes.

"However much I admired the *heroism of the sentiment* expressed, yet in his general views or policy to be pursued in the

then situation I could not concur. I doubt not that all—the President, the Cabinet and Congress—*did the very best they could*, from their own convictions of what was best to be done at the time.”

In the same volume, on page 657, Mr. Stephens speaks of me as a man “of very strong convictions and great earnestness of purpose.” In a conversation had during the summer of 1863, which was reduced to writing at the time, Mr. Stephens said:

“The hardships growing out of our military arrangements are not the fault of the President; * * * they are due to his subordinates.”

In October of the same year, (“Life of A. H. Stephens,” by Johnson & Browne, pages 445-47,) he wrote to a friend who had asked what would be his probable course in the event of the death of myself, as follows:

“I should regard the death of the President as *the greatest possible public calamity*. What I should do I know not. A large number of prominent and active men in the country * * would distrust my ability to conduct affairs successfully. They have now, and would have, *no confidence in my judgment or capacity* for the position that such an untimely misfortune would cast upon me.”

These passages (and others might be selected from the writings of Mr. Stephens since the war) bear voluntary and involuntary testimony to my character and motives, and more than answer the complaints contained in the letter to Mr. H. V. Johnson, and in the canvass just preceding his death. Mr. Stephens said that the only difference between us during the war was as to the policy of shipping the cotton crop of 1861 to Europe. That criticism, when made by another, was fully answered by Mr. Trenholm and Mr. Memminger, the two secretaries of the Confederate States treasury, in which they very clearly showed that the cotton crop of 1861 had been mainly exported before the Confederate government was formed, and that if reference was made to any later crop, the Confederacy had no ships in which to export it, and the blockade prevented, to a great extent, foreign ships from taking the cotton out.

The “secret message” which is printed in this “historical statement” was communicated to the Confederate States Congress, and recommended the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. The reasons for that recommendation are fully set forth in the message. It was an application to Congress for authority to suspend the writ, and it was within the constitutional power of Congress to grant the authority. It was a measure of public defense against schemes and plots of enemies which could not

be reached under the process of law. On two occasions was that extraordinary remedy resorted to, and each was by authority of Congress. But even when the writ was suspended, no head of any cabinet department kept a "little bell," the tinkle of which consigned to prison men like Teackle Wallis, George William Brown, John Merryman, Charles Howard, Judge Carmichael dragged off the bench, and which became as fearful to the people as the *lettres-de cachet* of the tyrants of Paris. Martial law followed the armies of the United States, and provost marshals were often the judges that passed upon the person and property of ladies, children and old men, and the venerable Chief Justice Taney was not spared the humiliation of seeing even the Supreme Court of the United States brought to understand that the civil had become subordinate to the military authority.

The conscript law in the Confederate States, and the draft in the United States, were measures adopted by the respective Congresses, and not acts of either Mr. Lincoln or myself. They were both measures of public defense, intended to equalize the burden of military duty, as far as it was compatible with the public defense. As well might we leave revenue to be provided by voluntary contribution, instead of by general taxation, or the roads to be worked by the willing and industrious, instead of distributing the burden equitably over the whole people. Yet the Senators that called for this "historical statement" will hardly hold that President Lincoln was seeking a dictatorship because he enforced the draft.

This "historical statement" might have been enlarged and extended by the Senate, and made to embrace the deliberate misrepresentation by General Sherman of the communication to him by Colonel J. D. Stevenson, in regard to Albert Sidney Johnston's command in San Francisco. In a letter to Colonel William H. Knight, of Cincinnati, Ohio, dated October 28, 1884, General Sherman asserted that "Colonel J. D. Stevenson, now living in San Francisco, has often told me that he had cautioned the government as to a plot or conspiracy, through the department commander, Albert Sidney Johnston, to deliver possession of the forts, etc., to men in California sympathizing with the rebels in the South, and he thinks it was by his advice that the President (Lincoln) sent General E. V. Sumner to relieve Johnston of his command before the conspiracy was consummated." That statement of Sherman, the veteran Colonel J. D. Stevenson promptly and emphatically denied, saying: "The history of this matter was published fully and in detail in the San Francisco *Evening Post* in its issue of October

9, 1880. What reports General Keyes may have made to the authorities at Washington, I do not know; but that the removal of General Johnston was the means of preventing a Pacific republic, I do not for an instant believe; for neither at the time of General Sumner's taking command and relieving General Johnston, nor at any time afterward, do I believe any uprising or conspiracy was contemplated." Colonel Stevenson adds that General Sumner held General Albert Sidney Johnston to be "a soldier, a gentleman and an honorable man; he is incapable of betraying a trust." That slander against General Albert Sidney Johnston was as equally unnecessary and as uncalled for as the wholly gratuitous assault upon myself.

General Grant himself has not been exempt from Sherman's malice. To Colonel Scott, Sherman wrote, "if C. J. Smith had lived Grant would have disappeared to history." This remarkable statement was published by General Fry and pointedly and emphatically denied by General Sherman. Prompt to slander, he is equally quick to deny his language. The letter of Sherman dated September 6, 1883, was written to Colonel Scott, now of the War Record office. The denial of Sherman has caused the publication of the letter and exposure of his hypocrisy in recent laudation of the dead chieftain.

The deliberate falsehood which Sherman inserted in his official report, that Columbia, South Carolina, had been burned by General Wade Hampton, was afterwards confessed in his "Memoirs" to have been "distinctly charged on General Wade Hampton to shake the faith of his people in him." Even when confessing one falsehood he deliberately coined another, and on the same page of his "Memoirs" said that the fire "was accidental," when he knew from the letter of General Stone, who commanded the provost guard in Columbia, that the fire was not accidental. How much more he knew, he may in future "Memoirs" or "statements" reveal.

Can any man imagine less moral character, less conception of truth, less regard for what an official report should contain, than is shown by Sherman deliberately concocting a falsehood for the dishonorable purpose of shaking the faith of the people of South Carolina in their fellow-citizen, General Wade Hampton? His election to be governor of that State by the votes of a larger majority of her people of every race than was ever polled before or since; his elevation to the Senate of the United States, and the respect, admiration, and regard which is shown to him, must be particularly vexing to the Shermans, and may have suggested to the general to "hedge" in his "Memoirs" and confess his wrong-doing. Such an act of pen-

ance, if it brought true and genuine repentance, would have protected the memory of Albert Sidney Johnston, the fame of General Grant, and my own reputation from the slanders which called forth this exposure. It would also have prevented the United States Senate from having indorsed a falsehood, which is liable to be *confessed* when another volume of "Memoirs" shall be prepared.

I have in this vindication, not of myself only, but also of the people who honored me with the highest official position in their gift, been compelled to group together instances of repeated falsehoods deliberately spoken and written by General Sherman—the Blair Post slander of myself, the defamation of the character of General Albert Sidney Johnston, the disparagement of the military fame of General Grant, and the shameful and corrupt charge against General Hampton. I have prepared this examination and exposure only because the Senate of the United States has given to Sherman's slander an indorsement which gives it whatever claims it may have to attention and of power to mislead in the future. Having specifically stamped the statement as false, having proved its author to be an habitual slanderer, and not having a partisan secretary to make a place for this notice of a personal tirade, which was neither an official report nor record made during the war, so as to entitle it to be received at the office of archives, I submit it to the public through the columns of a newspaper which discountenances foul play and misrepresentation, and which was kind and just to me in saying in its issue of January 14, 1885:

"The Sherman statement was altogether one-sided; Mr. Davis had yet to be heard from, and for the Republicans of the Senate to force a snap judgment upon the Sherman statement without hearing what Mr. Davis had to say about it, smacks more of the political partisan than of the fair-minded adversary." The public, through *The Sun*, has this, my reply, and can dispense its "even-handed justice" with full knowledge of the facts.

Very sincerely yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

XVI.

CLOSE OF THE WAR—CAPTURE AND IMPRISONMENT.

It is useless to speculate now as to how near the Confederacy came to success, and why it did not succeed.

There are those who believe that if the routed "grand army" at first Manassas had been vigorously pursued—as Mr. Davis was anxious should be done—we would have easily captured Washington and ended the war by that brilliant campaign.

Stonewall Jackson always believed this, and it is said that while his wound was being dressed on that day he threw aside the surgeons, when seeing the President approaching with Generals Johnston and Beauregard, and tossing his old cadet cap in the air, enthusiastically exclaimed: "Here comes the President! Hurrah for the President!! Give me ten thousand men and I'll be in Washington to-night!!!"

Some of the ablest of our military critics believe—General Lee himself died believing and Mr. Davis always firmly believed—that if Lee's orders had been obeyed at Gettysburg the Army of Northern Virginia would have won a decisive victory, the Army of the Potomac would have been routed, Baltimore and Washington (if not Philadelphia and New York) would have been captured, and the independence of the Confederacy established.

Under the caption of "Within a Stone's Throw of Independence at Gettysburg" there was published in the *Southern Historical Society Papers* an article from a member of the British

Parliament, in which he said that not long before the battle of Gettysburg, Disraeli had determined to introduce resolutions acknowledging the Southern Confederacy—that he had thoroughly prepared himself for a great speech on the subject—and that the whole matter had been canvassed among the members, and the resolutions would have passed by an overwhelming vote—but that on the very day before the one-fixed for their introduction news came of Lee's defeat at Gettysburg and the capture of Vicksburg, and it was determined to indefinitely postpone the measure. But several distinguished Federal generals have stated that just after the battle of second Cold Harbor, in June, 1864, was the time when the Confederacy was nearest independence.

General Grant had made his campaign from the Rapidan and in that series of terrific battles had been foiled at every point, had lost more men than General Lee had, until after the terrible slaughter at Cold Harbor his brave men refused to obey orders to make another attack, and (as Swinton puts it in his "Army of the Potomac") "the immobile lines pronounced a verdict silent but emphatic against further slaughter."

The statement is that after this battle, and the complete demonstration of the fact that Grant could no longer "fight it out on this line," Mr. Lincoln became very much discouraged and had decided that "the time had come for negotiations," and had directed Mr. Seward to prepare a proclamation to this effect, but that before the proclamation was issued more favorable news came from Sherman and it was suppressed.

Whether this statement is true we cannot say—though it is made on very high authority and we believe it—but we do affirm that after Cold Harbor our army was in high spirits and our government and people decidedly hopeful, and there seems but little doubt that if the other Confederate armies could have maintained themselves as well as did the Army of Northern Virginia, we should have won.

But General Grant with his immense army sat down to the siege of Petersburg—a position which he might have taken at first without firing a shot or losing a man—and with illimitable resources of men and supplies continued his campaign of “attrition” all of the summer and autumn and winter, until our army dwindled to 35,000 men to guard forty miles of breastworks and oppose 140,000 splendidly equipped and abundantly supplied men, and our thin lines “were stretched until they broke,” and the sad end came. Meantime Sherman’s capture of Atlanta and march through Georgia and the Carolinas, and Hood’s disastrous campaign into Tennessee had sealed the fate of the Confederacy.

But amid all of these disasters President Davis was calm, brave, and determined.

We give as illustrating his view of the situation in March, 1865, the last message he ever sent to Congress.

PRESIDENT DAVIS’S LAST MESSAGE

“To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States of America:

“When informed on Thursday last that it was the intention of Congress to adjourn sine die on the ensuing Saturday, I deemed it my duty to request a postponement of the adjournment, in order that I might submit for your consideration, certain matters of public interest which are now laid before you. When that request was made, the most important measures that had occupied your attention during the session had not been so far advanced as to be submitted for Executive action, and the state of the country had been so materially affected by the events of the last four months as to evince the necessity of further and more energetic legislation than was contemplated in November last.

“Our country is now environed with perils which it is our duty calmly to contemplate. Thus alone can the measures necessary to avert threatened calamities be wisely and efficiently enforced.

"Recent military operations of the enemy have been successful in the capture of some of our seaports, in interrupting some of our lines of communication, and in devastating large districts of our country. These events have had the natural effect of encouraging our foes and dispiriting many of our people. The capital of the Confederate States is now threatened, and is in greater danger than it has heretofore been during the war. The fact is stated without reserve or concealment, as due to the people whose servants we are, and in whose courage and constancy entire trust is reposed as due to you, in whose wisdom and resolute spirit the people have confided for the adoption of the measures required to guard them from threatened perils.

"While stating to you that our country is in danger, I desire also to state my deliberate conviction that it is within our power to avert the calamities which menace us, and to secure the triumph of the sacred cause for which so much sacrifice has been made, so much suffering endured, so many precious lives been lost. This result is to be obtained by fortitude, by courage, by constancy in enduring the sacrifices still needed; in a word, by the prompt and resolute devotion of the whole resources of men and money in the Confederacy to the achievement of our liberties and independence.

"The measures now required, to be successful, should be prompt. Long deliberation and protracted debate over important measures are not only natural, but laudable, in representative assemblies under ordinary circumstances; but in moments of danger, when action becomes urgent, the delay thus caused is itself a new source of peril. Thus it has unfortunately happened that some of the measures passed by you in pursuance of the recommendations contained in my message of November last, have been so retarded as to lose much of their value, or have, for the same reason, been abandoned after being matured, because no longer applicable to our altered condition; and others have not been brought under examination. In making these remarks, it is far from my intention to attribute the loss of time to any other causes than those inherent in deliberative assemblies, but only urgently to recommend prompt action upon the measures now submitted.

"We need, for carrying on the war successfully, men and supplies for the army. We have both within our country sufficient to attain success.

"To obtain the supplies it is necessary to protect productive districts, guard our lines of communication by an increase in the number of our forces; and hence it results, that with a large augmentation in the number of men in the army, the facility of supplying the troops would be greater than with our recent reduced strength.

"For the purchase of supplies now required, especially for the armies in Virginia and North Carolina, the treasury must be provided with means, and a modification in the impressment law is required. It has been ascertained by examination that we have within our reach a sufficiency of what is most needed for the army, and without having recourse to the ample provision existing in those parts of the Confederacy with which our communication has been partially interrupted by hostile operations. But in some districts from which supplies are to be drawn the inhabitants, being either within the enemy's lines or in very close proximity, are unable to make use of Confederate treasury notes for the purchase of articles of prime necessity; and it is necessary that, to some extent, coin be paid in order to obtain supplies. It is, therefore, recommended that Congress devise the means for making available the coin within the Confederacy for the purpose of supplying the army. The officers of the supply departments report that, with two millions of dollars in coin, the armies in Virginia and North Carolina can be amply supplied for the remainder of the year; and the knowledge of this fact should suffice to insure the adoption of the measures necessary to obtain this moderate sum.

"The impressment law, as it now exists, prohibits the public officers from impressing supplies without making payment of the valuation at the time of impressment. The limit fixed for the issue of treasury notes has been nearly reached, and the treasury cannot easily furnish the funds necessary for prompt payment, while the law for raising revenue, which would have afforded means for diminishing, if not removing this difficulty, was unfortunately delayed for several months, and has just been signed. In this condition of things it is impossible to supply the army, although ample stores may exist in the country, whenever the owners refuse to give credit to the public officer. It is necessary that this restriction on the power of impressment be removed. The power is admitted to be objectionable, liable to abuse, and unequal in its opera-

tion on individuals; yet all these objections must yield to absolute necessity. It is also suggested that the system of valuation now established ought to be radically changed. The legislation requires, in such cases of impressment, that the market price be paid; but there is really no market price in many cases, and then valuation is made arbitrarily and in a depreciated currency. The result is that the most extravagant prices are fixed, such as no one expects ever to be paid in coin. None believe that the government can ever redeem in coin the obligation to pay fifty dollars a bushel for corn, or seven hundred dollars a barrel for flour. It would seem to be more just and appropriate to estimate the supplies impressed at their value in coin, to give the obligation of the government for the payment of the price in coin, with reasonable interest, or, at the option of the creditor, to return in kind the wheat and corn impressed, with a reasonable interest, also payable in kind; and to make the obligations thus issued receivable for all payments due in coin to the government. Whatever be the value attached by Congress to these suggestions, it is hoped that there will be no hesitation in so changing the law as to render it possible to supply the army in case of necessity by the impressment of provisions for that purpose.

"The measure adopted to raise revenue, though liberal in its provisions, being clearly inadequate to meet the arrears of debt and current expenditures, some degree of embarrassment in the management of the finances must continue to be felt. It is to be regretted, I think, that the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury of a tax on agricultural income equal to the augmented tax on other incomes, payable in treasury notes, was rejected by Congress. This tax would have contributed materially to facilitate the purchase of provisions and diminish the necessity that is now felt for a supply of coin.

"The measures passed by Congress during the session for recruiting the army and supplying the additional force needed for the public defense have been, in my judgment, insufficient, and I am impelled by a profound conviction of duty, and stimulated by a sense of the perils which surround our country, to urge upon you additional legislation upon this subject.

"The bill for employing negroes for soldiers has not yet reached me, though the printed journals of your proceedings inform

me of its passage. Much benefit is anticipated from this measure, though far less than would have resulted from its adoption at an earlier date, so as to afford time for their organization and instruction during the winter months.

"The bill for diminishing the number of exemptions has just been made the subject of a special message, and its provisions are such as would add no strength to the army. The recommendation to abolish all class exemptions has not met your favor, although still deemed by me a valuable and important measure; and the number of men exempted by a new clause in the act thus passed is believed to be quite equal to that of those whose exemption is revoked. A law of a few lines repealing all class exemptions would not only strengthen the forces in the field, but be still more beneficial by abating the natural discontent and jealousy created in the army by the existence of classes privileged by law to remain in places of safety while their fellow-citizens are exposed in the trenches and the field.

"The measure most needed, however, at the present time, for affording an effective increase to our military strength, is a general militia law, such as the constitution authorizes Congress to pass, by granting to it power 'to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the Confederate States,' and the further power 'to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Confederate States, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.' The necessity for the exercise of this power can never exist if not in the circumstances that now surround us. The security of the States against any encroachment by the Confederate government is amply provided for by the constitution, by 'reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.'

"A law is needed to prescribe not only how, and of what persons, the militia are to be organized, but to provide the mode of calling them out. If instances be required to show the necessity of such general law, it is sufficient to mention that, in one case, I have been informed by the governor of a State that the law does not permit him to call the militia from one county for service in another; so that a single brigade of the enemy could traverse the State, and devastate each county in turn,

without any power on the part of the Executive to use the militia for effective defence; while in another State the Executive refused to allow the militia 'to be employed in the service of the Confederate States,' in the absence of a law for that purpose.

"I have heretofore, in a confidential message to the two houses, stated the facts which induced me to consider it necessary that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* should be suspended. The conviction of the necessity of this measure has become deeper as the events of the struggle have been developed. Congress has not concurred with me in opinion. It is my duty to say that the time has arrived when the suspension of the writ is not simply advisable and expedient, but almost indispensable to the successful conduct of the war. On Congress must rest the responsibility of declining to exercise a power conferred by the constitution as a means of public safety, to be used in periods of national peril resulting from foreign invasion. If our present circumstances are not such as were contemplated when this power was conferred, I confess myself at a loss to imagine any contingency in which this clause of the constitution will not remain a dead letter.

"With the prompt adoption of the measures above recommended, and the united and hearty coöperation of Congress and the people in the execution of the laws and defense of the country, we may enter upon the present campaign with cheerful confidence in the result. And who can doubt the continued existence of that spirit and fortitude in the people, and of that constancy under reverses which alone are needed to render our triumph secure? What other resource remains available but the undying, unconquerable resolve to be free? It has become certain, beyond all doubt or question, that we must continue this struggle to a successful issue or must make abject and unconditional submission to such terms as it shall please the conqueror to impose on us after our surrender. If a possible doubt could exist after the conference between our commissioners and Mr. Lincoln, as recently reported to you, it would be dispelled by a recent occurrence, of which it is proper you should be informed.

"Congress will remember that in the conference above referred to our commissioners were informed that the government of the United States would not enter into any agreement or treaty whatever with the Confederate States nor with any single State, and

that the only possible mode of obtaining peace was by laying down our arms, disbanding our forces, and yielding unconditional obedience to the laws of the United States, including those passed for the confiscation of our property and the constitutional amendment for the abolition of slavery. It will further be remembered that Mr. Lincoln declared that the only terms on which hostilities could cease were those stated in his message of December last, in which we were informed that in the event of our penitent submission he would temper justice with mercy, and that the question whether we would be governed as dependent territories or permitted to have a representation in their Congress was one on which he could promise nothing, but which would be decided by their Congress after our submission had been accepted.

"It has not, however, been hitherto stated to you that in the course of the conference at Fortress Monroe a suggestion was made by one of our commissioners that the objections entertained by Mr. Lincoln to treating with the government of the Confederacy, or with any separate State, might be avoided by substituting for the usual mode of negotiating through commissioners, or other diplomatic agents, the method sometimes employed of a military convention, to be entered into by the commanding generals of the armies of the two belligerents. This, he admitted, was a power possessed by him, though it was not thought commensurate with all the questions involved. As he did not accept the suggestion when made, he was afterwards requested to reconsider his conclusion upon the subject of a suspension of hostilities, which he agreed to do, but said that he had maturely considered of the plan and had determined that it could not be done.

"Subsequently, however, an interview with General Longstreet was asked for by General Ord, commanding the enemy's Army of the James, during which General Longstreet was informed by him that there was a possibility of arriving at a satisfactory adjustment of the present unhappy difficulties by means of a military convention, and that if General Lee desired an interview on the subject, it would not be declined, provided General Lee had authority to act. This communication was supposed to be the consequence of the suggestion referred to, and General Lee, according to instructions, wrote to General Grant, on the 2d of this month, proposing to meet him for

conference on the subject, and stating that he was vested with the requisite authority. General Grant's reply stated that he had no authority to accede to the proposed conference; that his powers extended only to making a convention on subjects purely of a military character, and that General Ord could only have meant that an interview would not be refused on any subject on which he (General Grant) had the right to act.

"It thus appears that neither with the Confederate authorities, nor the authorities of any State, nor through the commanding generals, will the government of the United States treat or make any terms or agreement whatever for the cessation of hostilities. There remains then for us no choice but to continue this contest to a final issue; for the people of the Confederacy can be but little known to him who supposes it possible they would ever consent to purchase, at the cost of degradation and slavery, permission to live in a country garrisoned by their own negroes and governed by officers sent by the conqueror to rule over them.

"Having thus fully placed before you the information requisite to enable you to judge of the state of the country, the dangers to which we are exposed, and the measures of legislation needed for averting them, it remains for me but to invoke your attention to the consideration of those means by which, above all others, we may hope to escape the calamities that would result from our failure. Prominent above all others, is the necessity for earnest and cordial coöperation between all departments of government, State and Confederate, and all eminent citizens throughout the Confederacy. To you, especially, as Senators and Representatives, do the people look for encouragement and counsel. To your action, not only in legislative halls, but in your homes, will their eyes be turned for the example of what is befitting men who, by willing sacrifices on the altar of freedom, show that they are worthy to enjoy its blessings. I feel full of confidence that you will concur with me in the conviction that your public duties will not be ended when you shall have closed the legislative labors of the session, but that your voice will be heard cheering and encouraging the people to that persistent fortitude which they have hitherto displayed, and animating them by the manifestation of that serene confidence which, in moments of public danger, is the distinctive characteristic of the patriot, who

derives courage from his devotion to his country's destiny, and is thus enabled to inspire the like courage in others.

"Thus united in a common and holy cause, rising above all selfish considerations, rendering all our means and faculties tributary to the country's welfare, let us bow submissively to the Divine will, and reverently invoke the blessing of our Heavenly Father, that as He protected and guided our sires when struggling in a similar cause, so He will enable us to guard safely our altars and firesides, and maintain inviolate the political rights which we inherited.

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

"Richmond, March 13, 1865."

We have not space for the full details, but we give the salient points in the "Peace Negotiations" of this period in the following documents:

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF PRESIDENT DAVIS TO GOV. VANCE,
OF NORTH CAROLINA.

"We have made three distinct efforts to communicate with the authorities at Washington, and have been invariably unsuccessful. Commissioners were sent before hostilities were begun, and the Washington government refused to receive them or hear what they had to say. A second time, I sent a military officer with a communication addressed by myself to President Lincoln. The letter was received by General Scott, who did not permit the officer to see Mr. Lincoln, but promised that an answer would be sent. No answer has ever been received. The third time, a few months ago, a gentleman was sent, whose position, character, and reputation were such as to ensure his reception, if the enemy were not determined to receive no proposals whatever from the government. Vice-President Stephens made a patriotic tender of his services in the hope of being able to promote the cause of humanity, and, although little belief was entertained of his success, I cheerfully yielded to his suggestions, that the experiment should be tried. The enemy refused to let him pass through their lines or hold any conference with them. He was stopped before he ever reached Fortress Monroe, on his way to Washington.

"If we will break up our government, dissolve the Confederacy, disband our armies, emancipate our slaves, take an oath of allegiance, binding ourselves to obedience to him and of disloyalty to our own States, he proposes to pardon us, and not to plunder us of any thing more than the property already stolen from us, and such slaves as still remain. In order to render his proposals so insulting as to secure their rejection, he joins to them a promise to support with his army one-tenth of the people of any State who will attempt to set up a government over the other nine-tenths, thus seeking to sow discord and suspicion among the people of the several States, and to excite them to civil war in furtherance of his ends. I know well it would be impossible to get your people, if they possessed full knowledge of these facts, to consent that proposals should now be made by us to those who control the government at Washington. Your own well-known devotion to the great cause of liberty and independence, to which we have all committed whatever we have of earthly possessions, would induce you to take the lead in repelling the bare thought of abject submission to the enemy. Yet peace on other terms is now impossible."

The famous "Hampton Roads Conference" was held as the result of a visit of Hon. Francis P. Blair to Richmond, and its failure was thus made known by President Davis :

MESSAGE CONCERNING THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States of America:

"Having recently received a written notification, which satisfied me that the President of the United States was disposed to confer, informally, with unofficial agents that might be sent by me, with a view to the restoration of peace, I requested Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, and Hon. John A. Campbell, to proceed through our lines, to hold a conference with Mr. Lincoln, or such persons as he might depute to represent him.

"I herewith submit, for the information of Congress, the report of the eminent citizens above named, showing that the enemy refuse to enter into negotiations with the Confederate

States, or any one of them separately, or to give our people any other terms or guarantees than those which a conqueror may grant, or permit us to have peace on any other basis than our unconditional submission to their rule, coupled with the acceptance of their recent legislation, including an amendment to the constitution for the emancipation of the negro slaves, and with the right, on the part of the Federal Congress, to legislate on the subject of the relations between the white and black population of each State.

"Such is, as I understand, the effect of the amendment to the constitution, which has been adopted by the Congress of the United States.

JEFFERSON DAVIS."

"Executive Office, Feb. 5, 1865."

"RICHMOND, VA., February 5, 1865.

"To the President of the Confederate States :

"Sir,—Under your letter of appointment of the 28th ultimo we proceeded to seek an informal conference with Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, upon the subject mentioned in your letter.

"The conference was granted, and took place on the 3d instant, on board a steamer anchored in Hampton Roads, where we met President Lincoln and Hon. Mr. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States. It continued for several hours, and was both full and explicit.

"We learned from them that the message of President Lincoln to the Congress of the United States, in December last, explains clearly and distinctly, his sentiments as to terms, conditions, and method of proceeding by which peace can be secured to the people, and we were not informed that they would be modified or altered to obtain that end. We understood from him that no terms or proposals of any treaty or agreement looking to an ultimate settlement would be entertained or made by him with the authorities of the Confederate States, because that would be a recognition of their existence as a separate power, which, under no circumstances, would be done; and, for like reasons, that no such terms would be entertained by him from States separately; that no extended truce or armistice, as at present advised, would be granted or allowed without satisfactory assurance, in advance, of complete restoration of the authority of the constitution and laws of

the United States over all places within the States of the Confederacy; that whatever consequences may follow from the re-establishment of that authority must be accepted, but the individuals subject to pains and penalties, under the laws of the United States, might rely upon a very liberal use of the power confided to him to remit those pains and penalties if peace be restored.

"During the conference the proposed amendments to the constitution of the United States, adopted by Congress on the 31st ultimo, were brought to our notice. These amendments provide that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, should exist within the United States or any place within their jurisdiction, and that Congress should have the power to enforce this amendment by appropriate legislation.

"Of all the correspondence that preceded the conference herein mentioned, and leading to the same, you have heretofore been informed.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

"ALEX. H. STEPHENS,

"R. M. T. HUNTER,

"J. A. CAMPBELL.

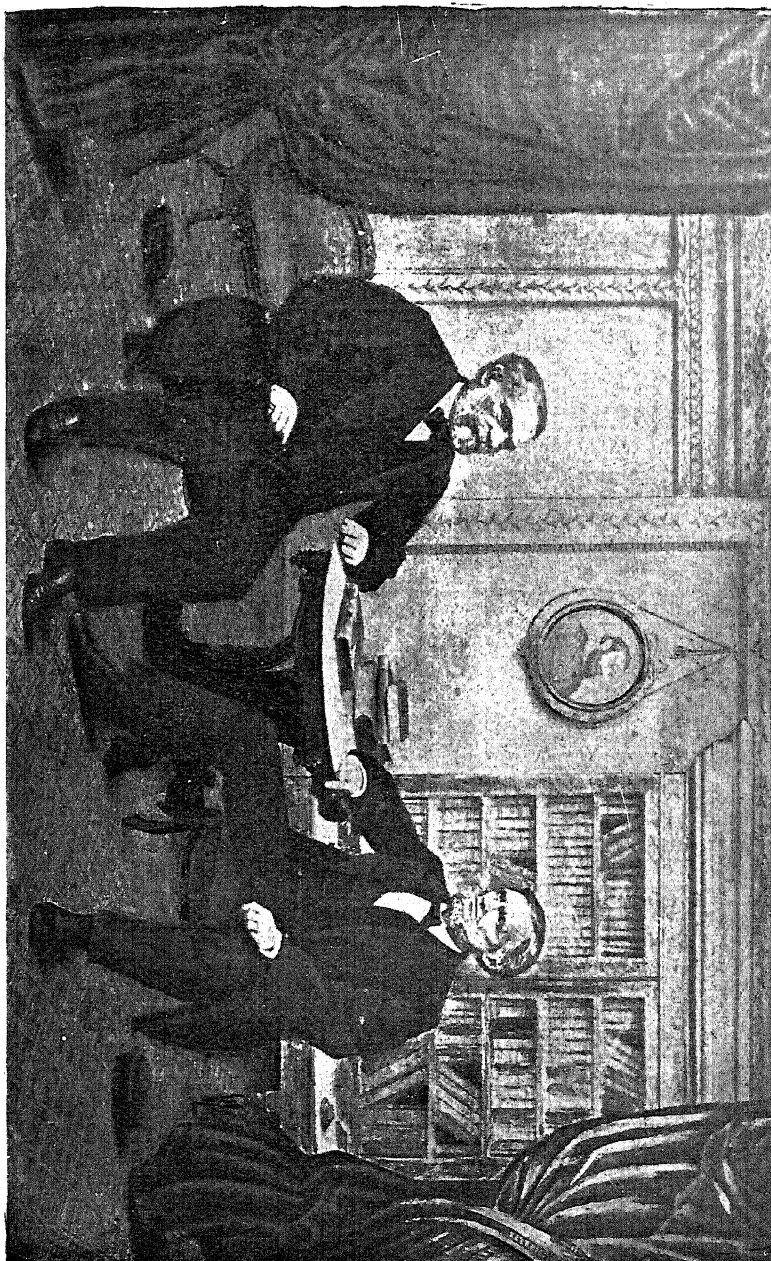
There can be no sort of doubt that the Federal government offered at this time only "unconditional surrender"—that neither the army nor the people were prepared for this—and that Mr. Davis was right in refusing to accept the hard conditions.

But at last the end came, and while Mr. Davis was occupying his pew in St. Paul's church, on Sunday morning, April 2d, 1865, there was handed him a telegram from General Lee announcing the breaking of his lines at Petersburg, and the necessity of evacuating Richmond and Petersburg that night. The sensational stories that have been published to the effect that he hastily left the church, looking so pale as to attract attention—that he hurried home to pack his own personal effects, and that he impressed for his private use cars that were needed for the public service—are all like so many other stories about Mr. Davis, *pure romance*.

We give his own statement, as published in his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," and if any statement of this stainless gentleman needed corroborating, we could multiply the recollections of eye-witnesses confirming what he says.

But we append the following account from him in the full confidence that it will be accepted by all right thinking men :

"On Sunday, the 2d of April, while I was in St. Paul's church, General Lee's telegram announcing his speedy withdrawal from Petersburg and the consequent necessity for evacuating Richmond was handed to me. I quietly rose and left the church. The occurrence probably attracted attention, but the people of Richmond had been too long beleaguered, had known me too often to receive notice of threatened attacks, and the congregation at St. Paul's was too refined to make a scene at anticipated danger. For all these reasons the reader will be prepared for the announcement that the sensational stories which have been published about the agitation caused by my leaving the church during service were the creations of fertile imaginations. I went to my office and assembled the heads of departments and bureaus, as far as they could be found on a day when all the offices were closed, and gave the needful instructions for our removal that night, simultaneously with General Lee's withdrawal from Petersburg. The event was not unforeseen and some preparation had been made for it, though, as it came sooner than was expected, there was yet much to be done. My own papers were disposed as usual for convenient reference in the transaction of current affairs, and as soon as the principal officers had left me the executive papers were arranged for removal. This occupied myself and staff until late in the afternoon. By this time the report that Richmond was to be evacuated had spread through the town, and many who saw me walking toward my residence left their houses to inquire whether the report was true. Upon my admission of the painful fact, qualified, however, by the expression of my hope that we would under better auspices again return, the ladies especially, with generous sympathy and patriotic impulse, responded: 'If the success of the cause requires you to give up Richmond, we are content.'



First meeting of President DAVIS and General LEE after the close of the war, at the residence of

"The affection and confidence of this noble people in the hour of disaster were more distressing to me than complaint and unjust censure would have been.

"In view of the diminishing resources of the country on which the Army of Northern Virginia relied for supplies, I had urged the policy of sending families as far as practicable to the south and west, and had set the example by requiring my own to go. If it was practicable and desirable to hold the south side of the James, then, even for merely material considerations, it was important to hold Richmond, and this could best have been done if there had been none there save those who could aid in its defense. If it was not practicable and desirable to hold the south side of the James, then Richmond would be isolated, and if it could have been defended, its depots, foundries, workshops, and mills could have contributed nothing to the armies outside, and its possession would no longer have been to us of military importance. Ours being a struggle for existence, the indulgence of sentiment would have been misplaced.

"Being alone in Richmond the few arrangements needful for my personal wants were soon made after reaching home. Then, leaving all else in care of the housekeeper, I waited until notified of the time when the train would depart; then, going to the station, started for Danville, whither I supposed General Lee would proceed with his army."

Equally false is the charge that Mr. Davis had ordered to Richmond a train loaded with provisions intended to be left for General Lee's army at Amelia Courthouse. General I. M. St. John, the able and accomplished commissary-general at the time, has proven beyond peradventure, in a paper published in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, that his department received no request for rations to be sent to Amelia Courthouse, and that if such a request had come from General Lee it could have been very easily done, and the rations would have been put there.

And yet it is true that General Lee *did* direct rations to be accumulated at Amelia Courthouse—that he was very much disappointed in not finding them there—and that the delay in

the vain effort to collect rations from the surrounding country enabled Grant to reach Burkeville in time to cut Lee off from his contemplated move on Danville.

Who was responsible for this failure will probably never be known, at least with sufficient accuracy to publish it; but it is certain that neither Mr. Davis nor General St. John were blameworthy.

Mr. Davis went straight to Danville where he established his headquarters, and from which he issued his famous proclamation which, (while it is easy to ridicule it now, and of which he himself said in his book, "viewed by the light of subsequent events, it may fairly be said it was over-sanguine,") so shows the spirit of the man that we give it in full as follows:

"DANVILLE, VA., April 5, 1865.

"The General-in-Chief found it necessary to make such movements of his troops as to uncover the capital. It would be unwise to conceal the moral and material injury to our cause resulting from the occupation of our capital by the enemy. It is equally unwise and unworthy of us to allow our own energies to falter, and our efforts to become relaxed under reverses, however calamitous they may be. For many months the largest and finest army of the Confederacy, under a leader whose presence inspires equal confidence in the troops and the people, has been greatly trammelled by the necessity of keeping constant watch over the approaches to the capital, and has thus been forced to forego more than one opportunity for promising enterprise. It is for us, my countrymen, to show by our bearing under reverses, how wretched has been the self-deception of those who have believed us less able to endure misfortune with fortitude than to encounter danger with courage.

"We have now entered upon a new phase of the struggle. Relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points, our army will be free to move from point to point, to strike the enemy in detail far from his base. Let us but will it, and we are free.

"Animated by that confidence in your spirit and fortitude which never yet failed me, I announce to you, fellow-country-

men, that it is my purpose to maintain your cause with my whole heart and soul; that I will never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any of the States of the Confederacy; that Virginia—noble State—whose ancient renown has been eclipsed by her still more glorious recent history; whose bosom has been bared to receive the main shock of this war; whose sons and daughters have exhibited heroism so sublime as to render her illustrious in all time to come—that Virginia, with the help of the people, and by the blessing of Providence, shall be held and defended, and no peace ever be made with the infamous invaders of her territory.

“If, by the stress of numbers, we should be compelled to a temporary withdrawal from her limits, or those of any other border State, we will return until the baffled and exhausted enemy shall abandon in despair his endless and impossible task of making slaves of a people resolved to be free.

“Let us, then, not despond, my countrymen, but, relying on God, meet the foe with fresh defiance, and with unconquered and unconquerable hearts.

“JEFFERSON DAVIS.”

The first news of General Lee's surrender reached Mr. Davis through Lieutenant John S. Wise (son of General Henry A. Wise), then a mere youth, who, when he became satisfied that the surrender would occur, rode through the enemy's lines, went to Danville, and informed the President of it.

This was, of course, a great disappointment and grief to him, but he bore himself grandly, and still hoped that with Johnston's army he could strike an effectual blow for freedom.

A correspondent of the *Richmond Dispatch* gives the following incident of Mr. Davis's leaving Danville:

“DANVILLE, VA., December 11, 1889.

“The occasion of Mr. Davis's funeral recalls most vividly to the old residents of Danville the sad and exciting times when the President of the Confederacy and his cabinet spent a few days in Danville, the last capital of the Confederate government.

"Mr. Davis and his cabinet came to Danville early in April, 1865, and made their headquarters at the residence of Major W. T. Sutherlin. There they remained for three days, and the last proclamation of Mr. Davis was written on a table which still stands in the hall of Major Sutherlin's house and is, of course, the most highly honored piece of furniture in the house.

"I had a chat last night with Mrs. Sutherlin concerning the stay of Mr. Davis in her house, and every little incident is still fresh in her memory. Said she:

"When Mr. Davis had been at our house for three days he said that he could not impose on our hospitality longer, and made arrangements to establish his headquarters at the old Benedict house, on Wilson street. I told him that he might take his cabinet to any place he pleased, but as for himself he must be our guest so long as he remained in the city, and he yielded to the request. He remained here five days after that time, and was, of course, in a most anxious frame of mind, but was always pleasant and agreeable. One morning he and Mr. Sutherlin went down town and soon returned in an excited manner, and I knew something had happened. I met them at the door, and Mr. Davis told me almost in a whisper that Lee had surrendered and that he must leave town as soon as possible.

"Making a few hurried arrangements, he offered his hand to me to say good-by, and I asked him the question: 'Mr. Davis, have you any funds other than Confederate money?' and he replied in the negative. 'Then,' said I, offering him a bag of gold containing a thousand dollars, 'take this from me.' I offered the money without having consulted Mr. Sutherlin, but knew it would be all right with him.

"Mr. Davis took my hand and the tears streamed down his face. 'No,' said he, 'I cannot take your money. You and your husband are young and will need your money, while I am an old man, and,' adding after a pause, 'I don't reckon I shall need anything very long.'

"He then put his hand in his pocket and took out a little gold pencil which he asked me to keep for his sake, and I have the little memento now.' She then showed the little gift to myself and others in the room and said she had never used it, but had always preserved it as a sacred gift.

"'When Mr. Davis had said good-by,' continued Mrs. Sutherlin, 'he hurried to the train and left town as soon as possible.'

"'Did Mr. Davis think the war was then ended?' I asked.

"'Not at all,' she replied. 'One day at the table I said to him: 'Mr. Davis, would Lee's surrender end the war?' and he replied: "

"'By no means. We'll fight it out to the Mississippi river.' And so said all his officers. I told them they were simply whistling to keep their courage up, but they said they meant what they said.'"

MEETING OF MR. DAVIS AND HIS CABINET WITH GENERALS
JOHNSTON AND BEAUREGARD AT GREENSBORO', N. C.

Secretary S. R. Mallory has written a vivid account of a meeting of the cabinet at Greensboro', called to consult with Generals Johnston and Beauregard on "the situation." We quote as follows:

"At 8 o'clock that evening the cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Trenholm, whose illness prevented his attendance, joined the President at his room. It was a small apartment, some twelve by sixteen feet, containing a bed, a few chairs, and a table, with writing materials, on the second floor of the small dwelling of Mrs. John Taylor Wood; and a few minutes after eight the two generals entered.

"The uniform habit of President Davis, in cabinet meetings, was to consume some little time in general conversation before entering upon the business of the occasion, and not unfrequently introducing some anecdote or interesting episode, generally some reminiscence of the early life of himself or others in the army, the Mexican war, or his Washington experiences; and his manner of relating and his application of them were at all times very happy and pleasing.

"Few men seized more readily upon the sprightly aspects of any transaction, or turned them to better account; and his powers of mimicry, whenever he condescended to exercise them, were irresistible. Upon this occasion, at a time when the cause of the Confederacy was hopeless, when its soldiers were throwing away their arms and flying to their homes,

when its government, stripped of nearly all power, could not hope to exist beyond a few days more, and when the enemy, more powerful and exultant than ever, was advancing upon all sides, true to his habit, he introduced several subjects of conversation, not connected with the condition of the country, and discussed them as if at some pleasant ordinary meeting. After a brief time thus spent, turning to General Johnston, he said, in his usual quiet, grave way, when entering upon matters of business: 'I have requested you and General Beauregard, General Johnston, to join us this evening, that we might have the benefit of your views upon the situation of the country. Of course, we all feel the magnitude of the moment. Our late disasters are terrible, but I do not think we should regard them as fatal. I think we can whip the enemy yet, if our people will turn out. We must look at matters calmly, however, and see what is left for us to do. Whatever can be done must be done at once. We have not a day to lose.' A pause ensued, General Johnston not seeming to deem himself expected to speak, when the President said: 'We should like to hear your views, General Johnston.' Upon this the General, without preface, or introduction—his words translating the expression which his face had worn since he entered the room—said, in his terse, concise, demonstrative way, as if seeking to condense thoughts that were crowding for utterance: 'My views are, sir, that our people are tired of the war, feel themselves whipped, and will not fight. Our country is overrun, its military resources greatly diminished, while the enemy's military power and resources were never greater, and may be increased to any desired extent. We cannot place another large army in the field; and, cut off as we are from foreign intercourse, I do not see how we could maintain it in fighting condition if we had it. My men are daily deserting in large numbers, and are taking my artillery teams to aid their escape to their homes. Since Lee's defeat they regard the war at an end. If I march out of North Carolina, her people will all leave my ranks. It will be the same as I proceed south through South Carolina and Georgia, and I shall expect to retain no man beyond the by-road or cow-path that leads to his house. My small force is melting away like snow before the sun, and I am hopeless of recruiting it. We may, perhaps, obtain terms which we ought to accept.'

"The tone and manner, almost spiteful, in which the general jerked out these brief, decisive sentences, pausing at every paragraph, left no doubt as to his own convictions. When he ceased speaking, whatever was thought of his statements—and their importance was fully understood—they elicited neither comment nor inquiry. The President, who, during their delivery, had sat with his eyes fixed upon a scrap of paper which he was folding and re-folding abstractedly, and who had listened without a change of position or expression, broke the silence by saying, in a low, even tone: 'What do you say, General Beauregard?'

"'I concur in all General Johnston has said,' he replied.

"Another silence, more eloquent of the full appreciation of the condition of the country than words could have been, succeeded, during which the President's manner was unchanged.

"After a brief pause he said, without a variation of tone or expression, and without raising his eyes from the slip of paper between his fingers: 'Well, General Johnston, what do you propose? You speak of obtaining terms. You know, of course, that the enemy refuses to treat with us. How do you propose to obtain terms?'

"'I think the opposing generals in the field may arrange them.'

"'Do you think Sherman will treat with you?'

"'I have no reason to think otherwise. Such a course would be in accordance with military usage, and legitimate.'

"'We can easily try it, sir. If we can accomplish any good for the country, Heaven knows I am not particular as to forms. How will you reach Sherman?'

"'I would address him a brief note, proposing an interview to arrange terms of surrender and peace, embracing, of course, a cessation of hostilities during the negotiations.'

"'Well, sir, you can adopt this course, though I confess I am not sanguine as to ultimate results.'

"The member of the cabinet before referred to as conversing with General Johnston, and who was anxious that his views should be promptly carried out, immediately seated himself at the writing-table, and, taking up a pen, offered to act as the general's amanuensis. At the request of the latter, however, the President dictated the letter to General Sherman, which was written at once upon a half sheet of letter folded as note

paper, and signed by General Johnston, who took it, and said he would send it to General Sherman early in the morning, and in a few minutes the conference broke up. This note, which was a brief proposition for a suspension of hostilities, and a conference with a view to agreeing upon terms of peace, has been published with other letters which passed between the two generals.

"On or about the 16th of April, the President, his staff, and cabinet left Greensboro' to proceed still further south, with plans unformed, clinging to the hope that Johnston and Sherman would secure peace and the quiet of the country, but still all doubtful of the result, and still more doubtful as to consequences of failure."

After the agreement between Johnston and Sherman had been disapproved at Washington, and Johnston was negotiating for the surrender of his own army, there was nothing left President Davis but to continue his retreat in order to fulfill his purpose of reaching General Taylor, crossing the Mississippi, and continuing the fight in the Trans-Mississippi department.

AT WASHINGTON, GA.

The following was written as a private letter not intended for publication, but it brings out so beautifully several characteristics of Mr. Davis that my accomplished friend, Rev. Dr. H. A. Tupper, must excuse me for giving it in full:

"RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, December 25, 1889.

"*Rev. J. Wm. Jones, D. D., Atlanta, Ga.:*

"Dear Doctor—I am glad that you propose to publish a memorial volume of the late Jefferson Davis. It seems to be demanded by the expression of mournful feeling which has pervaded the entire South, the like of which has never appeared in my day and generation. Great men have fallen in the country and great funeral pageants have been witnessed, but I remember no parallel to such a sight of weeping eyes and saddened countenances among a whole people.

"There was a feature of Mr. Davis's character which comes to my recollection on seeing in our *Richmond Dispatch* an allu-

sion to the revival of the story that Mr. Davis was captured in a woman's dress. I refer to his imperturbable, calm courage. You are aware of the fact that my house in Washington, Ga., was selected as the place for the reception of Mr. Davis and his party after the evacuation of Richmond. Mrs. Davis, with the children, was at the residence of my senior deacon (Dr. Fielding Ficklen, the father-in-law of the late Rev. James P. Bryce, D. D., Mrs. Tupper's brother). The day before Mr. Davis was to arrive in Washington Mrs. Davis and the children were sent forward in a little wagon toward Raytown, Ga. When Mr. Davis was near our town I sent on horseback one of Dr. Ficklen's sons to overtake Mrs. Davis and request her to stop at Raytown, where Mr. Davis would meet her. That day Mrs. Tupper was taken seriously ill, and a daughter was born into the family. Dr. J. J. Robertson, cashier of the Washington bank, was requested to receive the party, which he did most cordially. It was in his house that the last cabinet-meeting of the Confederacy was held. It was there formally dissolved. The party arrived about nine o'clock in the evening. The Federal troops had crossed the Savannah river, only some twenty miles distant. The citizens were anxious that Mr. Davis should not expose himself unduly. About midnight several of the distinguished company departed. Things occurred just at this point which have not been written and never will be written.

"But Mr. Davis had not the remotest idea of going. His conduct was much the same as you might see in a gentleman who decides not to take a night train, preferring a good night's sleep, and a start in the morning. In the morning he was in no greater haste to depart. He was informed that Mrs. Davis was awaiting him at Raytown, but he must speak to the ladies who had called. He was informed that his horse was at the door, but he had to kiss the little children that were present. It was now nine o'clock, if I am not mistaken. I said to Judge Garnett Andrews. 'I really believe that Mr. Davis wishes to be captured.' At last, accompanied by Colonel Johnston, son of General Sidney Johnston, he walked in the most leisurely way down the front steps of Dr. Robertson's house, saying something appropriate to every one that approached him. A Washington (Ga.) paper in an issue many years ago, now before me, says: To words of cheer and consolation addressed to him by the writer, Mr. Davis replied: 'Though

He slay me, yet will I trust Him.' Then in the quietest possible manner he mounted his horse, and, Colonel Johnston doing the same, the two passed out of the town with the painful slowness of mourners in a funeral procession rather than in the movement of supposed fugitives. As I think of the high bearing and granite firmness of the man I think of the words of Confucius: 'See that obelisk, erect, lofty, grand!'

"Is that the man to be caught, two days after, concealed in a woman's garb? Even mendacity itself might be clothed in a garment of shame at the utterance of slander so unfounded, so malicious.

"Having nothing special to do at this moment, I scribble these lines in vindication of truth, my eye having rested on the allusion of the *Dispatch* to which I have referred.

"I am yours, very truly,

"H. A. TUPPER."

HIS CAPTURE.

There are few events which have been more misrepresented than the capture of Mr. Davis, and it seems hard to get Northern writers even now to refrain from the sensational slanders which were manufactured at the time.

Several of his captors have contradicted in emphatic terms these stories.

The following appeared in the Portland (Maine) *Argus*:

"I am no admirer of Jeff. Davis. I am a Yankee, born between Saccarappa and Gorham Corner; am full of Yankee prejudices; but I think it wicked to lie even about him, or, for the matter, about the devil.

"I was with the party that captured Jeff. Davis; saw the whole transaction from its beginning. I now say—and I hope you will publish it—that Jeff. Davis did not have on at the time he was taken any such garment as is worn by women. He did have over his shoulders a water-proof article of clothing, something like a 'Havelock.' It was not in the least concealed. He wore a hat, and did not carry a pail of water on his head, nor carry pail, bucket, or kettle in any way.

"To the best of my recollection he carried nothing whatever in his hands. His wife did not tell any person that her hus-

band might hurt somebody if he got exasperated. She behaved like a lady and he as a gentleman, though manifestly he was chagrined at being taken into custody. Our soldiers behaved like gentlemen, as they were, and our officers like honorable, brave men; and the foolish stories that went the newspaper rounds of the day, telling how wolfishly he deported himself, were all false. I know what I am writing about. I saw Jefferson Davis many times while he was staying in Portland several years ago; and I think I was the first one who recognized him at the time of his arrest.

"When it was known that he was certainly taken, some newspaper correspondent—I knew his name at the time—fabricated the story about his disguise in an old woman's dress. I heard the whole matter talked over as a good joke; and the officers, who knew better, never took the trouble to deny it. Perhaps they thought the Confederate President deserved all the contempt that could be put upon him. I think so, too; only I would never perpetrate a falsehood that by any means would become history. And, further, I would never slander a woman who has shown so much devotion as Mrs. Davis has to her husband, no matter how wicked he is or may have been.

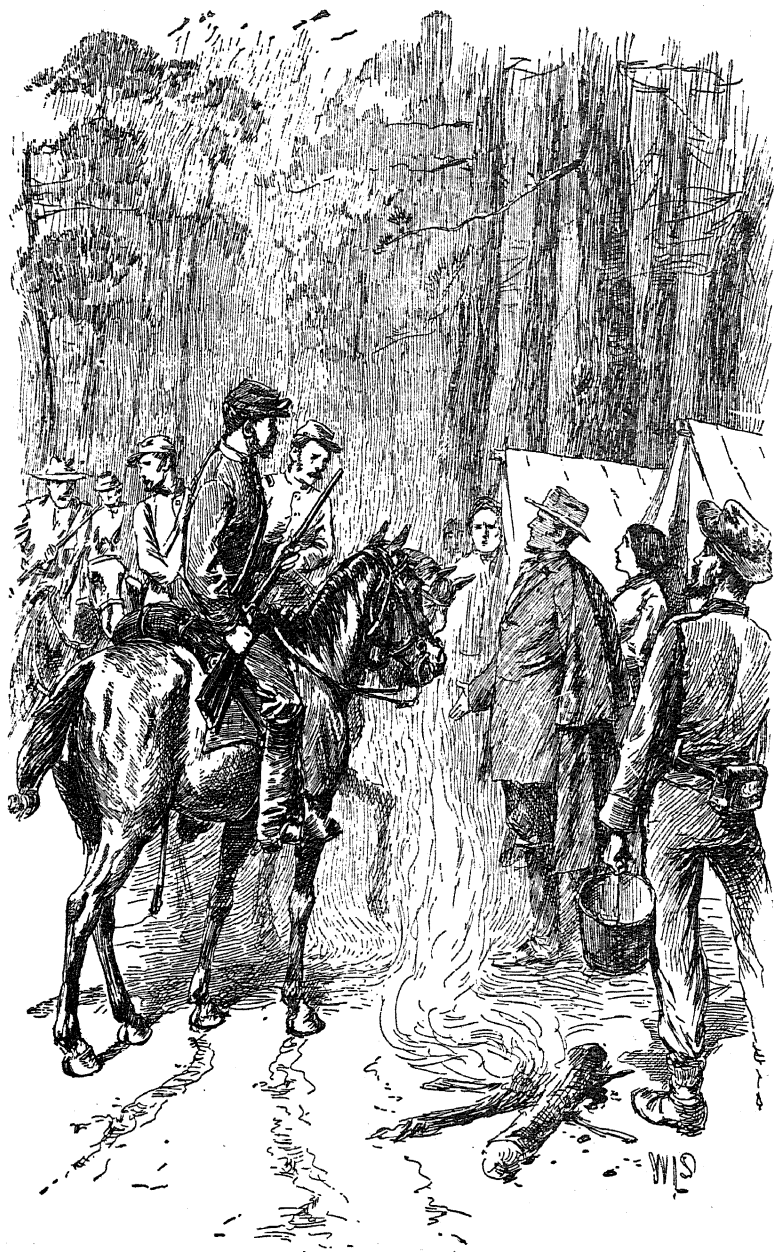
"I defy any person to find a single officer or soldier who was present at the capture of Jefferson Davis who will say, upon honor, that he was disguised in woman's clothes, or that his wife acted in any way unladylike or undignified on that occasion. I go for trying him for his crimes, and if he is found guilty, punishing him. But I would not lie about him, when the truth will certainly make it bad enough.

"Elburnville, Pa.

JAMES H. PARKER."

Mr. T. H. Peabody, a lawyer of St. Louis, one of the captors of Mr. Davis, in a speech before Ransom Post, G. A. R., delivered a few days after the death of Mr. Davis, said:

"Jefferson Davis was captured by the Fourth Michigan cavalry, in the early morning of May 10, 1865, at Irwinsville, in southern Georgia. With him were Mr. Reagan, of Texas, his postmaster-general; Captain Moody, of Mississippi, an old neighbor of the Davis family; Governor Lubbock, of Texas; Colonels Harrison and Johnston of his staff; Mrs. Davis and her four children—Maggie, some ten years old; Jeff, about eight; Willie, about five, and a girl baby—a brother and sister of Mrs. Davis,



HIS CAPTURE.

a white and one colored servant woman, a small force of cavalry, a few others, and a small train of horses, mules, wagons and ambulances. Among the horses were a span of carriage horses presented to Mrs. Davis by the citizens of Richmond during the heyday of the Confederacy, also a splendid saddle-horse, the pride of the ex-President himself. On the 11th of May, the next day after the capture, and while on our way back to Macon, as officer of the guard over the distinguished prisoner, I rode by the side of Mr. Reagan, now senator from Texas. I found him a very fine gentleman. During that day's march a courier from Macon notified us in printed slips of the \$100,000 reward offered for Mr. Davis's capture, which notice connected Davis with the assassination of President Lincoln. When Mr. Reagan read the notice he earnestly protested that Mr. Davis had no connection whatever with the sorrowful affair. History has shown he had none.

"Besides the suit of men's clothing worn by Mr. Davis, he had on, when captured, Mrs. Davis's large water-proof cloak or robe, thrown on over his own fine gray suit, and a blanket shawl thrown on over his head and shoulders. This shawl and robe were finally deposited in the archives of the War Department at Washington by order of Secretary Stanton. The story of the 'hoop skirt, sun bonnet and calico wrapper' had no real existence, and was started in the fertile brain of the reporters and in the illustrated papers of that day."

Major W. T. Walthall published in the *Southern Historical Society Papers* a scathing review of an utterly false and sensational story by General Wilson in the *Philadelphia Times*. We regret that our space does not allow us to give in full this conclusive paper, but we take from it the following letters which settle the question:

LETTER FROM COLONEL WILLIAM PRESTON JOHNSTON, LATE AIDE
TO PRESIDENT DAVIS.

"LEXINGTON, VA., July 14th, 1877.

"Major W. T. Walthall, Mobile, Ala.:

"My Dear Sir—Your letter has just come to hand, and I reply at once. Wilson's monograph is written with a very strong animus, not to say virus. It is in no sense historical.

It bears upon its face all the marks of special pleading. He states as matters of fact, numberless circumstances which could not be of his own knowledge, and which he must have picked up as rumor or mere gossip. Single errors of this sort are blemishes; but when they are grouped and used as fact and argument, they become, what you truly call them, 'calumny.'

"For instance, Mrs. Davis is represented as leaving Richmond with the President. My recollection is that she left some weeks beforehand. Breckinridge left on horseback, and went to General Lee, rejoining Mr. Davis at Danville. I do not doubt that all the account of 'the preparations for flight' is purely fictitious. His statement of the conditions of the armistice is incorrect.

"You will have the facts of our retreat and capture from many sources. My best plan is to tell you only what I know and saw myself. My testimony is chiefly negative, but in so far as it goes will probably aid you. My understanding was that we were to part with Mrs. Davis's train on the morning of the 9th. We did not, and the President continued to ride in the ambulance. He was sick and a good deal exhausted, but was not the man to say anything about it. The day previous he had let little Jeff shoot his derringers at a mark, and handed me one of the unloaded pistols, which he asked me to carry, as it incommoded him. At that time I spoke to him about the size of our train and our route, about which I had not previously talked, as he had said nothing, and I did not wish to force his confidence. It was, however, distinctly understood that we were going to Texas. I that day said to him that I did not believe we could get west through Mississippi, and that by rapid movements and a bold attempt by sea from the Florida coast, we were more likely to reach Texas safely and promptly. He replied: 'It is true; every negro in Mississippi knows me.' I also talked with Judge Reagan and Colonel Wood on this topic. The impression left on my own mind was, however, that Mr. Davis intended to turn west, south of Albany; but I had no definite idea of his purpose, whether to go by sea or land. Indeed, my scope of duty was simply to follow and obey him; and, so long as I was not consulted, I was well content to do this and no more. I confess I did not have great hopes of escape, though not apprehensive at the time of capture, as our scouts, ten picked men, were explicit that no Federals were near and that pickets were out. Both of these were

errors. On the night of the 9th I was very much worn out with travel and watching, and lay down at the foot of a pine tree to sleep.

"Just at gray dawn, Mr. Davis's servant, Jim, awakened me. He said: 'Colonel, do you hear that firing?' I sprang up and said: 'Run and wake the President.' He did so. Hearing nothing as I pulled on my boots, I walked to the camp-fire, some fifty or less steps off, and asked the cook if Jim was not mistaken. At this moment I saw eight or ten men charging down the road towards me. I thought they were guerillas, trying to stampede the stock. I ran to my saddle, where I had slept, and began unfastening the holster to get out my revolver, but they were too quick for me. Three men rode up and demanded my pistol, which, as soon as I got it out, I gave up to the leader, a bright, slim, soldierly fellow, dressed in Confederate-grey clothes. The same man, I believe, captured Colonels Wood and Lubbock just after. One of my captors ordered me to the camp-fire and stood guard over me. I soon became aware that they were Federals.

"In the meantime the firing went on. After about ten minutes, maybe more, my guard left me, and I walked over to Mr. Davis's tent, about fifty yards off. Mrs. Davis was in great distress. I said to the President, who was sitting outside on a camp-stool: 'This is a bad business, sir.' He replied, supposing I knew about the circumstances of his capture: 'I would have heaved the scoundrel off his horse as he came up, but she caught me around the arms.' I understood what he meant, how he had proposed to dismount the trooper and get his horse, for he had taught me the trick. I merely replied: 'It would have been useless.'

"Mr. Davis was dressed as usual. He had on a knit woolen visor, which he always wore at night for neuralgia. He wore cavalry boots. He complained of chilliness, and said they had taken away his 'raglan' (I believe they were so called), a light aquascutum or spring overcoat, sometimes called a 'waterproof.' I had one exactly similar, except in color. I went to look for it, and either I, or some one at my instance, found it, and he wore it afterwards. His own was not restored.

"As I was looking for this coat, the firing still continuing, I met a mounted officer, who, if I am not mistaken, was a Captain Hudson. Feeling that the cause was lost, and not wish-

ing useless bloodshed, I said to him: 'Captain, your men are fighting each other over yonder.' He answered very positively: 'You have an armed escort.' I replied: 'You have our whole camp; I know your men are fighting each other. We have nobody on that side of the slough.' He then rode off. Colonel Lubbock had a conversation nearly identical with Colonel Pritchard, who was not polite, I believe. You can learn from Colonel Lubbock about it.

"Not long afterwards, seeing Mr. Davis in altercation with an officer—Colonel Pritchard—I went up. Mr. Davis was denunciatory in his remarks. The account given by Wilson is fabulous, except so far as Mr. Davis's remark is concerned, that 'their conduct was not that of gentlemen, but of ruffians.' Pritchard did not make the reply attributed to him; I could swear to that. My recollection is that he said in substance, and in an offensive manner, 'that he (Davis) was a prisoner and could afford to talk so,' and walked away. Colonel Harneden's manner was conciliatory, if he was the other officer. If I am not mistaken, the first offense was his addressing Mr. Davis as 'Jeff,' or some such rude familiarity. But this you can verify. I tried just afterwards to reconcile Mr. Davis to the situation.

"On the route to Macon, three days afterwards, Mrs. Davis complained to me with great bitterness that her trunks had been ransacked, the contents taken out. and tumbled back with the leaves sticking to them.

"I had not seen Mr. Davis's capture. I was with him until we were parted at Fortress Monroe. Personally, I was treated with as much respect as I cared for. The officers were rather gushing than otherwise, and talked freely. Some were coarse men, and talked of everything; but I never heard of Mr. Davis's alleged disguise until I saw it in a New York *Herald*, the day I got to Fort Delaware. I was astonished, and denounced it as a falsehood. The next day I was placed in solitary confinement, and remained there. I do not believe it possible that these ten days could have been passed with our captors without an allusion to it, if it had not been an after-thought or something to be kept from us. . . .

"Very sincerely yours,

"WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON."

LETTER FROM EX-GOVERNOR LUBBOCK, OF TEXAS, LATE AIDE TO
PRESIDENT DAVIS.

"GALVESTON, August 2, 1877.

"Major W. T. Wallhall:

"Dear Sir—Yours of the 28th came to hand a day or two since, finding me quite busy. At the earliest moment I perused the article you allude to in your letter, which appeared in the *Weekly Times*, of Philadelphia, of July 7th. It does really appear that certain parties, with the view of keeping themselves before the public, will continue to write the most base, calumnious, and slanderous articles, calculated to keep the wounds of the past open and sore. Such a writer now appears in General James H. Wilson, whose sole aim seems to be to that of traducing and misrepresenting the circumstances of the capture of President Davis and his small party, who, it would appear, were pursued by some fifteen thousand gallant soldiers, commanded by this distinguished general. I shall leave it to you and others better qualified than myself to reply to this 'Chapter of the Unwritten History of the War.' I have this, however, to say: I left Richmond with President Davis in the same car, and from that day to the time of our separation (he being detained at Fortress Monroe and I sent to Fort Delaware) he was scarcely ever out of my sight, day or night.

"The night before the morning of our capture Colonel William P. Johnston slept very near the tent. Colonel John Taylor Wood and myself were under a pine tree, some fifty to one hundred feet off. Our camp was surprised just a while before day. I was with Mr. Davis and his family in a very few moments, and never did see anything of an attempted disguise or escape until after I had been confined in Fort Delaware several weeks. I then pronounced it a base falsehood. We were guarded by Colonel Pritchard's command until we reached Fortress Monroe. I talked freely with officers and men, and on no occasion did I hear anything of the kind mentioned.

"Judge Reagan and myself had entered into a compact that we would never desert or leave him, remaining to contribute, if possible, to his well-being and comfort, and share his fortune, whatever might befall. My bed-mate, Colonel John Taylor

Wood (one of the bravest and purest of men), having been a naval officer of the United States, and having been charged with violating the rules of war in certain captures made, deeming it prudent to make his escape, informed me of his intention and invited me to accompany him. I declined to avail myself of the favorable opportunity presented, telling him of my compact with Judge Reagan. He did escape.

"The conduct of the captors on that occasion was marked by anything but decency and soldierly bearing. They found no preparation for defense, and encountered no resistance at all. Mr. Davis, Judge Reagan, Colonel William Preston Johnston, Colonel John Taylor Wood, a young gentleman (a Mr. Barnwell, of South Carolina,) who escaped, and myself constituted the President's party. Colonel Harrison, the private secretary of the President, and a few paroled soldiers, were with Mrs. Davis and party, protecting their little baggage, &c.

"Upon taking the camp, they plundered and robbed every one of all and every article they could get hold of. They stole the watches, jewelry, money, clothing, &c. I believe I was the only one of the party not robbed.

"The man and patriot, who a few days before was at the head of a government, was treated by his captors with uncalled for indignity; so much so that I became indignant, and so completely unhinged and exasperated that I called upon the officers to protect him from insult, threatening to kill the parties engaged in such conduct.

"I cannot see how Mr. Davis could speak of Colonel Pritchard or his command with any degree of patience, as we all know that Mrs. Davis was robbed of her horses (a present from the people of Richmond), the money for which she sold her trinkets, silverware, &c., was stolen, and no effort was made to have it returned to her. Time and time again they promised that the watches stolen on that occasion should be returned, that the command would be paroled, and the stolen property restored to the owners; but it was never done, nor any attempt made, that I can recall to my mind.

"A Captain Douglas stole Judge Reagan's saddle, and used it from the day we were captured.

"They appropriated our horses and other private property. But why dwell upon this wretchedly disagreeable subject? I hope and pray that the whole truth will some day be written,

and I feel assured when it is done we of the South will stand to all time a vindicated people. As for him who is the target for all of the miserable scribblers, and of those unscrupulous and corrupt men living on the abuse heaped upon the Southern people by fanning the embers of the late war—when he is gone from hence history will write him as one of the truest and purest of men, a dignified and bold soldier, an enlightened and intelligent statesman, a man whose whole aim was to benefit his country and his people.

"I know him well. I have been with him under all circumstances, and have ever found him good and true. How wretched the spirit that will continue to traduce such a man! How miserably contemptible the party that will refuse to recognize such a man as a citizen of the country in whose defense his best days were spent and his blood freely spilt!

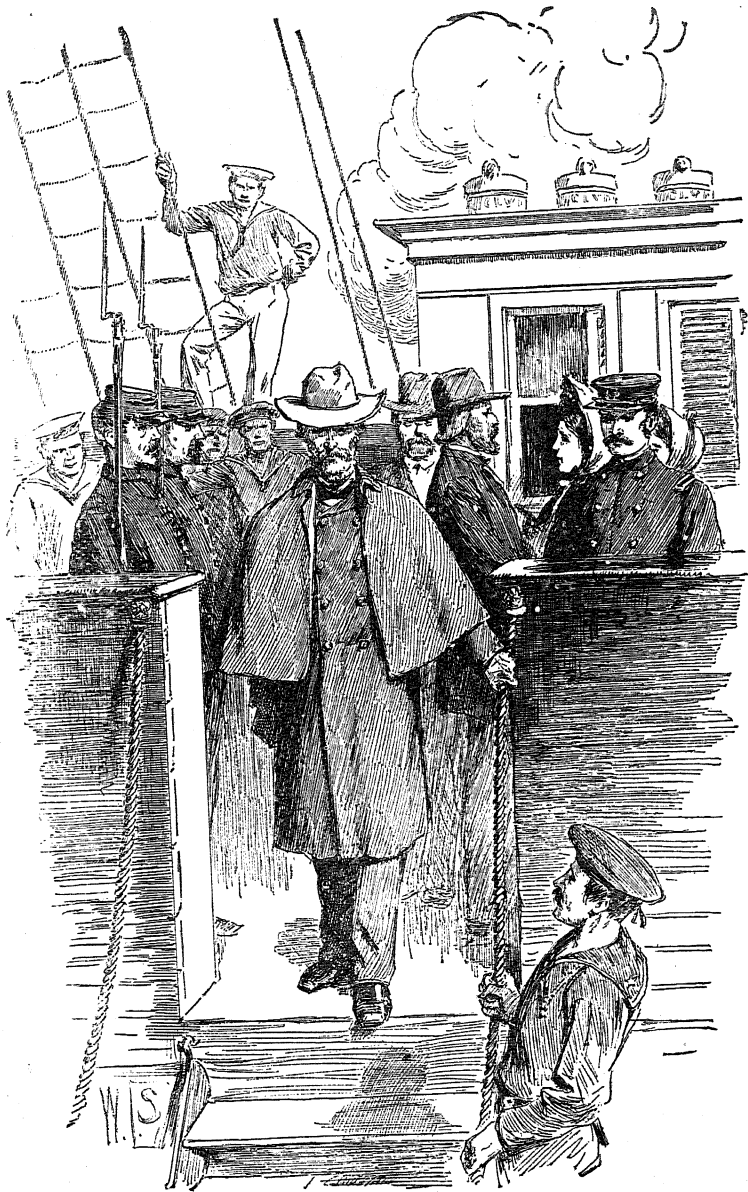
"I have the honor to be, yours very respectfully,

"F. R. LUBBOCK."

Postmaster-General Reagan wrote an exceedingly interesting account of the retreat and capture, and Hon. George Davis, Attorney-General, wrote also a very sharp reply to Wilson.

Mr. Davis's own account in his book is of deep interest and value, and he wrote to his old friend and fellow-cadet at West Point, Colonel Crafts J. Wright, of Cincinnati, two letters of deep interest, which effectually disposed of the slanders against him. We regret that our space will not allow us to reproduce all of these.

Nor have we space to go into the history of the Confederate treasure and what became of it, but those interested will find in the *Southern Historical Society Papers* a full statement of that question, and the most conclusive proof that any insinuation—from whatever source it may come—that Mr. Davis had one dollar of that gold, or ever derived the slightest benefit from it, is one of the basest calumnies that partisan malignity ever invented against even the vicarious sufferer of the Confederacy.



PARTING WITH HIS FAMILY.

MR. DAVIS IS REPRESENTED AS JUST ABOUT TO DISEMBARK FROM THE STEAMER CLYDE, WHICH BROUGHT HIM AND OTHER PRISONERS FROM SAVANNAH TO THE CASEMATE AT FORTRESS MONROE.

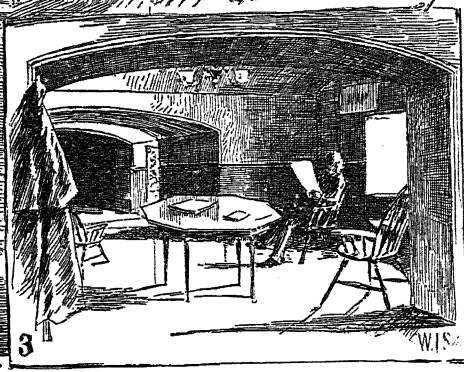
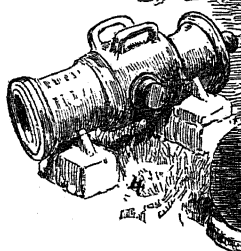
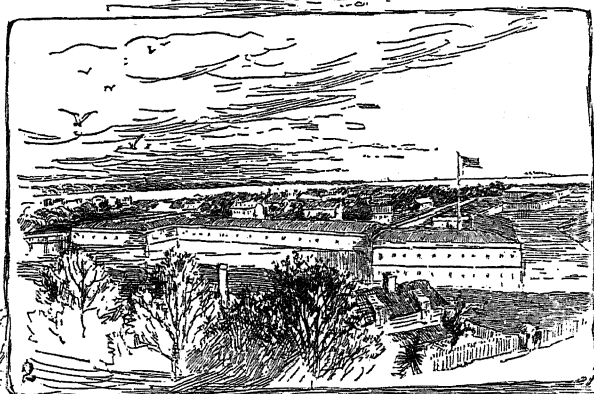
HIS IMPRISONMENT.

Craven's "Prison Life of Jefferson Davis" gives so full and, in the main, accurate an account of this burning disgrace to this great country, that we prefer not to dwell on the details, but refer the reader to that book for the story of how he was ironed and treated in other ways such as only the refinement of brutal cruelty could invent.

General Richard Taylor gives this account of his visit to the distinguished prisoner, which he obtained permission to do after a long waiting in Washington. He says:

"By steamer from Baltimore I went down Chesapeake Bay, and arrived at Fortress Monroe in the early morning. General Burton, the commander, whose civility was marked, and who bore himself like a gentleman and soldier, received me on the dock and took me to his quarters to breakfast, and to await the time to see Mr. Davis.

"It was with some emotion that I reached the casemate in which Mr. Davis was confined. There were two rooms, in the outer of which, near the entrance, stood a sentinel, and in the inner was Jefferson Davis. We met in silence, with grasp of hands. After an interval he said, 'This is kind, but no more than I expected of you.' Pallid, worn, gray, bent, feeble, suffering from inflammation of the eyes, he was a painful sight to a friend. He uttered no plaint and made no allusion to irons (which had been removed); said the light kept all night in his room hurt his eyes a little, and, added to the noise made every two hours by relieving the sentry, prevented much sleep; but matters had changed for the better since the arrival of General Burton, who was all kindness, and strained his orders to the utmost in his behalf. I told him of my reception at Washington by the President, Mr. Seward, and others, of the attentions of Generals Grant and Humphreys, who promoted my wish to see him, and that with such aid I was confident of obtaining permission for his wife to stay with him. I could solicit favors for him, having declined any for myself. Indeed, the very accident of position, that enabled me to get access to the governing authorities, made indecent even the supposition of



AT FORTRESS MONROE.

- No. 1.—Exterior of Casemate in which Mr. Davis was confined.
 No. 2.—General view of the Fort.
 No. 3.—Interior of the Casemate.
 No. 4.—Revolutionary Relics.

my acceptance of anything personal while a single man remained under the ban for serving the Southern cause; and therefore I had no fears of misconstruction. Hope of meeting his family cheered him much, and he asked questions about the conditions and prospects of the South, which I answered as favorably as possible, passing over things that would have grieved him. In some way he had learned of attacks on his character and conduct made by some Southern curs, thinking to ingratiate themselves with the ruling powers. I could not deny this, but remarked that the curse of unexpected defeat and suffering was to develop the basest passions of the human heart. Had he escaped out of the country, it was possible he might have been made a scape-goat by the Southern people, and, great as were the sufferings that he had endured, they were as nothing to this, and too contemptible for notice; for now his calamities had served to endear him to all. I think that he derived consolation from this view.

"The day passed with much talk of a less disturbing character, and in the evening I returned to Baltimore and Washington. After some delay Mr. Davis's family was permitted to join him, and he speedily recovered strength. Later I made a journey or two to Richmond, Virginia, on business connected with his trial, then supposed to be impending.

"The slight service, if simple discharge of duty can be so called, I was enabled to render Mr. Davis, was repaid ten thousand fold. In the month of March, 1875, my devoted wife was released from suffering, long and patiently endured, originating in grief for the loss of her children and exposure during the war. Smitten by this calamity, to which all that had gone before seemed as blessings, I stood by her coffin ere it was closed to look for the last time upon features that death had respected and restored to their girlish beauty. Mr. Davis came to my side and stooped reverently to touch the fair brow, when the tenderness of his heart overcame him and he burst into tears. His example completely unnerved me for the time, but was of service in the end. For many succeeding days he came to me, and was as gentle as a young mother with her suffering infant. Memory will ever recall Jefferson Davis as he stood with me by the coffin."

But of all of the tender and touching things that have been said about Mr. Davis none have been more appropriate and

beautiful than the address of the venerable and beloved Rev. Dr. Charles Minnigerode, the Rector-Emeritus of St. Paul's church, Richmond, who was through so many years the pastor of Mr. Davis, made in St. Paul's church, Richmond, on December the 11th, 1889.

We will not mar the address but give it in full:

ADDRESS OF DR. MINNIGERODE.

"The first time I ever saw Jefferson Davis was when, as President of the Confederate States, he had arrived in Richmond and held his first reception at the Spotswood hotel. Our acquaintance, thus began, soon grew into friendly intercourse that became closer and closer, till an intimacy sprung up which ripened into companionship in joy and sorrow, and bound us together in terms of mutual trust and friendship that was to last as long as life, and which will remain forever one of my dearest remembrances.

"The last time I saw him was a few years ago, when we met at Atlanta, Ga. I was going there with my wife to pay a visit to one of my sons, not knowing or remembering that the day of my arrival was the day when, on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Hon. B. H. Hill, Mr. Davis was to deliver the oration. On entering the city I wondered what the holiday appearance, the crowded streets, the festooned houses could mean, but was too late for the exercises. After dinner I went to call on him at Mrs. Hill's, where he was staying, resting at the time, and excused to visitors. But on seeing my name on the card the kind lady carried me to his room. As I entered the door and he looked up from the sofa where he was reclining, he sprang up, and, rushing upon me, clasped me in his arms, and there locked in each other's embrace, tears testified the depth of our joy once more to meet. An hour never to be forgotten by me! nor the solemn feeling that possessed us both at our parting, when, in suppressed voice, he said: 'This is the last time we have looked upon each other on earth.'

"To you, dear brethren, and especially the rector, wardens, and vestry of this church, and to the whole congregation, I return my thanks, from the bottom of my heart, that

you have honored me with the invitation to meet with you on this occasion and unite with you in doing honor to the memory of the great, the honored, noble son of the South—Jefferson Davis; that among the many proud tributes of praise and glory offered at his burial to-day, I, in my humble position of what proved to be his life-long pastor, may lay a wreath of loving remembrance on his tomb.

“We humbly bow in human sorrow to the Divine Disposer of all things, but lift our hearts in holy hope that, from a life of toil and labor, and martyrdom, he has entered upon the rest in heaven, and obtained a crown brighter than any crown that earth can weave—the crown of glory and eternal life. These are strong words, but it is my firm belief, my brethren; and I believe that on this point the evidences of my hope are stronger than, perhaps, those of any other man. I have been his pastor ever since the spring of 1861; been with him through the eventful days of those many years of the war and the sad days that followed; known the struggles, the hopes, and fears of his inner life; saw him in his darkest trials; sounded his heart, laid open to me unreservedly, and beheld *the man*—the man himself, the heart, disposition, character—in all his faith and purity and gentleness, all his weaknesses, as his firmness of principle, his untarnished honesty and unhesitating conscientiousness, his perseverance through every doubt and every difficulty, his conquest of himself amidst the indignities he had to bear, his undying love to his neighbor, beginning with his own family, through all the gradations of the society in which he moved, his tender, generous feeling towards the poor and with bleeding heart toward his suffering people, true to his country, true to his God. Of course, he had his faults; he would not have been human without them; but it was just in the conflict with his failings and the reality of his repentance, the determination to deal earnestly with himself, and not to be satisfied with ‘a name to live without the power;’ just in these internal conflicts, open to the eye of God, he was preserved from self-deception or spiritual pride, and was the humble petitioner for grace before the throne of God. Those lonely rides which he so often took, I am sure, were not only filled with anxious thoughts about his country and plans for the guidance and defense of his people, but I am convinced they often were the time of sweet, humble, trusting, prayerful intercourse with his Heavenly Father and his Saviour.

"People have misunderstood Mr. Davis very much. Before I knew him I often heard him spoken of as a 'fire-eater;' but I am sure he did not deserve that name, unless it means the man, firm and bold and uncompromising, standing by what is right even unto death. No, he was no brawler, no demagogue, no friend to violence. It was a sore trouble to him to yield to what appeared to him at last the necessity of secession; and wrath, cruelty, bloodthirstiness were far from him. His real nature was gentle, and conscience ruled him supreme. Such was the sense of his responsibility, that whilst when it was plain, decided action, albeit the most dangerous, was needed, he never flinched; but such was his scrupulous conscientiousness, that at times, when the issue was not clear, he would stay to weigh so fully the pros and cons that this delay at times may have interfered with a success. And I have reason to believe that it was his love and attachment for Richmond which caused him to confine the troops in the trenches, rather than give up his capital in time to meet the enemy in the open field while yet there was hope in Lee's army to cope with him.

"I never meddled with his policy or measures of his government; still less did I ever use his confidence for any personal purposes. Mr. Davis was not the man for that.

"On two occasions only I sought him with the desire of presenting my views on what seemed to me important cases. The time had come for the permanent government to take the place of the provisional. It was a very critical time, and I felt I had a right to direct the attention of the President to some thoughts which any one had the right to give utterance to, and which I, as his pastor, could without impropriety lay before him. I did so, supported in my view by one of the most judicious men of Richmond, John Stewart, of Brookhill. It was this: We were starting upon a new epoch in the history of the Confederacy. To start aright, and hope for any lasting success, we must have the favor of God, the King of Kings, and the God of battles. That was all acknowledged by us openly. Let us now, I wrote to him, do it in good earnest! I reminded Mr. Davis that all history showed that the character of the ruler was apt to become the guide or pattern of the people; that the great lesson of the historical books of the Bible—the books of Kings and of Chronicles—was that

'as the king, so the people;' that evil examples, in the words of Jeremiah, 'made the people sin,' and that God's judgment will overtake both; whilst the people of Judah always repented and did right whenever their King adhered to the law, and Jehovah's blessing was upon both. From this I pressed his responsibility in this respect, and adjured him as such at this critical point manfully to assume this position, that as God alone can guide us aright and bless us, he should show the way and begin right by pressing this necessity of having God on our side on his people in the address he was to make from the Washington monument at the Capitol Square, and exhorting them to unite with him in the prayer for God's favor, and solemnly putting our welfare and success, as well as the means that should lead to it, under His holy and righteous care and protection.

"Mr. Davis never answered it, and in all my intercourse with him I never referred to it. But he did what I asked him to do.

"The only other time I ventured to speak to him on the policy to be pursued was when, caused by some proclamation or some outrageous act on the part of our invaders, the people demanded retaliation and the public papers loudly demanded this course. Our interview was most harmonious, and Mr. Davis used these noble words: 'If our enemies do or should do wrong, that is no reason or excuse that we should do so, too.'

"It was soon after his inauguration that he united himself with the church. Our intercourse had become more frequent, and turned more and more on the subject of religion; and by his wife's advice I went to see him on the subject of confessing Christ. He met me more than half way, and expressed his desire to do so, and unite himself with the church; that he must be a Christian he felt in his inmost soul. He spoke very earnestly and most humbly of needing the cleansing blood of Jesus and the power of the Holy Spirit; but in the consciousness of his insufficiency felt some doubt whether he had the right to come.

"All that was natural and right; but soon it settled this question with a man so resolute in doing what he thought his duty. I baptized him hypothetically, for he was not certain if he had ever been baptized. When the day of confirmation came it was

quite in keeping with his resolute character, that when the Bishop called the candidates to the chancel he was the first to rise, and, as it were, lead the others on, among whom were General Gorgas and several other officers.

"From that day, so far as I can know and judge, 'he never looked back.' He never ceased trying to come up to his baptismal vow and lead a Christian life. And so he went on bravely and perseveringly, even when it became clear that hope of success was failing. He could not leave his post. He did not lose heart. The cause lost—defeated for a time—he felt sure would yet bring forth blessings upon the country.

"We know what followed and what was his cruel fate. Here opens a page of noble martyrdom and patient endurance which none can fully realize who have not seen it.

"Soon after he was arrested and confined in Fortress Monroe, I wrote President Andrew Johnson, petitioning for permission to visit Mr. Davis, as his pastor, and minister to him.

"At Bishop Johns' advice—rather against my judgment—it has accompanied by no argument, the Bishop saying, that supporting it by an argument would indicate that it was by the petitioner himself not looked upon as natural, right and proper in itself.

"Mr. Johnson deigned no answer.

"In October following I received a communication from some friends that they thought the time was favorable to again make the application.

"I did so, but this time gave what I thought was a full and unanswerable argument. And it proved so.

"They were ladies who were acting with me, and upon the advice of a judicious friend they gave my paper to Rev. Dr. Hall, rector of the Church of Epiphany and pastor of Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War. He first was adverse to acting in the matter, but the ladies begged him at least to read the petition. He did so, and consented to take it in charge to Mr. Stanton, and he got me a very full permit to visit Mr. Davis as his pastor

"From that time I went whenever I could to see my beloved and martyred friend, and precious were the days and hours spent with him. I loved that lowly, patient, God-fearing soul. It was in these private interviews that I learned to appreciate his noble Christian character; 'pure in heart,' unselfish, with-

out guile, and loyal unto death to his conscience and convictions.

"Mr. Stanton's permit must have been very liberal, for General Miles, then in command, who received me politely enough, did not act for more than a day, after which he became very cordial and advanced all my wishes. He evidently had asked and received fuller instructions from the Secretary.

"I must say here that the imprisonment itself was better than those who had ordered it. All at the fortress were glad that the indignities of putting that man in irons were stopped, even for the honor of the country. The officers were all polite and sympathetic, and the common soldiers—not one of them adopted the low practice of even high dignitaries and officers, who seemed to glory in speaking of him disrespectfully in a sneering way as 'Jeff. Davis.' Not one of the common soldiers but spoke of him in a subdued and kindly tone as 'Mr. Davis.'

"On my first visit I came on Saturday evening, and spent a pleasant enough evening at the headquarters of General Miles, who promised to take me to Mr. Davis's cell next morning (Sunday), but he waited till Monday morning.

"I cannot describe my meeting with Mr. Davis in his cell. He knew nothing of my coming, and it was difficult to control ourselves.

"Mr. Davis's room (he had been removed from the casemate,) was an end room on the second floor of Carroll hall, with a passage and window on each side of the room; and an ante-room in front separated by an open grated door—a sentinel on each passage and before the grated door of the ante-room; six eyes always upon him day and night; all alone, no one to see, no one to speak to.

"I must hurry on. You may yourselves make out what our conversation must have been.

"The noble man showed the effect of the confinement, but his spirit could not be subdued, and no indignity—angry as it made him at the time—could humiliate him.

"I was his pastor, and of course our conversation was influenced by that, and there could be no holding back between us. I had come to sympathize and comfort and pray with him.

"At last the question of the holy communion came up. I really do not remember whether he or I first mentioned it. He was very anxious to take it. He was a pure and pious

man, and felt the need and value of the means of grace. But there was one difficulty. Could he take it in the proper spirit—in the frame of a forgiving mind, after all the ill-treatment he had been subjected to? He was too upright and conscientious a Christian man ‘to eat and drink *unworthily*,’ *i. e.*, not in the proper spirit, and, as far as lay in him, in peace with God and man.

“I left him to settle that question between himself and his own conscience and what he understood God’s law to be.

“In the afternoon General Miles took me to him again. I had spoken to him about the communion, and he promised to make preparation for me.

“I found Mr. Davis with his mind made up. Knowing the honesty of the man, and that there would be, could be, ‘no shamming,’ nor mere superstitious belief in the ordinance, I was delighted when I found him ready to commune. He had laid the bridle upon his very natural feeling and was ready to pray, ‘Father, forgive them.’

“Then came the communion—he and I alone, no one but God with us. It was one of those cases where the Rubric cannot be binding. It was night. The Fortress was so still that you could hear a pin fall. General Miles, with his back to us, leaning against the fireplace in the ante-room, his head on his hands, not moving; the sentinels ordered to stand still, and they stood like statues.

“I cannot conceive of a more solemn communion scene. But it was telling upon both of us, I trust, for lasting good.

“Whenever I could I went down to see him, if only for an hour or two; and when his wife was admitted to see him it was plain that their communings were with God.

“Time passed: not a sign of any humiliating giving way to the manner in which he was treated; he was above that. He suffered, but was willing to suffer in the cause of the people who had given him their confidence, and who still loved and admired and wept for the man that so nobly represented the cause which in their hearts they considered right and constitutional.

“His health began to be affected. The officers of the Fortress all felt that he ought to have the liberty of the fort, not only because that could in no way facilitate any attempt to escape, but because they knew he did not wish to escape, and could

not have been induced to escape. He wanted to be tried and defend and justify his course. I happened to be in Washington for a few hours at that time, and as I had been told by Rev. Dr. Hall more than once that Mr. Stanton spoke of me very kindly, he encouraged me to see him about any matter I thought proper in Mr. Davis's case.

"I went to see Mr. Stanton. He had recently lost his son, and had been deeply distressed—softened, one would think; I hope so all the more as I found him with his remaining child on his knees. I was admitted. A bow and nothing more. I began by expressing my thanks to him for allowing me to visit Mr. Davis, and that as I was in town, I thought it would not be uninteresting to him to hear a report about Mr. Davis. Not a word in reply.

"I gradually approached the subject of Mr. Davis's health, and that without the least danger of any kind as to his safe imprisonment, he might enjoy some privileges, especially the liberty of the fort, or there was danger of his health failing.

"The silence was broken.

"'It makes no difference what the state of Jeff. Davis's health is. His trial will soon come on, no doubt. Time enough till that settles it.' It settled it in my leaving the presence of that man.

"But the time came for his release. The way he conducted himself just showed the man whom no distress could put down nor a glimpse of hope could unduly excite. He had seen too much and had placed his all in higher hands than man's.

"We brought him to the Spotswood hotel, and then to the custom-house. There the trial was to take place. We were in a carriage, the people, and especially the colored people, testifying their sympathy. Mr. Davis was greatly touched by this.

"All know that the proceedings in court were very brief.

"I was by his side. Mr. Davis stood erect, looking steadily upon the judge, but without either defiance or fear. He was bailed, and the first man to go on his bond was Horace Greeley.

"Our carriage passed with difficulty through the crowd of rejoicing negroes with their tender affection, climbing upon the carriage, shaking and kissing his hand, and calling out, 'God bless Mars Davis.' But we got safely to the Spotswood.

The Bail Bond of M^r Jefferson Davis.

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.



WITH ALL THE ORIGINAL SIGNATURES THERETO.

At a stated term of the Circuit Court
of the United States for the District of Virginia
held at Richmond on the First Monday of May
One thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty seven

Be it remembered that on this thirteenth (13th) day
of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty seven
before the Honorable the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Virginia
at the Court House in Richmond in the said District came Jefferson Davis and
acknowledged himself to owe to the United States of America the sum of One Thousand
Thousand dollars lawful money of the said United States and David Smith, Horace
Greely, Cornelius Vanderbilt and William Schell, Thomas F. Clark, A. Hatch, Levi A. Johnson
William Williams of Massachusetts, R. B. Stoddard, Isaac Sawyer Jr., Abraham Warrick, Jacobus W.
Myers, William H. Brown, James Lyons, John A. Mendenhall, William H. Lyons, John Minor
Boyle, James Thomas Jr., Thomas A. Price, William Allen, Benjamin Wood, Thomas W.
Dewell, each of whom acknowledged himself to owe to the United States of America the
sum of Five thousand dollars of lawful money. The said several sums to be made
to the use of the said United States of the goods, chattels, lands, and Tenements of the said parties
respectively. The conditions of this recognizance is such that of the said Jefferson Davis
shall on the proper person well and truly appear at the Circuit Court of the United States for the
District of Virginia to be held at Richmond in the said District on the fourth Monday of
November next at the opening of the Court on that day and then and there appear from day to
day and stand to abide and perform whatsoever shall be then and there ordered or adjudged
in respect to him by the said Court and not depart from the said Court without the leave
of the said Court in that behalf first had and obtained; then the said recognizance
to become void otherwise it remains in full force.

Subscribed and acknowledged this 13th day of May

A.D. 1867 in open Court before me
H. H. Barry clerk

Jefferson Davis
H. H. Barry clerk
David Smith
Horace Greely
Cornelius Vanderbilt
William Schell
Thomas F. Clark
A. Hatch
Levi A. Johnson
William Williams
James Lyons
John A. Mendenhall
William H. Lyons
John Minor Boyle
James Thomas Jr.
Thomas A. Price
William Allen
Benjamin Wood
Thomas W. Dewell

H. H. Greener
James Lyons
John A. Mendenhall
William H. Lyons
John Minor Boyle
James Thomas Jr.
Thomas A. Price
William Allen
Benjamin Wood

In the Clerk's office of the Circuit Court
of the United States for the District of
Virginia Richmond November the 1st in
the year of our Lord 1867

There above is a true and correct copy of the original recognizance
of Jefferson Davis now remaining on file in the office with
the original of the signatures and
J. H. Barry
Clerk

THE DAVIS BAIL BOND.

It will be noticed that two of the parties made their mark, which was duly attested.
This was owing to the fact that one of the gentlemen had nearly lost his eyesight; and the
other was sick in bed, unable to sit up.

"We found Mrs. Davis awaiting us, with Hon. George Davis, Attorney-General of the last Cabinet, and a few others.

"Mr. George Davis and I just fell into each other's arms with tears in our eyes.

"But Mr. Davis turned to me: 'Mr. Minnigerode, you who have been with me in my sufferings, and comforted and strengthened me with your prayers, is it not right that we now once more should kneel down together and return thanks?' There was not a dry eye in the room. Mrs. Davis led the way into the adjoining room, more private; *and there, in deep-felt prayer and thanksgiving, closed the story of Jefferson Davis's prison life.*

"Ah, this earth in more senses than one continued a prison-life for him; a feeling from which few of those advancing in life are wholly exempt. But Mr. Davis murmured not; did not ask to be taken away. He stayed and worked and studied and wrote in his home at Beauvoir till the Lord called him—took his servant home who had tried to serve Him amidst danger and trials, wind and storms. He has gone to his reward.

"*And thou, oh, land of the South; oh, thou beautiful city of Richmond, thank God that such a man has been given to you, loved by you, and in his memory is blessed to you. He loved the truth; he served God and his country. Let us go and do likewise.*"

RELEASED ON BAIL.

There was a desperate effort to "hang Jeff. Davis" on some trumped-up charge.

First, it was the charge of complicity in the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, but they could find no evidence, even with a pack of trained perjurers at their call, on which Stanton and Holt dared to go into trial even before a military commission.

Then he was charged with cruelty to prisoners, but the Confederate records were searched in vain, and stories of swift witnesses were canvassed in vain, to "make out a case" against him on which they could hope for a conviction. Poor Wirz, on the night before he was hung, was offered a reprieve if he

"would implicate Jeff. Davis in the cruelties of Andersonville;" but he bravely replied: "Mr. Davis had nothing to do with me, or with what was done at Andersonville, and I will not, even to save my own life, give false testimony against an innocent man."

One of the most scathing replies which Hill made to Blaine, in the memorable debate to which we have before referred was, when quoting this reply of Captain Wirz to the tempter, he said: "And what poor Wirz would not do to save his life, the honorable gentleman from Maine does as a bid for the Presidency."

Utterly failing in these charges they had to face the question of trying him for "treason," and a partisan judge packed a mixed jury (the first jury of whites and blacks ever empanelled in this country) who found an indictment of "treason" against Jefferson Davis and R. E. Lee.

General Grant "quashed" the indictment against Lee by holding that his "parole" protected him, but Judge Underwood had a mixed petit jury empanelled to try Mr. Davis. [Our pictures of these juries are from original photographs, and are historic.]

The authorities at Washington, however, and Chief-Justice Chase himself, decided, after full consideration, and the consultation of the ablest lawyers in the country, that the charge of "treason" could not be maintained, and so the distinguished prisoner, who was anxious to go into trial and vindicate himself and his cause before the world, was admitted to bail, and finally a *nolle prosequi* was entered in the case.

We give a fac simile of the bail bond with the autographs of the bondsmen, except that two of these gentlemen were unable to sign their names on account of sickness.

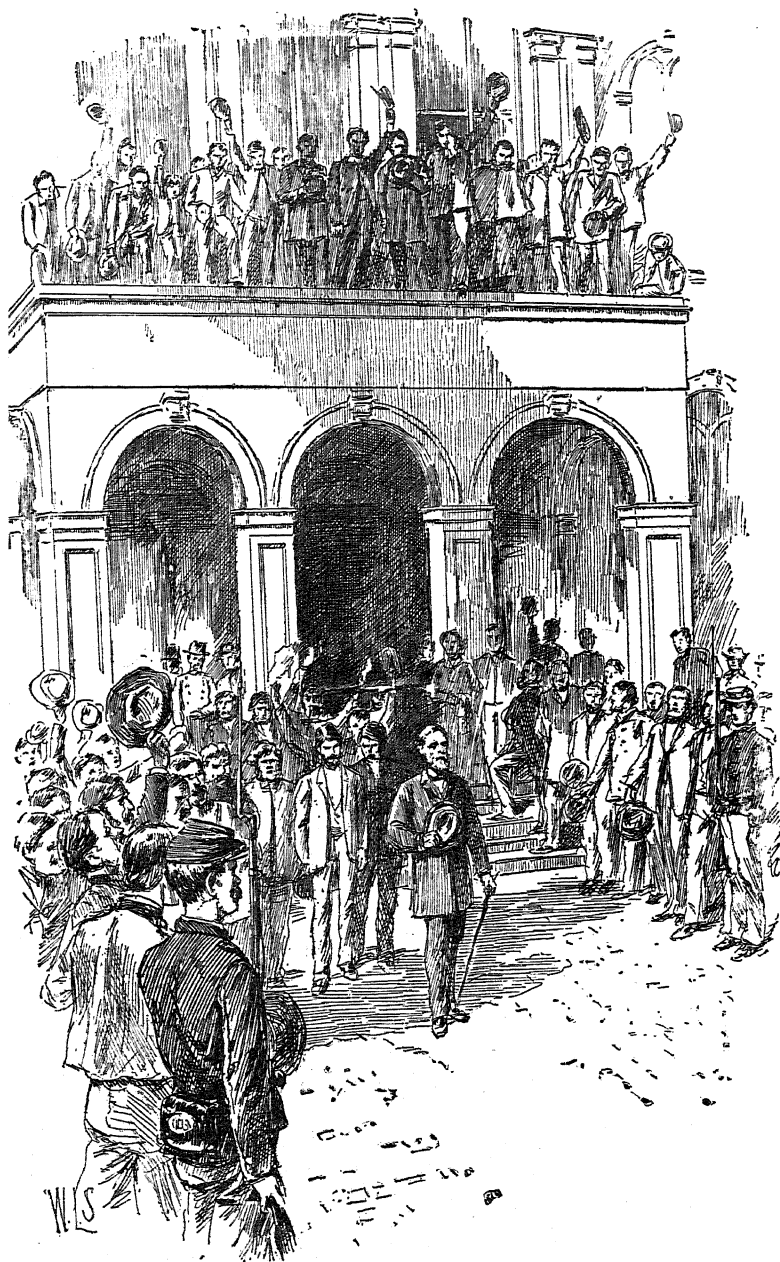
And our artist, W. L. Sheppard (himself a gallant Confederate soldier), was an eye-witness of the scene, and has given us a picture to the life of "Mr. Davis leaving the court-room."

Throughout the Confederacy there was general rejoicing when it was announced that "the caged eagle" was once more free; but this rejoicing was mingled with deep regret that he had not been allowed his coveted opportunity to vindicate the Confederate cause in the courts of the country and in the hearing of the world.



IN THE LIBRARY.





LEAVING THE COURT-ROOM.

XVII.

HIS LIFE AFTER THE WAR.

A large volume might easily be written on the "Life of President Davis after the war"—his stay in Canada, his several visits to Europe, his life in Memphis, and especially his life at Beauvoir—giving the letters he wrote, and the speeches he made on public occasions. We venture to express the earnest hope that Mrs. Davis in her proposed Memoir will treat fully this part of his life, and that her facile, graceful pen will give us a picture of his domestic life such as she alone is competent to draw.

But we are able to barely touch on this most interesting part of his noble life, although we have interesting material which would fill a volume.

We pass over the other periods—not even dwelling on his great sorrow in losing his only son, Jefferson Davis, Jr., who died of yellow fever when the plague smote that city with its fearful ravages—and speak briefly of his life at his home beside the Gulf.

BEAUVOIR.

"*Catherine Cole*" wrote in the New Orleans *Picayune* so beautiful a description of Beauvoir, and a visit she paid there, that we quote a part of her letter, as follows:

"Beauvoir house looks to be just what it is, the home of a quiet country gentleman, who would not exchange its roses and peace, its books and sunshine and treasures, for the gayest Queen Anne cottage that ever poked its parrot-like head and gaudy colors up above its neighbors in town or city, or seaside village. The house is set down in the centre of a great yard,

[222]

that in city parlance would comprise several squares of ground. It is a brown, sandy yard, in which the grass persistently declines to grow, but where, instead, are hundreds of magnolia, cedar, and oak trees, the latter hung, as a cave with stalactites, with the draperies of Spanish moss. It is a big white house with green shutters that sets up in the air on pillars of brick that has deep, cool galleries, reaching across the front and back, a great wide hall through the centre, and double rooms on either side. There is a wing on one side, and behind this the kitchen, trailing off covered with vines, and its sprawling pent roof hidden by a snow of roses. On either side the big house are detached cottages—little green and white and gray islands of wood entirely surrounded by galleries. In one of these, secure from intrusion, Mr. Davis wrote his history. All about under the trees, but respectfully retiring from the public view, are comfortable country-like out-buildings, barns and tool-houses, a sheep-shed and a corn-bin, a carpenter-shop for the performance of rainy-day farm chores. Behind the house is a sweet, old-fashioned flower-garden, and beyond that a smart kitchen garden, with its black soil and thrifty rows of bright green vegetables.

"Beauvoir house is one of those fine old houses set out with quaint and stately olden-timed furniture, rich in pictures and books and treasures that have been gathered from all parts of the world; a home that has grown mellow and beautiful with time, and which neither money nor desire can obtain. Old-fashioned lounges and round divans, and big rocking-chairs, and odd cabinets fill the wide hall. A grandfather's clock stands like a carved oak coffin on end, and the brass face looks out through the glass case upon a life with which it has nothing more to do. There are pictures on the tables and walls, and books and papers everywhere. A Turkish curtain as well as folding doors separate the front parlor from the back. The last is lined from the floor almost to the ceiling with book-shelves, and the over-profuse books overflow into every room in the house. Rare paintings and portraits, including several of Rossetti's and a spirited pen-and-ink sketch of his wife pouring 5-o'clock tea, cover the walls and door-frames. Wild flowers crammed into beautiful vases, photographs lying loosely on the tables, a dainty modern chair or two strung with ribbons, an open piano, tell their own pretty story of the gracious, womanly presence that pervades this lovely old-fashioned home.

"The home of Jefferson Davis is not less dear and interesting to the people to whom he is dear than it is full of suggestions and a fine example to the world at large. As I sat in that cool, sweet drawing-room with my gentle hosts and their winsome young daughter, who will not be affronted, I trust, if I thus declare her to be the brightest, gentlest, sprightliest young woman I ever lost my heart to, I could not but wish for half a minute that the mossy old roof above us might melt away and all the world look in on the singularly pure life that goes on at Beauvoir. Tall and thin and shrunken, with a high-bred, kindly face, and a wintry smile in his kind eyes—with silver white hair and beard, distinguished and remarkable in appearance, Mr. Davis sat leaning back in his arm-chair, his thin white hands clasped over his knee, and he conversing with a gentle interest with his guests. With what a courtly gesture he turned to me as he spoke, how pretty was the way he stooped to kiss Flo? Shall I ever forget the picture he made, leaning back in his big chair, in that quaint and beautiful old room? He looked all he had been and all he is—the soldier, the statesman, the scholar, and the gentleman of the old school. By his side sat his wife—a gracious, genial, white-haired woman, large-statured, large-minded, large-hearted, and no less distinguished looking than her husband—a woman born to a commanding position and one certain to wield a great and good influence. Mrs. Davis is a deeply-learned woman; all the culture, polish, and brilliancy of her time is expressed in her thoughts and speech. To her almost more than to any other woman in the South may be applied that fine, old-fashioned compliment, 'to know her is a liberal education.' There, in this charming old house, hidden under the pine trees, its faded face looking out to sea, this husband and this wife are spending the last half of their lives. What books they could write if they would. What rich reminiscences are theirs of the Old World and the New, of the great and distinguished men and women of both hemispheres. But they do not write books. They simply live a happy and peaceful life in the 'Beauvoir house,' entertaining many friends, reading much, doing all the good that comes their way; their home a place where hospitality might have had its birth; their lives full of beautiful cares and work.

"And after a time the young daughter of the house led us

out into the sunny, old-fashioned garden, trailing off forestward under the oaks. It was like the gardens we read about, with its odd little flower-beds and long, wandering walks, all set with mignonette. The wind that stirred the flowers was full of cinnamon odors and sweet with the breath of the unfashionable damask roses that grew in the far corners.

"The tall, slim young lady in the dove-gray gown, her gentle, serious, yet happy face shaded by a broad-brimmed hat, went down the dewy walks with Flo, and they talked together as Twenty-Two does not often condescend to talk to Ten, and as they walked she snipped a bit here and a sprig there, fashioning a poesy for her small guest. How charming she looked bending over the bushes of blue-eyed periwinkles! I wonder could she have been more charming, even when she went North and captured it? A girl who can entertain a room full of learned men, who is brilliant and thorough, bending her pretty brown head down to the level of the yellow one of the little child, and entertaining and charming her small visitor with the same grace and tact, was a pretty spectacle, a fit companion-piece to the quaint pictures of the book and picture-lined drawing-room, with its silver-haired host and hostess. How slim and graceful and bonny she looked as

'With lightsome heart she pulled a rose,
Full sweet upon its thorny tree.'

"Somehow the flowers were like the gentle girl-giver; they were the flowers that one loves to write of, to think on, to remember, and to treasure. There was a bit of lavender with its spiky leaves, rosemary more sweet than the breath of the incense that remains forever about the altars in old and long-used Catholic churches, a bit of yellow-blossomed rue, and some sweet-smelling, magenta-colored pinks. They were the flowers of nature, not those forced in conservatories. In her manners and simple, unaffected gentleness and kindness this young lady is as old-fashioned as her flowers. It is easy to understand her charm when it is also remembered that her mind has been most carefully trained, that all the advantages of foreign travel and education have been hers.

"I know how wise she is, how many are her accomplishments, and, withal, how unaffected and honest and loyal she is. I am minded to say, too, that, in my opinion, if she and

that other fair and brilliant young lady whose home is in the White House had been allowed to meet, as both probably wished to, they would have flown into each other's arms, and neither would have remembered that one was born north and the other south of Mason and Dixon's line.

"I am proud to think how our bonny, brilliant Southern girl went North and captured it. I like to recall how prettily she was received, with a hospitality that could not be excelled even at Beauvoir. I can think of her doing well, and acting wisely and honorably and nobly, and with a heart loyal to her home, her people, and her country in all places and at all times. I like to think of her in her tulle party dresses, or being led out to dinner by some great man whom it is an honor to know. But, somehow, I love best to think of her standing in her gray gown, knee-deep among her roses, gathering a nosegay of lavender and rue and rosemary in the sunny, sweet-scented garden that trails off with many a tangle of vine and bramble under the trees at the back of Beauvoir house."

The following letter written by the author gives, perhaps, a more vivid account of a visit he made to Beauvoir in the summer of 1886 than he could recall now, and it is inserted, therefore, just as it was written at the time:

A VISIT TO BEAUVOIR—PRESIDENT DAVIS AND FAMILY AT HOME.

BY J. WM. JONES.

"RICHMOND, VA., August 1st, 1886.

"A trip from Richmond to Beauvoir, by the Richmond and Danville route to Atlanta, the Atlanta, West Point and Montgomery to Montgomery, and thence by the Louisville and Nashville railway, is quick and comparatively comfortable, even at this season. Leaving here at 2 A. M. on Thursday we reached Beauvoir—a flag-station on the Louisville and Nashville, half-way between Mobile and New Orleans—at 4:40 P. M. Friday.

"The first questions asked are, 'Where is Mr. Davis's house?' 'Is Mr. Davis at home?' The grounds are pointed out as running down to the station, the large vineyard of scuppernong

grapes forming a pleasing contrast to the sighing pines around, and soon the large yard, shaded by live-oaks, is seen, and the dim outlines of the cottages and mansion, as we hurry along the road to the house of a relative on the beach, several hundred yards below. But I was greatly disappointed to learn that Mr. Davis had received a summons to his plantation up on the Mississippi river, and had left several days before.

"I had, however, a very pleasant time—gazing on the beautiful Gulf, breathing its salt breezes, dipping in its brine, catching fish every morning for breakfast, making some very pleasant acquaintances, etc.—and made a most enjoyable visit to Beauvoir, where Mrs. Davis and Miss Winnie entertained me in most agreeable style.

"At this and subsequent visits I had ample opportunity of seeing the house and grounds. The house is a large, double-framed building, painted white, and contrasting very pleasantly with the foliage in which it is embowered. A wide veranda runs around it, and a broad hall through the centre makes a very pleasant sitting-room in the summer. On either side of the main building, and a few yards from it, are very neat cottages, also white, and in the rear are ample and convenient out-buildings. The house is very well furnished, mostly with handsome old furniture, the walls are adorned with some fine pictures—some of them copies of the masterpieces of the old masters—and the rooms are tastefully decorated with *bric-a-brac* and pretty ornaments, many of which are the products of the deft fingers and good taste of Mrs. Davis and her accomplished daughter.

"Books, carefully selected from standard authors, adorn the tables or grace the shelves. In a word, the stranger who knew nothing of the occupants would have only to glance through the rooms to see at once that this is an abode of culture, refinement, and taste.

"The grounds are ample, the live-oaks and their hanging moss are very beautiful, the Gulf of Mexico laves the beach in front of the house, and is one of the most beautiful sheets of water that the sun shines upon. The grounds are very beautiful as they are, but are capable of great improvement, and one could not repress the wish that our honored Confederate chief had the means of making them all that his cultivated taste would suggest.

"And yet it is a source of gratification to old Confederates that our great leader has this quiet retreat, where, away from the rushing crowd, on the soil of his loved Mississippi, breathing the healthful breezes of the Gulf that washes the southern shores of the Confederacy, in the shades of his own home and in the bosom of his family, he can spend the evening of his busy life, and fill out the record of his great duties and heroic deeds. But it ought to be added that his needed rest and quiet are often broken by visitors—loving admirers who are anxious to pay their respects and do honor to the greatest living American—but too often mere curiosity-hunters, some of whom partake of his hospitality and then go off to write all manner of slanders about him.

"I would not be guilty of drawing aside the veil that conceals from the world the privacy of the home, or parading before the public even the names of our noble women; but the deep interest which our people take in all that concerns this noble family must be my excuse for saying some things which otherwise might not be admissible.

"Those who knew Mrs. Davis in other days, as a Senator's or Secretary's wife, in Washington, or as 'Mistress of the White House' and 'first lady' of the Confederacy, in Richmond, would find no difficulty in recognizing her now; for, though time has wrought some changes in her, she is the same bright, genial, cultivated, domestic woman, who is equally well qualified to grace the parlor, preside at a State dinner with historic men as her guests, attend to the minutest details of her housekeeping, or visit her neighbors, or look after the needy poor.

"She is one of the finest conversationalists I ever met, and her recollections of society and events in Washington, in Richmond, and in Europe, and of the prominent men and women with whom she came in contact, are simply charming, and would make a book of rare interest were she disposed to turn her attention to authorship. Devoted to her husband, and taking a natural pride in his fame; an affectionate mother, who delights in her children and grandchildren; affable and pleasant with her neighbors; a noted housekeeper and fine economist, and a charming entertainer of visitors, she strikes all who know her as worthy to share the fortunes and comfort the declining years of our chief, as she was worthy to share his honors and reign in society at Washington and at Richmond.



Respectfully & truly
Yours
F. Leggersone Davis
Jan 23^d 1890.

"She speaks in the most cordial terms (as does Mr. Davis) of Richmond and Richmond people, and inquires very affectionately after some of her special friends.

"Miss Winnie Davis, the single daughter, who was born in Richmond not long before the close of the war, is one of the most thoroughly educated, accomplished young women whom I have ever met. At the same time she is simple, affable, and sweet in her manners, a brilliant conversationalist, a general favorite, and every way worthy of her proud lineage and happy inheritance as 'Daughter of the Confederacy.'

"Mrs. Hayes, the only other living child, was on a visit to Beauvoir, but was sick, and I had not the pleasure of seeing her; but I heard her spoken of in the warmest terms of admiration by some of the neighbors. I saw her four sweet children—and what pets they were with their grandfather, whose love of children is one of his strong characteristics.

"Returning from a several-days' trip to Meridian, I was delighted to find that Mr. Davis had returned from his plantation, had done me the honor of calling at my brother-in-law's to see me, and was awaiting my arrival.

"Those who knew him in Richmond during the war might not recognize him at once, as over twenty years have left their impress upon him, and he now wears a full beard instead of being closely shaven as then. But the handsome face, the courtly grace of his bearing, the flash of his eagle eye, his cordial manners, genial humor, and almost unrivalled eloquence of conversation, soon bring back the Confederate President—the indomitable leader, the unflinching patriot, the high-toned, Christian gentleman, whom true Confederates will ever delight to honor.

"Seventy-eight years of an eventful life are upon him, his health is not strong, and his physical powers begin to weaken; but his intellect is as clear as ever, and his heart as warm as ever for the land he has loved so well, and for which he has toiled, and suffered, and sacrificed so much.

"I shall not be guilty of betraying to the public the confidence of private conversation, as in this and subsequent interviews, at his own home, he spoke freely of men and events and measures from that full knowledge and intimate acquaintance, and in that perfectly charming manner which make his lightest utterances of unspeakable value.

"But there are some things which I may, without impropriety, write, and which I know will be of deep interest to our people.

"Mr. Davis loves to talk of his home, the Gulf coast of Mississippi and its advantages, his pictures, his books, questions in English literature, science, the arts, etc., in all of which he is perfectly at home and talks charmingly; his cadet life at West Point and the men he knew there, who were afterwards famous; the Mexican war and his services, of which he speaks very modestly, but the brilliancy of which all the world knows; his services in the United States Senate, and as Secretary of War, and the men with whom he came in contact while serving in these high positions; his travels abroad, etc.

"But he seems to delight especially to talk of the Confederacy; its splendid rise, its heroic struggle, its sad fall, when 'compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.' He seemed thoroughly familiar with the minutest details of all the departments of the government. He gave some very interesting details of experiments made while he was Secretary of War, on the question of whether to cast guns hollow or to bore them out from solid castings, and spoke of the laudable pride with which Rodman sought him when he had prepared some cannon-powder, and exclaimed, 'Eureka! Eureka!'

"He gave a very interesting account of some experiments made by Professor Bartlett, of West Point, under his direction, on the proper size and shape of bullets. The experiments failed, but last year at Beauvoir he got to thinking over it, and thought that he discovered the cause of the failure.

"He at once wrote to Professor Bartlett, giving him his theory, but received from him a very kind reply, in which the Professor said that he was now too old and infirm to make new experiments, and that, besides, he had lost their original memoranda and calculations.

"He spoke with commendable pride of what progress the Confederacy had made in creating material of war, until at the end of the struggle the best powder in the world was made at the Confederate mill under charge of General Rains. He said that while a prisoner at Fortress Monroe he was told that the powder which produced the best results in firing at iron plates was some of this powder captured from the Confederates.

"He talked freely, and in the most interesting manner, of



ON THE VERANDA AT BEAUVOIR.

the causes, progress, and results of the war, and, while fully accepting its logical results, he seems profoundly anxious that our children should be taught the truth, and that our people should not forget or ignore the great fundamental principles for which we fought. As for allowing the war to be called 'The Rebellion' and our Confederate people 'Rebels,' he heartily repudiated and condemned it. 'A sovereign cannot rebel,' he said, 'and sovereign states cannot be in rebellion. You might as well say Germany rebelled against France, or that France (as she was beaten in the contest) rebelled against Germany.'

"He said that once in the hurry of writing he had spoken of it as 'the civil war,' but had never used that misnomer again.

"He spoke of many of our generals and of the inside history of some of our great battles and campaigns, telling some things of great interest and historic value, which I do not feel at liberty to publish now.

"After speaking in the most exalted terms of Lee and Jackson, their mutual confidence in each other, and their prompt coöperation, he said: 'They supplemented each other, and, together, with any fair opportunity, they were absolutely invincible.' He defended Jackson against the statement made by some of his warmest admirers (even Dr. Dabney in his biography) that he was not fully himself in failing to force the passage of White Oak Swamp to go to the help of A. P. Hill at Frazier's farm. He said that he thought that a careful study of the topography would show that Franklin's position was the real obstacle to Jackson's crossing.

"He spoke warmly of the magnificent fight which A. P. Hill, afterwards supported by Longstreet, made that day—a battle which he witnessed—and told some interesting incidents concerning it.

"Early in the day he met General Lee near the front, and at once accosted him with, 'Why, general, what are you doing here? You are in too dangerous a position for the commander of the army.'

"'I am trying,' was the reply, 'to find out something about the movements and plans of those people. But you must excuse me, Mr. President, for asking what you are doing here, and for suggesting that this is no proper place for the commander-in-chief of all our armies.'

"'Oh, I am here on the same mission that you are,' replied the President, and they were beginning to consult about the situation when gallant 'little A. P. Hill' dashed up and exclaimed, 'This is no place for either of you, and, as commander of this part of the field, I order you both to the rear.'

"'We will obey your orders,' was the reply; and they fell back a short distance, but the fire grew hotter, and presently A. P. Hill galloped up to them again and exclaimed: 'Did I not tell you to go away from here? and did you not promise to obey my orders? Why, one shell from that battery over yonder may presently deprive the Confederacy of its President and the Army of Northern Virginia of its commander.' And with other earnest words he finally persuaded the President and General Lee to move back to a more secure place.

"Mr. Davis spoke in the warmest terms of praise of A. P. Hill. 'He was,' he said, 'brave and skillful, and always ready to obey orders and do his full duty.' Reminding him that General Hill was killed at Petersburg 'with a sick furlough in his pocket, having arisen from a sick-bed and hurried to the front when he heard that the enemy was moving, he said: 'Yes, a truer, more devoted, self-sacrificing soldier never lived or died in the cause of right.'

"Speaking in general of the Seven Days' battles around Richmond, he said that we accomplished grand results, and the failure to annihilate McClellan's army was due chiefly to the fact that when General Lee took command there were at headquarters no maps of the country below Richmond, and it was then too late to procure them, and that our army moved all the time in ignorance of the country and with guides who, for the most part, proved themselves utterly inefficient.

"He said that General Lee's object in the retreat from Petersburg was to reach Danville, and then to unite with Johnston and crush Sherman before Grant could come up.

"After General Johnston's surrender, his object was to reach the Trans-Mississippi department and see if he could rally the forces there. And this he believes he could have accomplished, as he knew every swamp along his proposed route, but he was turned aside by information that a band of robbers were about to attack his family, who were traveling on a different line.

"He gave deeply interesting details of the foreign relations

of the Confederacy, and of how near we were several times to recognition by England and France. He spoke in the highest terms of praise of Captain Bullock's 'Secret Service of the Confederacy in Europe'—a book which he thinks should be in every library—and said that the Confederacy had nothing to fear from the publication of all of its official correspondence.

"He spoke in strong terms of the double dealings of Louis Napoleon, who, after inviting Mr. Slidell, the Confederate commissioner, to have Confederate vessels built in France, and assuring him that there would be no obstacle to their going out afterwards, went square back on his word (because of certain representations of Mr. Dayton, the United States Minister), and refused to allow them to go out. When he was in France after the war, the Emperor sent him word, that 'If he desired an interview with him he would be glad to grant it.' 'But,' said the grand old chief of the Confederacy, 'I wanted no interview with the man who had played us false, and so I promptly replied that I did not desire it.'

"He spoke of General Lee's high opinion of the ability of General Early as a soldier, and of his own emphatic endorsement of that opinion, and said many other things of deep interest which I may not write now

"He and his family were evidently deeply touched by the grand ovation accorded him at Montgomery, Atlanta, Savannah, etc., last spring, and I assured him that if he would accept the invitation which I bore him from Governor Lee to be present at the laying of the corner-stone of the Lee monument next October we would give him in the last capital of the Confederacy a welcome equally as warm—an ovation fully as imposing. He could not promise so long ahead what he could do, in view of his declining years and uncertain health, but said, 'There is no place I would rather visit than Richmond; no occasion I had rather be present upon than one that is to honor R. E. Lee. If possible I shall do myself the pleasure of going.'

"I came away from Beauvoir with the highest gratification that I had had the privilege of seeing at his home, eating with at his table, and mingling in free social intercourse with the great statesman, the peerless orator, the gallant soldier, the stainless Christian gentleman, the devoted patriot, whom, with one voice, the Confederate States called to be their chief, who never betrayed their trust, but who was true in war, and has

been true in peace—'who did not desert during the war and has not deserted since.'

"What true Confederate—what true citizen of any section of the country—can fall to join in the earnest prayer that Heaven's choicest blessings may rest upon that beautiful home at Beauvoir—that his last days may be his best days, and that he may finally rest in peace, wear 'the fadeless crown of victory,' and rejoice in the plaudit of the Great Captain—'Well done good and faithful servant'—when he shall join Lee and Jackson and others of our Christian soldiers in that bright land where 'war's rude alarms' are never heard?"

It may be added concerning Mrs. Davis that never was there a more devoted, *helpful* wife or mother. No public man ever had a wife who, by education, accomplishments, conversational powers, and domestic tastes and habits, was better fitted to fill the conspicuous places to which she was called. And no husband ever had a more devoted, self-sacrificing wife.

When he was in prison she left no effort untried until she at last got permission to visit him, and share his hard lot, which she greatly brightened. And for all of the later years of his life she was his constant companion, his nurse in sickness, his amanuensis, his comforter, his *help-mate* in every sense of the term.

And now, as the "Widow of the Confederacy," she has the warmest place in the hearts of old Confederates and of our people generally.

May heaven's choicest blessings rest upon her and her children has been, and will be, the prayer that wells up from many a Southern heart.

Mrs. Hayes is every way worthy of her noble lineage, and the future of her four sweet children (the boy, five years old, has taken the name *Jefferson Hayes Davis*) will be watched with deep interest and fervent prayers that they may prove worthy of the heritage of honor and fame to which they have succeeded.

Miss "Varina Anne" has lost her real name, and is universally called by the pet name—"Winnie"—which her father gave her. For years she was his almost constant companion. She read to him, wrote for him, studied books on military tactics that she might interest him in discussing campaigns and battles, and in many ways brought much of sunshine into his life.

She is one of the most universally popular ladies we have ever known, and in visits to New Orleans, Memphis, Louisville, Mobile, Montgomery, Savannah, Atlanta, Richmond, Macon, New York, and other cities she never failed to capture the cities.

The Richmond *Dispatch* gave a report of the presentation of a badge of "Lee Camp Confederate Veterans" to Miss Winnie on the 21st of September, 1886, at the Soldiers' Home, from which the following extract is given, in order to show the feeling towards President Davis and his accomplished daughter by the old soldiers of the Confederacy, a large number of whom were present:

"As the carriage containing Miss Davis, escorted by General C. J. Anderson and Messrs. John and Clay Chamblain, drove on the grounds the veterans saluted her with a salvo of artillery.

"General and Mrs. Terry, Captain Pollard, Commander Murphy, Captain John Maxwell, Major T. A. Brander, and other members of Lee Camp did the honors of the Home, and showed the grounds and buildings to the visitors.

"At the appointed hour Governor Lee, accompanied by Mrs. Lee, drove up, and soon after the interesting ceremonies begun. Captain Maxwell introduced Governor Lee, who was received with loud applause, and proceeded to perform the duty assigned him of presenting to Miss Davis the certificate and badge.

"Governor Lee felicitated the veterans of Lee Camp that they had among them the daughter of the great Confederate President, who had guided with such ability, such unswerving patriotism, the fortunes of the Confederacy, and had borne himself so bravely in the hour of adversity.



MISS WINNIE DAVIS.
(THE DAUGHTER OF THE CONFEDERACY.)

"The time has come, he said, when we could calmly look back on that great struggle, and, without disloyalty to the present order of things or our allegiance to the present government, do justice to the motives and deeds of the men who made it. It was on our part a square, honest fight for what we believed to be our 'inalienable rights.'

"There was, said Governor Lee, a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of that constitution. We of the South, led by our ablest statesmen and some of the ablest statesmen of the North, believed that under the constitution we had a right to peaceably secede from the Union, and tried to do so. The people of the North, guided by the massive intellect of Webster and the opinions of Story and others of their leaders, believed that the Union was 'perpetual,' and the result was the fearful war which drenched the land in blood.

"The men of the South have, he said, no sort of occasion to be ashamed of the part they bore in that conflict, and certainly the veterans of this Home and of Lee Camp (most of whom served in the Army of Northern Virginia) have a heritage of glory of which they may well be proud, since they have written their names high up on the pillar of fame, and won a series of splendid victories which illustrated brightest pages of history, until at Appomattox—'not conquered, but wearied out with victory'—they stacked their bright muskets, parked their blackened guns, and furled forever their tattered battle-flags.

"Governor Lee congratulated the veterans that they had carried into the arts of peace and to the promotion of the interests of the restored Union the same patient endurance and heroic courage which they had displayed on the battle-field. He then turned to Miss Davis, and in a few earnest and graceful words presented the certificate and badge, saying that if she was 'The Daughter of the Confederacy' these sons of the Confederacy could call her *their sister*, and would count it a high privilege to do so.

"Miss Davis received the certificate and badge with a very graceful bow, amid the loud applause of the crowd, who had repeatedly applauded Governor Lee, and then Dr. J. William Jones, who had been chosen by Miss Davis to represent her, made the following response:

"I count it a great privilege and a high honor to be permitted to respond for our fair guest upon this occasion, and to convey to you, Governor, and through you to Lee Camp, her hearty thanks for the honor of being enrolled among their honorary members, her warm appreciation of this beautiful badge and certificate, which she will preserve among her cherished treasures as a souvenir of a 'red-letter day' in her life—a bright spot in her memory.

"Born in the stormy days of war, rocked in the cradle of the Confederacy, and reared in an atmosphere where it is held to be no crime to have been true to the principles of constitutional freedom, she is loyal to the hallowed memories of the Confederacy, clings fondly to its traditions, cherishes its history, and loves and honors its brave defenders. How, then, can she be otherwise than deeply touched when these gallant veterans (who used to obey without question the orders of her distinguished father—the President of the Confederate States and commander-in-chief of their armies—as they marched forth so gaily to illustrate the brightest pages of American history) come to honor 'The Daughter of the Confederacy' by enrolling her name among them, and choosing so worthy a knight as the distinguished Governor of the Commonwealth—'our gallant Fitz'—to voice their wishes in making this presentation? Words fail me in attempting to express properly her feelings, and I can only say to you, Governor, and to the members of Lee Camp: Accept her warmest thanks.

"And now I beg the privilege of adding just this word: It seems to me a happy augury that this 'Home' of our veterans opens its doors this bright and beautiful afternoon to the daughter of our grand old Chief, and I am sure that all will join me in breathing the fervent prayer that Heaven's choicest blessings may abide here, and also upon that home beside the Gulf—that the love of a grateful people may ever be theirs, and that peace, prosperity, and true happiness may be forever the portion of our noble Chief and of the immortal heroes who followed him to deeds of fadeless glory for the land and cause they loved so well and served so faithfully."

"Major T. A. Brander, in words few and fit, then presented Miss Davis, on behalf of the veterans of the Home, with a beautiful bouquet which he said was composed of flowers raised on the grounds by the tender care of the veterans.

"Governor Lee then led Miss Davis to the front, and the veterans crowded forward and shook hands with her.

"She was dressed with exquisite taste, wore the badge of the Army of Northern Virginia and several other military badges with which she had been invested, and impressed all who saw her with the dignity and queenly grace of her bearing and by the cordial greeting she gave to each of the veterans.

"It was whispered all around, 'She is worthy of her proud lineage and high position,' and the veterans especially seemed delighted with her reception of them.

"The badge is the regular badge of Lee Camp, beautifully gotten up and suitably engraved.

"The whole occasion was one of deep interest, and was heartily enjoyed by the large crowd present."

During the years after the war Mr. Davis did not very often appear in public—both his health and his disinclination to take part in public meetings forbidding—but upon some notable occasions he was the central figure. He presided over the great Lee Memorial meeting in Richmond in November, 1870, and spoke at the convention that assembled at the Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, in August, 1874, to reorganize the Southern Historical Society; at the unveiling of the Stonewall Jackson monument, in New Orleans; at the great Southern Historical Society meeting, in New Orleans; at the unveiling of the Albert Sidney Johnston monument there; at the laying of the corner-stone of the Confederate monument in Montgomery; at Atlanta, Savannah, Macon, and other places.

We deeply regret to find that our limited space will prevent us from giving these speeches as we had intended.

But we must make a place for the following speech which he delivered under very peculiar circumstances. At a banquet given by the Louisiana division of the Army of Northern Virginia Association, December 6th, 1878, when none but Confederate soldiers were present, and it was announced that reporters had been excluded, that there would be no report in

the papers of the speeches made, and that each speaker was expected to *say what he pleased*, Mr. Davis made the following speech which has never been in print, but which was taken down in short-hand at the time, and for a copy of which we are indebted to Captain John H. Murray, the then secretary of the association.

Northern readers, after all they have been taught of the bitterness of Mr. Davis to the North, will be surprised at the fraternal tone of this speech made under the circumstance.

SPEECH AT ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA BANQUET.

"My Friends and Soldiers of the Confederacy :

"I am glad to meet so many of you assembled here, to know that you are still marching shoulder to shoulder, and that you still keep step to those bonds of fraternity which you learned upon the field of battle and in the camp, where suffering, danger, and death were confronted hourly by you.

"And while the battle ebbed and flowed; while victory at one time rose and defeat followed it with crushing force, still there was one thing which never faltered—the courage, the honor, the fidelity of the Confederate soldier.

"Political unions are the result sometimes of traditions, sometimes of a community of interests, sometimes of the force of outward pressure creating the necessity to band together to resist the force which is on the outside.

"But there is a fraternity which is closer than these—it is that fraternity which is formed around the camp-fire, which is formed between the wounded soldier and his attending comrades, which is formed between the men who are rushing to see who shall be first in the breach and who shall be last to leave.

"This is the rivalry that bound men together when they were struggling few against many, when, as it has been described to you by General Early, they stood up and faced the foe one to five, and still manfully held the line against that overwhelming force. Louisiana was there. Her noble Drew with his little battalion was among the first who confronted that powerful force on the Peninsula. Louisiana was there—ah! Louisiana was everywhere where blood was to be shed in

the maintenance of truth and liberty and the rights she had inherited. She sent her sons to Virginia not to battle for Virginia—not to battle for the Confederacy merely, but to battle for something which was higher and brighter than these and all else, to battle for truth and political rights, the liberty of her sons and the inheritance their fathers had bequeathed to them.

"It is always to me a great pleasure to meet a Confederate soldier, and before he tells me what he is, I think I can recognize him by the thrill of his grasp. Trained to truth and duty, tried in temptation, and tempered by distress, they came forth the pure gold from the forge. And while we now 'accept the situation' in the language of the day—yet as Bill Arp said, though thoroughly reconstructed, 'I will bet my last dollar on Dixie.'

"We are now at peace, and I trust will ever remain so. We have recently been taught that those whom we had considered enemies, measuring them by standard bearers whose hearts were filled with malignity, that they in our hour of trouble had hearts beating in sympathy with our grief. We have been taught by their generosity that bounded with quick response to the afflictions of the South, that the vast body of people at the North are our brethren still.

"And the heart would be dead to every generous impulse that would try to stimulate in you now a feeling of hostility to those where so large a majority have manifested nothing but brotherly love for you.

"In referring, therefore, to the days of the past and the glorious cause you have served—a cause that was dignified by the honor in which you maintained it—I seek but to revive a memory which should be dear to you and pass on to your children as a memory which teaches the highest lessons of manhood, of truth, and of adherence to duty—duty to your State, duty to your principles, duty to the truth, duty to your buried parents, and duty to your coming children.

'I thank you, friends.'

Among the large number of letters which he wrote at this period, we select as examples only two—one to the ladies of the Confederate Monument Association, and the other com-

plaining of mistakes made in a biographical sketch—regretting that we have not space for others, as he was a very accomplished letter writer.

“BEAUVOIR, MISS., May 21, 1888.

“*Ladies of the Confederate Monument Association of Mississippi:*

“I duly received your gratifying invitation to my family and myself to be present at the laying of the corner-stone of the monument to commemorate the dead of Mississippi who died for the State.

“This acknowledgment has been delayed under the hope that my health would so improve as to enable me to participate in the ceremony.

“The earnest desire to be with you on the occasion led me to hope against the better judgment of others that I might be physically able to join in the work which is very near to my heart. The monument will be the first reared by Mississippi to her sons, who at the call of their mother forgot all selfish cares and went forth, if need be, to die for her cause. This omission cannot be ascribed to the absence of meritorious claims to such consideration, for Mississippians have neither been of the war party in peace nor of the peace party in war. In the territorial infancy of our State, when the population was mainly confined to a few river counties, the Indian war with its characteristic ferocity, was ravaging the frontier settlements. At the cry of the helpless, Mississippians rushed to arms, though few and illy prepared for war. Among the earliest of my memories was the grief of our people because of the massacre at Fort Mimms, where many of our neighbors died in the fulfillment of that noblest motive of human action which causes one to give his life that others may live. No monument for the instruction of the rising generation commemorates the event, and the commonly used school-books are devoted to Northern history.

“At Pensacola or Fort Bower, and in the battle of New Orleans, Mississippi bore an honorable part. Your monument will stand in the county of Hinds, the name of the leader of the Mississippi dragoons, whose conduct in the battle of New Orleans was commended in general orders for the admiration of one army and the wonder of the other.

"At a later day when Mississippi was sent a requisition for troops to serve in the war between the United States and Mexico, the difficulty was not to get the requisite number of companies, but to discriminate among those offering in excess of the numbers which would be received. An attempt was made to build a monument to those who fought and died in a foreign land, but it failed. If asked why? The reason is on the surface. It was not woman's work.

"Daughters of Mississippi, you have labored in a cause the righteousness of which only he can deny whose soul is so devoid of patriotism that in his country's strife he could give aid and comfort to the enemy. It would have been a great gratification to me to stand among the survivors of the Mississippi army and in laying the corner-stone of the monument to their deceased comrades to recall their virtues, the mingled attributes of the hero and saint. Please be assured that in spirit I shall be with you. For the zeal with which you have faced all discouragement, and the devotion you have shown to the purpose, which had only its merits for its reward, I pray you to accept from the inmost fibre of his heart the thanks of an old Mississippian. Faithfully, JEFFERSON DAVIS."

"*T. K. Oglesby, Esq.:*

"My Dear Sir—The set of Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography which you ordered sent to my address has been received. I am not the less thankful to you for your kind attention because I cannot give to the work more than a partial approval. I very naturally turned to the article which I contributed upon Zachary Taylor, and which I was compelled to compress to bring it within the prescribed limit; but I found the article had been expanded by the addition of matter in regard to his family, which was so inaccurate that I was sorry to have it annexed to what I had written, my consolation being that no member of the Taylor family would believe me to be the author of the addition.

"My next examination was of the article 'Davis (Jefferson).' Here I found the baseless scandal of a romantic elopement revived and reprinted, and all along through that article flowed the misrepresentations current in Northern prints, and attributing to me things I never said, of which I am quite sure,

because they were things I never thought. There is no fitness in my writing to you a full criticism of a work which seems to me guided and inspired by narrow sectionalism, but you will allow me to add, for your kind attention, I am and shall remain very gratefully yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS."

We close this chapter with the following brief, but characteristic, and significant

ADDRESS BEFORE THE MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE, MARCH 10, 1884.

"Friends and Brethren of Mississippi:

"In briefest terms but with deepest feelings, permit me to return my thanks for the unexpected honor you have conferred upon me. Away from the political sea, I have in my secluded home observed with intense interest all passing events affecting the interest or honor of Mississippi, and have rejoiced to see in the diversification of labor and the development of new sources of prosperity and the increased facilities of public education, reason to hope for a future to our State more prosperous than any preceding era. The safety and honor of a republic must rest upon the morality, intelligence and patriotism of the community.

"We are now in a transition state, which is always a bad one, both in society and in nature. What is to be the result of the changes which may be anticipated it is not possible to forecast, but our people have shown such fortitude and have risen so grandly from the deep depression inflicted upon them that it is fair to entertain bright hopes for the future. Sectional hate, concentrating itself upon my devoted head, deprives me of the privileges accorded to others in the sweeping expression of 'without distinction of race, color or previous condition,' but it cannot deprive me of that which is nearest and dearest to my heart, the right to be a Mississippian, and it is with gratification that I receive this emphatic recognition of that right by the representatives of her people. Reared on the soil of Mississippi, the ambition of my boyhood was to do something which would redound to the honor and welfare of the State. The weight of many years admonishes me that my day for actual services has passed, yet the desire remains undiminished to see the people of Mississippi prosperous and happy, and her fame not unlike the past, but gradually growing wider and brighter as the years roll away.

"It has been said that I should apply to the United States for a pardon; but repentance must precede the right of pardon, and I have not repented. Remembering as I must all which has been suffered, all which has been lost, disappointed hopes and crushed aspirations, yet I deliberately say: If it were to do over again, I would do just as I did in 1861. No one is the arbiter of his own fate. The people of the Confederate States did more in proportion to their numbers and means than was ever achieved by any in the world's history. Fate decreed that they should be unsuccessful in the effort to maintain their claim to resume the grants made to the federal government. Our people have accepted the decree; it therefore behooves them, as they may, to promote the general welfare of the Union, to show to the world that hereafter as heretofore the patriotism of our people is not measured by lines of latitude and longitude, but is as broad as the obligations they have assumed and embraces the whole of our ocean-bound domain. Let them leave to their children and their children's children the good example of never swerving from the path of duty, and preferring to return good for evil rather than to cherish the unmanly feeling of revenge. But never teach your children to desecrate the memory of the dead by admitting that their brothers were wrong in their effort to maintain the sovereignty, freedom and independence which was their inalienable birth-right. Remembering that the coming generations are the children of the heroic mothers whose devotion to our cause in its darkest hour sustained the strong and strengthened the weak, I cannot believe that the cause for which our sacrifices were made can ever be lost, but rather hope that those who now deny the justice of our asserted claims will learn from experience that the fathers builded wisely and the constitution should be construed according to the commentaries of the men who made it. It having been previously understood that I would not attempt to do more than return my thanks, which are far deeper than it would be possible for me to express, I will now, Senators and Representatives, and to you, ladies and gentlemen, who have honored me by your attendance, bid you an affectionate, and, it may be, a last farewell."

XVIII.

ANALYSIS OF HIS CHARACTER.

And now, in concluding this "outline," it only remains for us to give a brief analysis of his character, and we cannot better do so than by reproducing the following from our pen which appeared in the *Richmond Dispatch* the day after Mr. Davis died.

"JEFFERSON DAVIS, THE CHRISTIAN SOLDIER, STATESMAN, AND PATRIOT—BY REV. J. WILLIAM JONES, D. D.

"ATLANTA, GA., December 6.

"The death of an old man who has more than lived out his four-score years would ordinarily excite but a passing interest. But the death of this great man who for so many years was a prominent figure in American history, who was a born leader of men, who has been a central figure in the most stirring events ever enacted on this continent, and who has borne himself as grandly in peace as in war, in the shades of retirement as in the bustling activities of public life—the death of such a man will attract universal attention, elicit general comment, and recall incidents of interest not only in this country, but in the civilized world as well.

"Other pens will give detailed sketches of his eventful life, be it mine only to recall here some personal reminiscences of the *man* as I knew him, and honored him, and loved him, and to give a brief outline of his character which was well worthy of the careful study and imitation of our young men.

"I first saw President Davis on the field of First Manassas. Having the honor of being at that time 'high private in the rear rank' of the famous old Thirteenth Virginia regiment, which (in the brigade commanded first by Kirby Smith, and after he was wounded by Colonel Arnold Elzey) came on the

field at the supreme crisis of the battle, we saw a great stir and heard vociferous cheering near the Lewis house, and were soon permitted to join in the general enthusiasm with which we greeted 'our President.'

"As I recall him as he appeared that day, sitting his horse with the easy grace of the trained horseman, I endorse the description of him given by a writer who saw him in a memorable scene in the United States Senate not long before:

"In face and form Davis represents the Norman type with singular fidelity if my conception of that type be correct. He is tall and sinewy, with fair hair, gray eyes, which are clear rather than bright, high forehead, straight nose, thin, compressed lips, and pointed chin. His cheek-bones are hollow, and the vicinity of his mouth is deeply furrowed with interesting lines. Leanness of face, length and sharpness of feature, and length of limb, and intensity of expression, rendered acute by angular facial outline, are the general characteristics of his appearance.

"It was upon that memorable day at Manassas that T. J. Jackson, who had just won his *soubriquet* of 'Stonewall,' is reported to have pushed aside the surgeons who were dressing his wounds and to have exclaimed, tossing his old gray cap in the air: 'There comes the President. Hurrah for the President! Give me ten thousand men and I will be in Washington to-night.'

"And there can be but little doubt that if the President had known 'Stonewall' ['Thunderbolt,' 'Tornado,' or 'Cyclone'] would have been a much more appropriate *soubriquet* for him] as well then as he knew him afterwards, that he would have given him the men, for it is now a part of the history of that great victory that, so far from stopping the pursuit of the routed enemy (as was falsely reported at the time), President Davis was exceedingly anxious to push them across the Potomac, and at one time issued a peremptory order to that effect, which was only countermanded at the earnest request of Generals Johnston and Beauregard.

"The next time I saw President Davis was during the 'seven days' battles around Richmond,' during which that pleasing incident occurred of his gently rebuking General Lee for being so far to the front as to endanger his valuable life, and was in turn mildly chided by the General for 'risking the

life of the President of the Confederacy,' when 'gallant little A. P. Hill' (as Mr. Davis called him) dashed up and exclaimed: 'This is no place for either of you, and as commander of this part of the line I *order* you both to the rear!'

"'We will obey orders,' was the laughing reply, as they fell back a short distance and began an earnest conference about 'the situation.'

"But the fire becoming very hot A. P. Hill galloped up to them again and exclaimed: 'Did I not tell you to go away from here, and did you not promise to obey my orders? Why, one shell from that battery over yonder may presently deprive the Army of Northern Virginia of its commander and the Confederacy of its President.' And with many other earnest words he finally persuaded the President and General Lee to move back to a more secure place.

"I was exceedingly fortunate during those seven days of battle in seeing a number of our leaders, and I have indelibly photographed on my memory their appearance, dress, equipment, and bearing.

"Lee, the superb, mounted on Traveler, calm, dignified, alert, and every inch the soldier; old Stonewall, of rather ungainly, awkward figure, clad in dingy gray and mounted on 'Little Sorrel,' sucking a lemon, and seeming very impatient that the battle should begin; 'Jeb' Stuart in his 'fighting jacket,' rattling sabre, and jingling spurs, superbly mounted, and his very appearance denoting what he abundantly proved that he was indeed, 'the flower of cavaliers;' stern old Ewell, who cared little for dress or equipment, but had proven himself 'Jackson's right arm' in his brilliant Valley campaign; A. P. Hill, dressed in a fatigue jacket of gray flannel, his felt hat slouched over his noble brow, sitting his beautiful charger with easy grace, and glancing with eagle eye along his famous 'Light Division' as it hurried into battle, was the *beau ideal* of a soldier; and scores of others of subordinate rank who were just beginning to 'win their spurs,' and formed a galaxy of chivalrous knights such as were rarely, if ever, congregated on the same battle-field.

"But I do not hesitate to say that the accomplished horsemanship, the martial bearing, the general appearance of 'our President,' as he was greeted with the enthusiastic cheers of the soldiers, impressed me as deeply as any of the grand men

I saw on those fields of carnage, and made me *feel* then, what a subsequent study of his career has made me *know*, that Jefferson Davis was a born soldier, and that his brilliant career in the Mexican war was but a prophecy of what he would have been had he been able to carry out his own cherished desire to serve the Confederacy in the field instead of in the presidential chair.

"After this I saw Mr. Davis several times in Richmond, but had never heard him speak until at the famous mass-meeting at the Old African church in Richmond after the Confederate commissioners had returned from the 'Hampton Roads Conference' and made as their report that the government at Washington would grant no terms but 'unconditional submission.'

"I had heard a great deal of and had formed a very high estimate of Mr. Davis as an orator. I had read some of his speeches in the United States Senate, and especially his chaste and eloquent 'Farewell to the Senate.' I had read his inaugural address and a number of his other addresses to soldiers and citizens.

"But I must confess that I was not prepared for his speech upon that occasion, which rang out like a clarion-call to battle, and so touched and thrilled and swayed the vast multitude composed largely of soldiers, that we not only cheered him to the echo until we were hoarse, but were ready to follow to the death whenever he should lead. I have ever since that day regarded that speech as the grandest oratorical triumph I ever heard, and have placed Mr. Davis among the great orators of history.

"The next time I heard him speak was at the great soldiers' Lee memorial meeting, held at the First Presbyterian church in Richmond in November, 1870.

"About three years before the 'caged eagle' had been released from prison, and he came to Richmond to preside over the meeting called by the old soldiers of Lee to do honor to their old commander who had died several weeks before.

"It was a grand occasion, and there assembled the most brilliant galaxy of Confederate soldiers that has gathered since the war. Generals Early, John B. Gordon, John S. Preston, and Henry A. Wise, and Colonels Charles S. Venable, Charles Marshall, William Preston Johnston, and R. E. Withers were among the speakers, and all of them made touchingly beauti-

ful tributes to Lee. But Mr. Davis, it is no disparagement to others to say, made unquestionably *the* speech of the occasion, and was received with a genuine enthusiasm, an irrepressible outburst of applause and cheers, and a tender respect which showed that he still held the warmest place in the hearts of his old soldiers.

"The only other occasion upon which I ever heard him speak was at New Orleans at the unveiling of the statue of Stonewall Jackson, erected by the Louisiana Division Army of Northern Virginia. General Fitz Lee was the orator of the day, and acquitted himself (as 'our gallant Fitz' always does) very handsomely. Mr. Davis was on the platform, a deeply interested listener, and had declined on account of his health the invitation of the committee to speak. But the crowd called for him so vociferously and persistently that he at last arose, was received with deafening cheers, and for about twenty minutes thrilled the vast crowd with a eulogy on Jackson which deserves a place among the gems of true oratory. I suppose that the calm verdict of history will be that Jefferson Davis stands in the very fore-front of American orators.

"As a writer of terse, chaste, vigorous, classic, Anglo-Saxon English, he has had few equals and no superior among all of our public men.

"His reports when Secretary of War—his messages, proclamations, and other State papers when President of the Confederacy—his 'Rise and Fall of the Confederate States'—his occasional articles for magazines, reviews, or newspapers, and his letters should be carefully studied as models of 'English undefiled' as well as for the great truths taught and the great principles vindicated. He was especially charming as a letter writer, and I trust that a volume of his letters will be given to the public. If the personal allusion may be pardoned, I will say that I have in my possession fifty or sixty of his letters addressed to me and marked 'personal' or 'confidential,' which I prize beyond all price, and which I regard as among the finest specimens of letter-writing of which I have any acquaintance in all the range of ancient or modern literature.

"One of the greatest calamities of the kind with which I am acquainted is that there was stolen from Mr. Davis's papers when stored in New York a package containing his strictly confidential correspondence with General Lee during the war

—letters which he did not show even to his staff or his cabinet, and which contained the secret thoughts and plans of these two great men and congenial spirits.

“Mr. Davis spoke to me several times of this loss, and always with deep feeling and sorrowful regret.

“A distinguished Northern gentleman with whom I was conversing very freely at Ocean Grove, N. J., two years ago about the Confederacy, its measures, men, and history, suddenly said, ‘Jeff. Davis is in his dotage now, is he not?’

“My prompt reply was, ‘If you think so, suppose you read his recent reply to General Sherman.’

“That reply to Sherman’s unprovoked and inexcusable slanders and his reply to the criticisms of Lord Wolseley, in a recent number of the *North American Review*, will rank among the finest specimens of such writing in the language.

“But above all, and crowning all of his other qualities, Mr. Davis bore himself amid all of his stern duties, crushing responsibilities, bitter trials, and strong temptations, as a patriot of the purest type, and as a stainless Christian gentleman.

“When his State called he closed his brilliant career as United States Senator and gladly laid his fortune, his talents, and his life on the altar of Southern independence. Men may differ as to the wisdom or expediency of his course, but none who knew him could ever doubt that he was actuated by motives of the highest patriotism; that he sought not self-interest or self-promotion, but the good of the land he loved so well. He burned to enter the Confederate army and to serve the cause in the field, for he believed from the first that war was inevitable, but when with one voice his countrymen called him to be President of the Southern Confederacy he sacrificed his own wishes to serve his loved Southland.

“It is natural, perhaps—alas! for poor human nature that it should be so—that men should look for a ‘scapegoat’ when failure comes, and that the leader of a ‘lost cause’ (as men look upon it) should not escape the adverse criticism of his followers. Mr. Davis has been by no means an exception to this rule, and the croaking of certain Confederates has mingled with the bitter denunciations and unreasonable hatreds of his enemies. He has been charged with ‘sins of omission and of commission,’—of doing all sorts of things which he

'ought not to have done,' and of 'leaving undone' all sorts of things which he 'ought to have performed.' But no man has ever dared to face him with any charge of malfeasance in office, of prostituting the public service to private ends, of being guilty of one single act in which he did not have in view the good of the great cause he had espoused as God gave him to see it, or of any conduct unworthy of the stainless gentleman, the pure patriot, seeking his country's good.

"He said to his intimate friend, Hon. B. H. Hill, of Georgia, upon the occasion of a confidential interview between them: 'God knows my heart. *I ask all, all for the cause; nothing, nothing for myself.*'

"Mr. Hill well adds: 'Truer words never fell from nobler lips nor warmer from the heart of a more devoted patriot. These words express in language the soul, the mind, the purpose—aye! the ambition of Jefferson Davis.'

"While in irons at Fortress Monroe he was charged with complicity with the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and with cruelty to Federal prisoners, and his enemies hoped at one time to destroy him on these trumped-up charges, but they could not procure evidence on which the infamous Holt dared to go into his trial even before a military court, and with his band of trained perjurers at his call.

"As for the charge of 'treason,' Chief-Justice Chase and the ablest lawyers at the North whom he consulted were too wise to bring him to the trial which he so greatly coveted. He said to me one day at Beauvoir with flushed cheek and flashing eye: 'Oh! if they had only dared to give me the trial for which I begged and for which I longed! Then would I have shown beyond all cavil at the bar of justice and at the bar of history that we were no rebels and no traitors, but had only exercised the rights guaranteed to sovereign States by the constitution of our fathers, and that in making war upon us for an attempt to exercise peaceably this right the North was the real 'rebel' against law—the real 'traitor' to the constitution.'

"In the eloquent address before the Georgia Branch of the Southern Historical Society, delivered by Hon. B. H. Hill, he closed an able vindication of Mr. Davis as follows:

"I could detain you all night correcting false impressions which have been industriously made against this great and good man. I knew Jefferson Davis as I know few men. I



CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE

From photographs taken when they came to Richmond to try Mr. Davis.



JUDGE UNDERWOOD

have been near him in his public duties; I have seen him by his private fireside; I have witnessed his humble Christian devotions, and I challenge the judgment of history when I say no people were ever led through the fiery struggle for liberty by a nobler, truer patriot, while the carnage of war and the trials of public life never revealed a purer and more beautiful Christian character. Those who during the struggle prostituted public office for private gain or used positions to promote favorites, or forgot public duty to avenge private griefs, or were derelict or faithless in any form to our cause, are they who condemn or abuse Mr. Davis. And well they may, for of all such he was the contrast, the rebuke, and the enemy. Those who were willing to sacrifice self for the cause, who were willing to bear trials for its success, who were willing to reap sorrow and poverty that victory might be won, will ever cherish the name of Jefferson Davis, for to all such he was a glorious peer and a most worthy leader.

“I would be ashamed of my own unworthiness if I did not venerate Lee. I would scorn my own nature if I did not love Davis. I would question my own integrity and patriotism if I did not honor and admire both. There are some who affect to praise Lee and condemn Davis. But of all such Lee himself would be ashamed.

“No two leaders ever leaned each on the other in such beautiful trust and absolute confidence. Hand in hand, and heart to heart, they moved in the front of the dire struggle of their people for independence—a noble pair of brothers. And if fidelity to right, endurance to trials, and sacrifice of self for others, can win title to a place with the good in the great hereafter, then Davis and Lee will meet where wars are not waged and slanders are not heard; and as heart in heart, and as wing to wing they fly through the courts of Heaven, admiring angles will say, what a noble pair of brothers!”

“The noble ‘Tribune of the People,’ the brave defender of the Confederacy and her leaders ‘ceased from his labors’ some years ago, but his ringing words will find an echo in many a loyal Confederate heart to-day. Within the past ten years it has been my privilege to be a frequent visitor to Beauvoir, the beautiful home by the Gulf where the evening of the days of this great man had been spent, and to have seen him in the quiet of his home and in the bosom of his family. No man

was ever a more affectionate husband or more devoted father. His playful conversation with his noble wife and accomplished daughters, his devotion to his grandchildren, his graceful reception and entertainment of visitors, his perfectly charming conversation on any topic that might be introduced, his tender solicitude for the comfort and welfare of others, and the invaluable 'material for the future historian' which his lightest conversations contained are all indelibly written in my memory and heart, but may not be detailed in this paper, already too long.

"This much, however, I must say: In all of my repeated interviews with Mr. Davis, and the freedom of conversation about men and things with which he honored me, and in all of the confidential letters about historical matters which at different times he wrote me there was a marked and most remarkable absence of bitterness, or of denunciation of those even who had most grievously wronged and injured him. I cite only two examples of this out of many which I could give: He once had a controversy with a distinguished Confederate in reference to the Peace Conference, and was quite severely censured for not being willing in the early days of 1865 to make peace on the condition of a restoration of the Union—the distinguished Confederate saying that *he* would have gladly done so at that time. Mr. Davis replied in very courteous but very vigorous style.

"It so happened that just at this time in looking over some old Confederate papers I found in one of them a card from this distinguished Confederate, written just after the 'Hampton-Roads Conference,' in which he said that 'certain evil-disposed persons had circulated a rumor that he was in favor of peace on the basis of reunion with the North,' and proceeded to denounce the statement as 'utterly false and slanderous,' and to aver that he was 'unwilling to accept anything short of independence,' and was in favor of 'fighting it out to the bitter end until this was attained.' I copied and sent this card to Mr. Davis, and he wrote me a letter of warm thanks, in which he said: 'This card is worth its weight in gold in this controversy, but of greater worth than gold is the kind friendship which prompted the sending of it to me.'

"But he never followed up his advantage and never used the card, and he told me afterwards, when I asked him about

it, that he 'became sorry for Mr. ———, in the awkward position in which he had placed himself, and concluded not to press his advantage.'

"The other incident was this: Another prominent Confederate had abused Mr. Davis roundly in my presence—making numerous statements which I knew to be incorrect—and I wrote to Mr. Davis for a refutation of them. He very promptly replied with a complete and triumphant vindication of himself, but marked the letter 'strictly confidential,' saying that he 'did not wish even in his own vindication to injure one who had been a true Confederate.'

"I might multiply these illustrations almost indefinitely, but I must hasten to conclude this article with just one other point.

"I speak of my own personal knowledge and intimate intercourse with him when I say that Mr. Davis was one of the humblest, most intelligent, most decided evangelical Christians whom I have ever known. He was in his official position always outspoken and decided on the side of evangelical religion, and his fast-day and thanksgiving-day proclamations were not only models of chaste style and classic English, but breathed a spirit of humble, devout piety, which was not perfunctory, but welled up from a sincere and honest heart.

"He said to Rev. Dr. A. E. Dickinson, concerning the grand work of colportage in the army, which he was superintending and pushing with rare ability, zeal, and success: 'I most cordially sympathize with this movement. We have but little to hope for if we do not realize our dependence upon Heaven's blessing, and seek the guidance of God's truth.'

"I have space for only the following, which may be given as a specimen of his proclamations:

"To the People of the Confederate States:

"The termination of the Provisional Government offers a fitting occasion again to present ourselves in humiliation, prayer, and thanksgiving before that God who has safely conducted us through our first year of national existence. We have been enabled to lay anew the foundations of free government and to repel the efforts of enemies to destroy us. Law has every-

where reigned supreme, and throughout our wide-spread limits personal liberty and private rights have been duly honored. A tone of earnest piety has pervaded our people, and the victories which we have obtained over our enemies have been justly ascribed to Him who ruleth the universe. We had hoped that the year would have closed upon a scene of continued prosperity, but it has pleased the Supreme Disposer of events to order it otherwise. We are not permitted to furnish an exception to the rule of Divine government which has prescribed affliction as the discipline of nations as well as of individuals. Our faith and perseverance must be tested, and the chastening which seemeth grievous will, if rightly received, bring forth its appropriate fruit. It is meet and right, therefore, that we should repair to the only giver of all victory and humbling ourselves before Him, should pray that He may strengthen our confidence in His mighty power and righteous judgments. Then may we surely trust in Him that he will perform His promise and encompass us as with a shield. In this trust and to this end, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, do hereby set apart Friday, the 28th day of February instant, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer; and I do hereby invite the reverend clergy and the people of the Confederate States to repair to their respective places of public worship to humble themselves before Almighty God and pray for his protection and favor for our beloved country and that we may be saved from our enemies and from the hand of all that hate us.

“But it was especially in private life and in his home that his Christian character shone out most clearly. A diligent student of God’s Word, a man of prayer and a believer in prayer, a regular attendant on church services, fond of conversation on religious topics, and of consistent Christian walk, I had in my intimate personal intercourse with him the most abundant evidence that he took Christ as his personal Saviour; that he rested with child-like trust in the grand old doctrines of salvation by grace, justification by faith, and that he rejoiced in the sweet comforts and precious hope of the Gospel.

“Grand old hero of mighty conflicts—ever true to God, to country, and to duty—thou hast fought thy last battle; thou hast left behind a stainless name; thou hast won thy last great victory; thou has joined Lee and Jackson and Stuart and

hosts of 'men who wore the gray' and were soldiers of the Cross as well as soldiers of their country; thou dost now 'rest from thy labors' and wear thy fadeless crown.

"J. WILLIAM JONES."

TRIBUTE OF BISHOP J. C. KENNER.

Bishop Kenner, of the M. E. Church South, closed his sermon in Felicity Street church, New Orleans, December 8th, 1889, as follows:

"I said in the beginning that I took this passage because it is precious to contemplate, and because all are thinking of the death of our very distinguished citizen, Mr. Jefferson Davis, who now lies in his coffin at the Municipal Hall. It is very delightful for us to realize in our thoughts that his hopes are our hopes, and our hopes his; that he was not merely a public character. A man may be a great man, a magistrate; he may be the centre of all thought and all eyes; he may be a great figure in history, and yet when he comes to die he dies like any one else; he is only a man; has to have the same repentance, the same assurance, the same faith in Christ; goes out the same way, passes through the same passages the Saviour passed through; is in all points a man; and as Christ was the Son of Man, it is essentially all that can be said; he is a man saved by Christ.

"I had the good fortune to know Mr. Jefferson Davis personally, and I appreciated his acquaintance very highly. I admired him intellectually. It was delightful to talk with him; his memory was so tenacious and exact, his bearing so admirable. As far as I could see, he was a man of great ingenuousness of character, of lofty, honorable purpose, a man that might well be taken for an example to young men. There was one other man, a Virginian, whose character, spiritually and intellectually, in the light of his achievements, in the light of his gentleness and genuineness, is a model for almost all men. I might venture to say that Mr. Davis had great integrity of character, and he will ever be an object of admiration to all who fairly understand him, just as our revered General Lee now is. Mr. Davis fills the minds and hearts of all the South this day. He lies in his coffin mourned, admired, and loved. He was, by the providence of God, called to act a

great part in the history of our nation. Events, over which he had no control, placed him at the head of the Confederate government, which, as its executive, he guided until it yielded to the force of arms. His integrity of purpose and character during all the conduct of the civil war left him at its close without a blemish. His imprisonment for two years, and the untold humiliations which accompanied it, did not affect the nobility of his mind. He suffered without losing for a moment the grace of his bearing toward foes or friends. He came out of it, and out of the war, a better man and a maturer Christian. Since then he has demeaned himself with all propriety and dignity in his intercourse with the world. He has illustrated and vindicated the soundness of his judgment during the terrible events of war, and that by his firmness and wisdom and observances of the maxims of civilized warfare, the South emerged from its smoke and blood, self-respected, respected by the world, and respected by those with whom it contended.

"It was my good fortune to know Mr. Davis intimately. He attended our seashore camp-meetings and ate at my tent. He was a sincere believer in the Christian religion. He listened to the Word and to the experiences of the people of God with reverent interest. I remember on one occasion he met me as I came out of the pulpit and thanked me heartily for the sermon, and said: 'You have removed difficulties from my mind in respect to the atonement, and I shall be a better man for it from this time to the end of my life.' The sermon was on the sinner who anointed the feet of Jesus, and of the debtors: 'When they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both.' He did not say this merely as a compliment to the preacher. I was somewhat surprised at the earnestness with which he spoke, and his manner made a great impression on me.

"My last conversation with him was on the cars, on the subject of experimental religion, and the wonderful expressions of Napoleon the Great in respect to the Saviour and the Gospel. I doubt not that he went straight home to the bosom of his Father and ours, that he is now with his Lord on the shining shore in the light of eternal morning."

INCIDENT FROM SENATOR JOHN H. REAGAN.

We have received the following touching incident from Senator Reagan, the old Postmaster-General of the Confederacy:

“UNITED STATES SENATE, }
“WASHINGTON, D. C., January 10, 1890. }

“*Rev. J. Wm. Jones, Atlanta, Ga.:*

“My Dear Sir—In answer to your letter of January 1st I send you herewith a copy of my brief address at Alexandria, Va., on the death of Mr. Davis. I regret that I have not time to prepare something more acceptable in the way of reminiscences.

“I will mention a single incident illustrative of the deeply religious character of Mr. Davis's mind. After we arrived together as prisoners at Hampton Roads, Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy and myself were ordered on another vessel to be taken to Fort Warren, Boston Harbor. On taking my leave of Mr. Davis and his family and of the Hon. C. C. Clay and his wife—and it was a very sad leave-taking—Mr. Davis requested me to read often the 26th Psalm. He said it gave him consolation to read it. I loved him as I have never loved any other man.

“Very truly and respectfully,

“JOHN H. REAGAN.”

We might give hundreds of incidents and anecdotes illustrating his character, as we have already given many in previous chapters, but we can only find room for the following.

Mr. H. W. Baldwin, of Madison, Ga., wrote to ask him for a line to his two boys, and received the following in reply:

“BEAUVOIR, MISS., 8th March, 1889.

“*Masters W. T. and H. W. Baldwin:*

“My Dear Young Friends—While you are not old enough to remember the sad scenes through which your father and his associates passed, you are living in the midst of those whose traditions will enable you fully to understand the questions which agitated our country before you were born.

“While it would be unbecoming a Georgian to be insensible to the wrongs inflicted upon us, to forgive is a much higher quality than to revenge. He who came to save sinners taught

the new and grand lesson that criminality was in the intent, and therefore it is that vengeance properly belongs to Him who knows the hearts of men.

"That your lives may be useful, honorable and peaceful, is the sincere wish of yours, JEFFERSON DAVIS."

Mr. Lemuel Park, of Atlanta, wrote him his desire that his two little boys should see him, and received a very cordial invitation to him to bring them and a very cordial reception, and when afterwards he carried the boys to see Mr. Davis in Macon, he promptly recognized and warmly greeted them.

His kind treatment of his slaves in *ante-bellum* days, and of his servants since, was not only well known to his neighbors and friends, but seems to have been warmly appreciated by them, as the following will show:

"RALEIGH, N. C., December 11, 1889.

"James H. Jones, who was the body-servant of Jefferson Davis at the time of his capture, and has for many years been an alderman of this city, to-day sent the following dispatch:

"RALEIGH, N. C., December 11, 1889.

"*To Mayor Shakspeare, New Orleans:*

"As the old body-servant of the late Jefferson Davis, my great desire was to be the driver of the remains of my old master to their last resting-place. Returning too late to join the white delegation from this city, I am deprived of the opportunity of showing my lasting appreciation for my best friend. JAMES H. JONES."

"At the memorial services to-day he had a seat immediately in front of the stage. When last here Mr. Davis excused himself from other callers to go to his room and talk with 'My friend, James Jones.'"

"BRIERFIELD, MISSISSIPPI, January 12, 1889.

"*To Mrs. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Mississippi:*

"We, the old servants and tenants of our beloved master, Hon. Jefferson Davis, have cause to mingle our tears over his death, who was always so kind and thoughtful of our peace and happiness. We extend to you our humble sympathy. Respectfully your old tenants and servants, Ned Gator, Tom McKinney, Grant McKinney, Mary Pendleton, Mary Archer,

Elijah Martin, Wm. Nervis, Isabel Kitchens, Teddy Everson, Hy Garland, Laura Nick, Wm. Green, Gus Williams and others."

Another of his old servants came all the way from Florida to see him when he learned of his sickness, and was deeply distressed at his death, and one of the most touching incidents of the funeral was the presence and sorrow of some of his old servants.

We received, among many others which we cannot find space to use, the following letter:

"RALEIGH, N. C., December 18, 1889.

"Dear Sir—In December, 1861, wishing an appointment in the (regular) Confederate States army, I determined to ask Mr. Davis for it. I had cast my first vote for him at the November election, was youthful in appearance, no sign of *beard*, and in contemplation of the visit had gone to a barber and was shaved.

"When I told Mr. Davis what I wished, he replied: 'Why, Mr. Ashe, you are too young.' 'Why, Mr. Davis, I voted for you last month!'

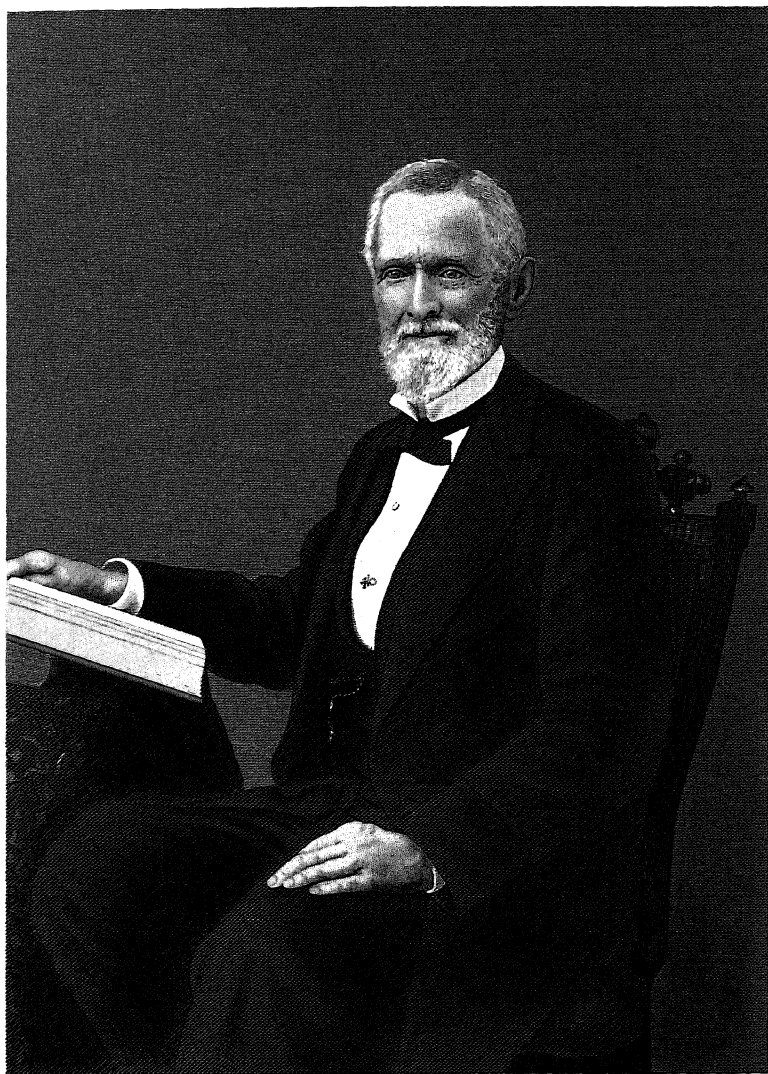
"He had probably thought me about eighteen years of age, and fearing that he had hurt my feelings, he *blushed* very perceptibly, and hastily said: 'Oh, excuse me; I beg your pardon. It was a long time before I had whiskers myself,' putting his hand to his rather thin beard as he spoke.

"His kindly attempt to reassure me, by putting himself in the same box with myself with regard to the absence of a manly beard, and his *blushing*, indicated the gentle heart of the true gentleman.

"In 1864 (it must have been), or perhaps 1863, when he was visiting the fort below Wilmington, a little girl of seven was brought to him on the steamboat, and presented as a daughter of Mr. William Ashe. He took her in his arms, there before the crowd, and drew her to his breast, and told her that he had loved her father (who was then dead), and kissing her, held her to him sometime, as if his heart felt warm towards her. Yours, truly,

S. A. ASHE."

But we have run over considerably the space we had allotted to the "Outline of his Life and Character," and yet we have not told the half that might be told of the deeds and character of this stainless gentleman, incorruptible patriot, great leader, and humble Christian.



Engraved by Hlman Brothers from a Photograph taken a few months before his death.

respectfully
Jefferson Davis

PART II.

HIS SICKNESS, DEATH,

AND

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES,

AND THE

WORLD'S TRIBUTE TO HIS MEMORY

HIS SICKNESS AND DEATH.



HE health of Mr. Davis had been poor for a number of years, but by the careful nursing of his wife, the skill of physicians, and his own prudence he had rallied from repeated illness, had lived to see his 81st birthday, and when we saw him about that time and again in July he seemed better and stronger than for some years. But a short time before his fatal illness it became necessary for him to go to Brierfield on important business, and he was feeling so well that he insisted that it was not necessary for Mrs. Davis to accompany him.

While there he was taken sick, came back to New Orleans through very unfavorable weather. Mrs. Davis met him on the way and returned with him, and went at once to the house of Judge Charles E. Fenner, where also lived his life-long friend, Mr. J. U. Payne, and there received every attention that loving care could suggest until the sad end came.

The *Picayune* gave the following account:

"Jefferson Davis closed his eyes in death at fifteen minutes before 1 o'clock this morning, surrounded by all of his friends and relatives who were within call.

"The handsome and characteristically southern residence of Judge Charles E. Fenner, at the corner of First and Camp streets, is at present an object of interest to every friend of Mr. Jefferson Davis, because it is in the pleasant guest-chamber of this elegant home that the beloved old Confederate chieftain passed away.

"The Fenner residence, built by Judge Fenner's brother-in-law, J. U. Payne, is one of the most comfortable and interiorly artistic in all the city. It is of brown stone stucco, two stories high with broad verandas and set in lovely grounds, where camelia bushes are spiked with bloom and oranges hang in clusters on the trees.

"The house has a wide hall running through the centre with drawing-rooms on one side, a library on the other and on the rear corner of the house in a lovely and cheery apartment, into which the southern sun streams nearly all day, lay the patient and distinguished invalid.

"It is a wonderfully pretty room, with a rich toned, Persian hued carpet on the floor, shades and delicate lace curtains at the four windows—two fronting to the east and two to the south. Pictures are on the walls and there are a lounge, easy Turkish chairs and pretty carved tables and a huge carved oak Victoria bedstead on which the ex-President of the Confederacy lies in the embrace of death.

"His constant attendant has been Mrs. Davis, who has never left his bedside since his illness began. In a comfortable home wrapper of gray and black this gentle ministrant was always at the invalid's side, and if she left him for a moment he asked for her, and was fretted or uneasy until she returned.

"Friends constantly sent beautiful flowers, of which Mr. Davis was very fond, but these were not allowed to remain in the sick room for any length of time. At the outset jellies, fruits and all manner of invalid's delicacies were proffered, until Mrs. Davis was compelled to decline them. The sick man's food was only milk, ice, beef tea, and rarely a broiled chop.

"Mr. Davis remained in bed all the time and was never left alone, being guarded lovingly by his wife and the capable quadroon hired nurse Lydia, and Mrs. Davis's own little brown-eyed handmaiden Betty, who at all times had entree to the sickroom. But little talking was allowed, and newspapers, letters and telegrams were tabooed.

"On Wednesday afternoon a reporter of the *Picayune* was fortunate enough to have a few moments' conversation with Mrs. Davis. She was worn and wearied with service at the sick bed, but which she would not allow to any other, and her step was lagging as she came into the dining-room. She was very hopeful, however, of her husband's ultimate recovery.

"'Mr. Davis has always been an exceedingly temperate man,' said Mrs. Davis, 'he has never abused his physical body, and no one could have lived more moderately than he. Of course all this is in his favor. I do not mean to say that there would be no danger if a door were left open or the fire in his room allowed to go out. He is as frail as a lily, and requires the most exquisite care. That he has. I believe he would not be alive to-day had this illness come upon him at Beauvoir, where he could not possibly have had the constant care of such physicians as Dr. Bickham and Dr. Chaille, and the intelligent love, tenderness and luxury that surround him in this home.'

"Mr. Davis seemed much better during the early part of yesterday, and his improved condition was remarked by the doctors and his family. He had a pain in the bowels during the day, but the serious feature appeared just a few minutes before six o'clock. Then the illustrious patient was stricken with a severe congestive chill. The doctors were not present at the time, but Judge Fenner's family and Mrs. Davis did everything to soothe the sufferer.

"He lost consciousness after the chill, and never sensibly recovered his faculties.

"It was 7 o'clock before Dr. C. J. Bickham, vice-President of the board of administrators of the charity hospital, and Dr. Stanford E. Chaille, Dean of the medical faculty of Tulane University, and two of the most famous practitioners in the South, arrived and consulted over the condition of the patient.

"His change was a surprise totally unexpected by even those in constant attendance, and the skilled eyes of the medical men saw in it the beginning of the end. They continued with the patient until his death, however, and made every possible effort to avoid the inevitable.

"Mr. Davis remained in a comatose condition, and the attendants could see no signs of consciousness. Mrs. Davis said she occasionally felt a return of the pressure of the hand she held, although he could neither speak nor make a sign.

"This was the scene in the sick-chamber as the hours passed :

"At the bedside, when the end came, were Mrs. Davis, Mr. J. U. Payne, Mr. and Mrs. Judge-Charles E. Fenner, Mr. E. H. Farrar, Miss Smith, a grand-niece of Mr. Davis; Mr. E. D. Fenner, a son of the justice; Dr. C. J. Bickham, and Dr. S. E. Chaille.

"The lamp of life waned low as the hour of midnight arrived; nor did it flicker into the brightness of consciousness at any time. Eagerly, yet tenderly, the watchers gazed at the face of the dying chieftain. His face, always calm and pale, gained additional pallor, and at a quarter to 1 o'clock of the morning of the 6th day of December death came to the venerable leader.

"There was nothing remarkable about the death-bed scene. The departure of the spirit was gentle and utterly painless. There were no dry eyes in the little assembly about the bed, and every heart bled with the anguish which found vent in Mrs. Davis's sobs and cries.

"Immediately after the death Mrs. Davis was led up stairs to the bedroom of Mrs. Fenner, where the ladies tried to assuage her grief. She bore the awful blow bravely, but her breathing was labored, and her condition so weakened that the two doctors consulted her. They pronounced her weakness to be only that consequent on the strain and the grief, and said that nothing was to be feared.

"In the meanwhile, the body was being straightened and bathed. It will be embalmed early this morning.

"In the limited time of last night no arrangements for the funeral could be thought of. Mrs. Davis signified her wish that Judge Fenner and Mr. Farrar should take entire charge of all matters connected with the burial."

The *Times-Democrat* gave the following account of the closing scene :

" At 12:45 o'clock this morning Hon. Jefferson Davis, ex-President of the Confederate States, passed away at the residence of Associate Justice Charles E. Fenner.

" From the beginning of his fatal illness Mr. Davis had insisted that his case was nearly or quite hopeless, though the dread of pain or fear of death never appeared to take the slightest hold upon his spirits, which were brave and even buoyant from the beginning of his attack.

" In vain did the doctor strive to impress upon him that his health was improving. He steadily insisted that there was no improvement, but with Christian resignation he was content to accept whatever Providence had in store for him.

" Only once did he waver in his belief that his case showed no improvement, and that was at an early hour yesterday morning, when he playfully remarked to Mr. Payne: 'I am afraid that I shall be compelled to agree with the doctors for once, and admit that I am a little better.'

" All day long the favorable symptoms continued, and late in the afternoon, as late as 4 o'clock, Mrs. Davis sent a cheering message to Mrs. Stamps and Mr. and Mrs. Farrar.

" At 6 o'clock last evening, without any assignable cause, Mr. Davis was seized with a congestive chill, which seemed to absolutely crush the vitality out of his already enfeebled body. So weak was Mr. Davis that the violence of the assault soon subsided for lack of vitality upon which to prey.

" From that moment to the moment of his death the history of the case was that of a gradual sinking. At 7 o'clock Mrs. Davis administered some medicine, but the ex-President declined to receive the whole dose.

" She urged upon him the necessity of taking the remainder, but putting it aside, with the gentlest of gestures he whispered, 'Pray, excuse me.'

" These were his last words. Gradually he grew weaker and weaker, but never for an instant seemed to lose consciousness. Lying peacefully upon his bed and without a trace of pain in his look, he remained for hours. Silently clasping and tenderly caressing his wife's hand, with undaunted Christian spirit, he awaited the end.

" From the moment of the dread assault of the congestive chill those gathered around his bedside who had been watching and noting with painful interest every change of symptoms for the past month knew well that the dread messenger was even at the door.

" About 10:30 o'clock Associate Justice Fenner went to call to Mr. Davis's bedside Mr. and Mrs. Farrar and Mrs. Stamps. As soon as the message reached them they hurried to the bedside of the dying ex-President.

" By 11:30 o'clock there were assembled in the death chamber Mrs. Davis, Drs. Chaille and Bickham, Associate Justice and Mrs. Fenner, Miss Nannie Smith, grandniece of the dying President, and Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Farrar.

"Finding that Mr. Davis was breathing somewhat heavily as he lay upon his back the doctors assisted him to turn upon his right side. With his cheek resting upon his right hand like a sleeping infant and with his left hand dropping across his chest, he lay for some fifteen minutes breathing softly but faintly. More and more feeble became his respirations till they passed into silence, and then the watchers knew that the silver cord had been loosed and the golden bowl broken. The Father of the Confederacy had passed away—

"As calmly as to a night's repose,
Or flowers at set of sun."



"PRAY, EXCUSE ME."

"Despite the fact that the end had come slowly and peacefully, and after she had been face to face for hours with the dread reality, the blow fell with crushing force upon the afflicted widow.

"As long as there had been work for either head or hand she had borne up bravely, and not until the sweet uses for her tender ministrations were lost did she seem to realize the terrible force of the blow that had fallen upon her.

"Knowing of a predisposition to heart affection, the doctors were at once gravely alarmed for her, and they promptly administered a composing draught, and at a late hour this morning she was resting quietly.

"It is believed that the foundation of the ex-President's last illness was malaria, complicated with acute bronchitis.

"Careful nursing and skilled medical attention had mastered the latter, but it is supposed that the congestive chill, which was the immediate cause of death was attributable to a return of the malaria.

"After death the face of the deceased, though looking slightly emaciated, showed no trace of suffering more nearly resembling that of a peaceful sleeper than of the dead.

"When the family had partially recovered from the terrible shock, Mr. Farrar went to the Western Union telegraph office and sent dispatches to Miss Winnie Davis, who is in Paris with Mrs. Pulitzer, to Mr. Davis's son-in-law in Colorado City, and also notified Governor Lowry, of Mississippi, as he deemed it but right that the Executive of the State should know of the death of one of its most distinguished sons.

"Senator Jones, who had started from Iowa some days ago to pay a visit to his old friend and comrade, did not arrive yesterday, as was expected, and when he reaches this city to-day will only behold the remains of him whom in life he esteemed and to see whom he travelled from far-off Iowa to the Sunny South.

"Mrs. Hayes, Mr. Davis's daughter, who was due here yesterday, was detained last night at Fort Worth, and is not expected to be in the city until Saturday morning."

The announcement of the death of our great chieftain excited the profoundest grief, and called forth the warmest expressions of sorrow, not only in New Orleans, but throughout the whole South, and among many at the North.

We could fill a volume much larger than this with editorials, telegrams and resolutions that voiced the feelings of the people, but we can only cull a few from the many.

The *Daily States* said in its editorial:

"Throughout all the South there are lamentations and tears; in every country on the globe where there are lovers of liberty there is mourning; wherever there are men who admire heroic patriotism, dauntless resolution, fortitude, or intellectual power and supremacy, there is sincere sorrowing. The beloved of our land, the unfaltering upholder of constitutional liberty, the typical hero and sage, is no more; the fearless heart that beat with sympathy for all mankind is stilled forever, a great light has gone out—Jefferson Davis is dead!

"A quarter of a century has elapsed since the last charge of the Confederates at Appomattox. The illustrious chief of the Confederacy now lies

dead. No one of all the illustrious personages who have adorned the history of the Union, served that union in the field, in the Cabinet, and in the Senate, better than he. Yet, he died disfranchised; denied the simplest political privileges accorded to the millions of ignorant, irresponsible, and semi-barbarious negroes the Federal Government emancipated and enfranchised. But all the enactments of Congress; all the fierce and bitter denunciations of the North; all the vituperations, malice, hatred, and misrepresentations that the press and leaders of the North have heaped upon Jefferson Davis, and by which for twenty-five years they have sought to brand him "traitor," have failed of their purpose, and he stands forth to-day as one of the grandest examples of patriotism and as one of the most indomitable champions of liberty that has ever appeared upon the area of human affairs. He who stood through the grandest and most terrific political episode of history, as the central figure and chief of that band of heroes composed of Lee, Johnston, Jackson, Bragg, Beauregard, and a hundred others and about whose lifeless form millions of his countrymen to-day are weeping, confounds alike the malice and the fury of traducers, whether those traducers be individuals or nations.

"Jefferson Davis is dead; but the principles for which he struggled, for the vindication of which he devoted his life, for which he suffered defeat, and unto which he clung until death, still live. The fanatical howlings of the abolitionists, the tumult and thunders of civil war, the fierce mouthings of the organizers of reconstruction, and reconstruction itself, that black and foul disgrace of humanity, 'all are departed, sunk to silence like a tavern brawl,' but the constitutional principles upon which the Confederacy was founded and for which Jefferson Davis spoke and struggled, for which he gave life and fortune, still survive in all their living power; and when they shall have been, if ever, really destroyed, this Republic will be transformed into one of the most oppressive and offensive oligarchies that has ever arisen amongst the civilized nations of the earth.

"Come, then, veterans of the Confederacy, with your wounds and scars; come, fair women of the South, with your floral gifts and patriot tears; come young men of the land, if you would behold a hero and a patriot who should be your inspirator in life; come people of South whom he loved so well, and mourn for the mighty dead. And ye! spirits of the patriot dead, whose bodies lie scattered on a thousand battle-fields, if it be vouchsafed to immortal souls to revisit the scenes of their glorious deeds and noble martyrdom, come to receive the mighty spirit of him who has finished his work on earth, and has gone to join you in immortal happiness and glory."

The *Times-Democrat* made the following editorial announcement:

"Draped in mourning this morning is another page in the history of the world. Jefferson Davis is dead! Tried in many high offices and found

faithful in all; tested in many critical conjunctures, and proved true to his country and his people; his life one long, uninterrupted sacrifice of interest to conscience, the fame of the illustrious dead shall in the years to come grow brighter as the embers of passion die away.

"Jefferson Davis was not wholly understood while he lived, and it is too much to hope that now when he is dead the impartial judgment of his countrymen will wait upon his deeds. His figure was clearly outlined against the sky of intense conviction, and, as in life, he shirked no responsibility, but boldly followed where reason led the way, so in his death the South asks only that in the void which comes when her great chieftain has passed away, no jarring sound or discordant note of sectional hate shall disturb the sombre and sad-hued clouds that hang above us. His fame is ours this morning; a century hence it will be the world's!

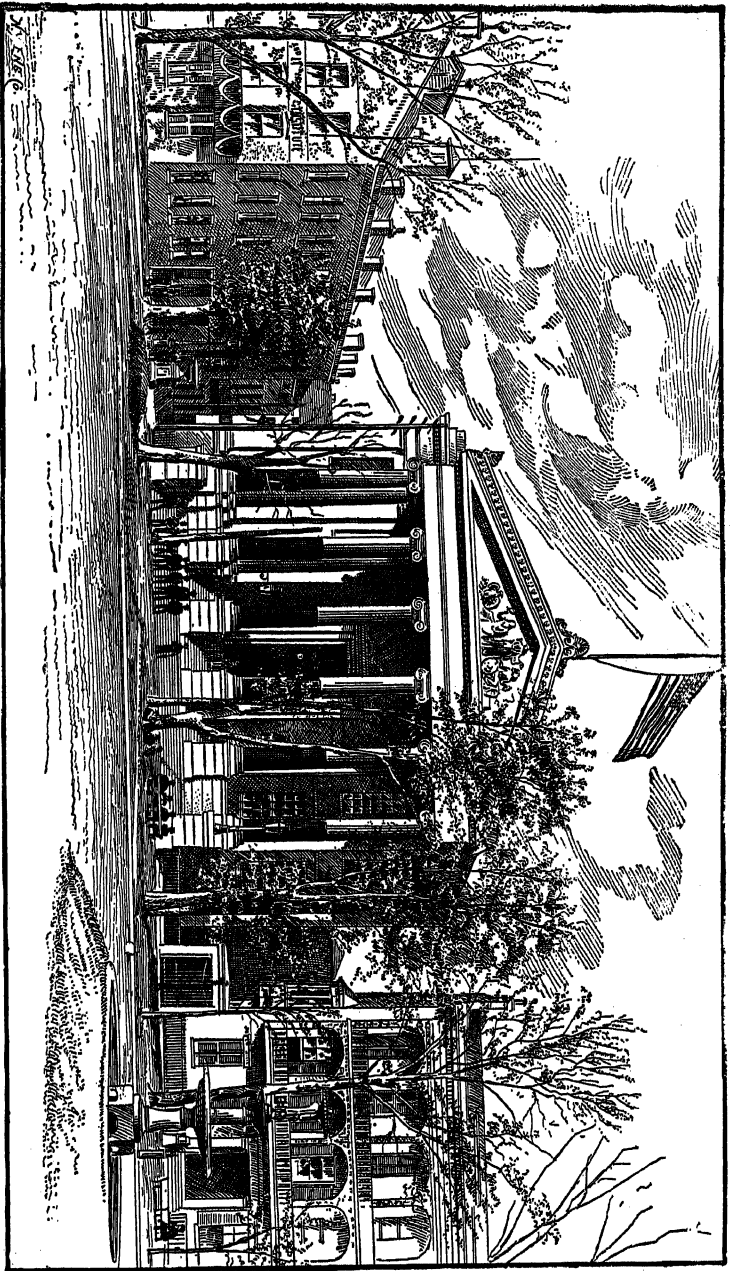
"The greatness of Jefferson Davis stands confessed, as now we write, in a people's tears. Tenacious of principle, the slave of conscience, resolute, yet filled with the inspiration that comes from unyielding belief, the giant figure of the ex-President of the Confederacy stalked across the nineteenth century as some majestic spirit, that strong in the consciousness of its own right-doing, scorned the plaudits of a world; and lived only that in himself duty might be deified. Such was Jefferson Davis, and such will history declare him to be.

"That was an eventful life. Thrice in his fourscore years was the courage of Jefferson Davis tested in the fierce crucible of war. And thrice did he come forth a hero, his glory brighter, his name more luminous, his fame an everlasting heritage to the country that gave him birth. No cause e'er had a grander champion, no people a bolder defender, no principle a purer victim than the dead statesman, soon to lie in yonder burial ground, with whose body are enwrapped the hopes and memories of the South he loved so well. In honor now he rests; a stricken people mourn him; the hush is like the void which comes when a strain of music dies.

"The character of Jefferson Davis must awake fierce controversy. There are those too warped and narrow of mind and heart to do him justice; there are those too near and dear to the Cause that was loved and lost to see a spot to dim the lustre of its chief sun.

"But history—cold, calm, impartial, unclouded history—will do justice to the great dead. Not wholly free from that asperity which firm conviction begets, nor yet capable of truly estimating the grandeur and nobility of those who differed with him, Jefferson Davis will ever stand, for rigidity of belief, for unswerving devotion to principle, for dignity of bearing in the hour and home of desolation, for a simplicity that was sublime, and for an honor that was impregnable, as one of nature's noblemen, cast in the mold of that finer ambition which makes men great and pure.

"The solemn silence of this hour should not be broken by the resounding clash of conflicting opinions. Let us sorrowfully lay to rest all that



CITY HALL, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

WHERE THE BODY LAY IN STATE, FROM MIDNIGHT, DECEMBER 6TH TO NOON, DECEMBER 11TH, 1899.

remains of the illustrious dead, confidently consigning his fame to the keeping of that time which, happily, 'is not so much the tomb of virtue as its shrine.'"

The *City Item* said editorially:

"Words are inadequate to express the feelings that pervade the South to-day. Jefferson Davis is dead. The great leader in the most glorious epoch of Southern history, our sublime exemplar in years of humiliation and sorrow, the martyr who suffered with heroic fortitude the persecutions intended for his people, Jefferson Davis, the illustrious type of a cause that was consecrated by the best blood of the South, has laid down his cross to receive a crown. Freed from its earthly shackles, his soul is now at rest with Lee and Jackson, and with the spirits of his dauntless legions that preceded him through the portals of the grave.

"A soldier of three wars, a statesman through half a century, Jefferson Davis was simple and modest in his triumphs and royal in his sorrow. The South admired him in victory, and loved and honored him in defeat.

"Mr. Davis was a man of wonderful energy, splendid intelligence, intense conviction, and exalted patriotism, and upon all the traits of his noble manhood was shed the lustre of a Christian character.

"The South mourns his loss to-day as a mother weeping for her first-born. Monuments will speak to coming generations of his fame, but a more priceless homage than can be rendered by statues of marble and bronze are the tears of his sorrowing people."

THE DAY OF HIS DEATH.

Mayor Shakspeare, as soon as he was informed of the death of Mr. Davis at 3 o'clock A. M., issued the following proclamation:

"It is with the deepest regret that I announce to the people of the city of New Orleans the departure from this life of Jefferson Davis. He needs no eulogy from me. His life is history and his memory is enshrined in the heart of every man, woman and child in this broad South. We all loved him, and we all owe him honor and reverence. In order that proper arrangements may be made for his funeral, I have the honor to invite the following gentlemen to meet me in my office at 12 o'clock this day to confer on the subject."

The mayor also sent a message to each one of the Governors of the old Confederate States.

Governor Nicholls issued the following proclamation :

“EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF LOUISIANA,

“BATON ROUGE, Dec. 6, 1889.

“It is with profound emotion and heartfelt sorrow that I announce to the people of the State of Louisiana the death of Jefferson Davis, the honored President of the Confederate States.

“As soldier, statesman and citizen he nobly performed his part. The pages of history will perpetuate his glorious record. The eyes of future generations will turn reverently to that heroic figure whose death the grateful South now mourns. His fame stands impregnable. To it the eulogies of his loving people can add no lustre. From it the denunciations of his enemies cannot detract.

“FRANCIS T. NICOLLS, *Governor of Louisiana.*

Telegrams of condolence began to pour in early in the day, and continued to come all day and until late in the night—indeed, until after the funeral. Among those received by Mrs. Davis were the following :

From Governor Robert Lowry, Mississippi :

“Bells are tolling, public buildings draped in mourning and immense meeting to be held at 4 P. M., with view of dispatching committee to claim remains of the great dead for interment in Mississippi.”

From W. W. Stone, W. L. Hemingway, T. M. Miller, George M. Govan, T. R. Preston, W. D. Holden, Jackson, Mississippi :

“Permit us to tender you and yours assurances of sympathy in your unspeakable bereavement. Your great husband will live always in the reverent and affectionate memory of all our people, whose grief now is without measure.”

From Governor L. S. Ross, Austin, Texas :

“I write in a portrayal of sincere condolence with those who honored your illustrious husband while living, and who revere his memory when dead. His lofty patriotism, immaculate integrity, and firmness of purpose, which never yielded principle for expediency nor abandoned the right for success will be held up for emulation by the aspiring youth of Texas who would achieve an honorable distinction among their fellow-men.”

From Governor Robert Lowry, Mississippi :

“State officers resolve to attend the funeral in a body. Please advise arrangements. Will you kindly make known to the family that Mississippi, the State he loved so well, will claim the honor of being the resting-place of the patriot, statesman, and nobleman, whose great name is indissolubly linked with her own?”

From Governor J. P. Richardson, Columbia, S. C.:

"With my deep and sincere personal sympathy, I beg to express to you the profound sorrow of the people of South Carolina at the intelligence of the death of your illustrious husband. The fame of his greatness will grow with the passing years."

From Mayor John J. Glenn, Atlanta, Ga.:

"You have deepest sympathy in the loss of your illustrious husband. They loved him to the last."

From Governor Francis T. Nicholls to Judge E. C. Fenner:

"The people of Louisiana will hear with profound grief and sorrow the death of President Davis, a man who, standing equally the tests of prosperity and adversity, became even more and more endeared to the true men and women of his State as his brave and unblemished life drew to a close.

"Would you do me the kindness at a later moment to convey to Mrs. Davis my sincere sympathy with her, and the expression of strong regard and affection for her husband?

"I would have seen you this morning in person, but sprained my foot last night so badly as to make it impossible for me to leave the house. I have directed that the flag on the Capitol be displayed at half-mast."

From W. D. Wood, E. H. Reynolds, George T. McGehee, Hammett Hardy, Samuel R. Kane, J. V. Henderson, and Sterling Fisher, San Marcos, Texas:

"The South mourns to-day as mourns the family when a link in the chain is broken. Your sorrow is our own."

From J. F. Cecil, Pickett-Buchanan Camp Confederate Veterans, Norfolk, Va.:

"We venerate the memory of our dead President, and reverently tend you our deep sympathy in your great grief."

From Bishop Hugh Miller Thompson, Jackson, Miss.:

"My sympathy and prayers are with you.

From Henry W. Grady, Esq., Atlanta Ga.:

"Please accept my sincere sympathy in your bereavement. Our whole people mourn with you and pray that God may bless you and yours."

From President W. J. Garret, West View Cemetery Company, Atlanta, Ga.:

"The West View Cemetery Company renew their offer to you in February last through Mr. Sidney Root, and beg that you will accept."

From Charles C. Jones, Jr., President Confederate Survivors' Association, Augusta, Ga.:

"The members of the Confederate Survivors' Association of Augusta, Ga., crave the privilege of assuring you at the earliest moment of their profound sympathy and heartfelt sorrow upon the demise of your illustrious husband and beloved chief and the venerated President of the Southern Confederacy."

From Dr. J. William Jones, Atlanta, Ga.:

"Warmest sympathies and most fervent prayers. Will go down to-morrow."

From C. W. Frazer, President, and R. J. Block, Secretary, Historical Association, Memphis, Tenn.:

"The Historical Association of Memphis tenders its sympathy and regrets at the great loss sustained by you and the country in the death of Mr. Davis. This association begs the boon of bringing his honored remains here for burial, and we assure you and the country that his grave shall be kept green through the coming ages. We urge this, as he was a member of our association, made his first home here after the war, and was dear to the hearts of this community.

From Captain John D. Adams, Little Rock, Ark.:

"My wife and self deeply sympathize with you in this greatest affliction that could befall you. We all deplore the death of your precious husband, who was beloved by all who knew him. He was a great and good man. The whole South mourn his loss, and his name will ever have a warm place in the hearts of those he leaves to follow him."

From Marcus Bernheimer, Esq., St. Louis, Mo.:

"Mingling mine with the sincere grief of the countless admirers and lovers of your illustrious husband, I beg to tender to you and family heartfelt sympathy in this your hour of deepest affliction."

From Hon. W. H. Hardy, New York:

"I and my household mourn with you. Accept our sincere sympathy."

Mr. William L. Davis, of New York, expresses his loving sympathy.

From General W. L. Cabell, Dallas, Texas:

"Myself, in common with all the Confederates in Texas, mourn the death of your illustrious husband. May God have you and your children in His keeping."

From W. G. Waller, Esq., Richmond:

"Accept my heartfelt and devoted sympathy in your deep sorrow."

From Marco and Katie Paolo, Memphis, Tenn.:

"Our hearts follow you and beat in tenderest sympathy with you in this hour of your deepest sorrow. We pray that God may give you grace to bear your cross and grant that the soul of your noble and illustrious husband may rest in peace."

From Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Neely, Memphis:

"Please accept assurances of our great sorrow and heartfelt sympathy."

From Sidney Root, Esq., Atlanta, Ga.:

"My Dear Friend—God bless you and keep you in this sore trial. The whole South mourns with you."

From Senator John H. Reagan, Washington:

"My Dear Friend—Myself and family mourn with you for the death of your distinguished and noble husband and my most valued friend. In the

hour of your calamity, you have the affectionate sympathy of millions of loving friends, who deplore the loss of the true friend, the earnest Christian, the patriotic citizen, the wise statesman, most beloved and venerated by a large part of the American people for his self-sacrificing devotion to principle and to duty. May God protect and help you in your great affliction. Command me always if I can serve you."

From Governor F. P. Flemming, Tallahassee, Fla.:

"Permit me to tender my sincerest sympathies in the great affliction which has come to you. The people of the South mourn with you in this our common bereavement."

From General Joseph R. Anderson, Richmond, Va.:

"My wife unites with me in love and sincere sympathy with you in the loss of your illustrious husband. His life was the illustration of the talent and virtue that ennobled humanity."

From H. W. Grady, Esq., Atlanta, Ga.:

"No people would hold the remains of your illustrious dead in deeper or more constant reverence than the people of Atlanta, and we should esteem it the highest honor to have them in Westview Cemetery, itself a battlefield on which his soldiers fought and fell."

From Swift Galloway, Commander, Goldsboro, N. C.:

"Thomas Ruffin Camp, ex-Confederate Veterans of Wayne county, North Carolina, now convened to pay tribute to the memory of your illustrious husband, beg leave to express their profound sympathy and to mourn with you and yours in the sad bereavement which has befallen you in the death of their beloved ex-President."

From Sidney Root, Esq., Atlanta, Ga.:

"If you and your family are inclined to accept the offer of the beautiful cemetery in this city, which I urgently advise, they will bring all the remains of your children. Perpetual care is guaranteed and a monument will be built."

From Edward Plers, president Confederate Veterans' Association of Alabama; J. T. Holtzchaw, president Montgomery Veterans' Association; W. S. Reese, president Alabama Confederate Monument Association; Mrs. M. D. Ribb, president Ladies' Memorial Association; Edmund A. Graham, Mayor; Thomas H. Watts, ex-Attorney-General Confederate States; Montgomery, Alabama:

"With profound sympathy and condolence in your great bereavement, and in response to the united wishes of our people, we earnestly request that you allow us to have the remains of Mr. Davis buried here under the Confederate monument, on Capitol Hill, where he was inaugurated President, the corner-stone of which was laid by him, and which, when completed, will be ornamented with a life-size bronze statue of him."

From Captain Robert E. Park, President Riverside Cemetery, Macon, Ga.:

"The Riverside Company of Macon offer, with their heartfelt sympathy

in your great affliction, the best and most conspicuous burial lot in their cemetery, overlooking Ocmulge river and the city of Macon. We have an endowment requiring perpetual care of graves and lots, and it is laid out on the lawn plan. The grounds are beautiful, undulating, and artificially planted as one harmonious flower garden on a lofty eminence, overlooking the river and city, and adjacent to both is a Confederate redoubt, which is guaranteed to be preserved, and we offer this lovely spot as a fitting burial place for Mr. Davis and as a family burial lot. The lot will be ornamented with fountains and lakelets and the entire redoubt or fort with flowers, as directed by yourself, and a splendid monument will be erected if you accept our urgent and loving offer. We will gladly bear all transportation and burial expenses, and will send an escort to bring the body to Macon. We beg you to visit Macon and remain as the city's guest."

From Senator J. C. S. Blackburn, Washington, D. C.:

"Every true son of the South shares your sorrow."

From ex-Confederate Soldiers Survivors' Association of Northeast Georgia, H. H. Carller, president, Ed. D. Newton, secretary, Athens, Ga.:

"We tender our heartfelt sympathies to yourself and family in the loss of our soldier-statesman and ex-Confederate chieftain."

From Thomas H. Allen, M. C. Galloway, Thomas N. Allen, H. C. Wellon, W. H. Calleen, James E. Beasley, Casey Young, M. B. Trezevant, Memphis, Tenn.:

"We, the friends of our ex-President, join in expressions of sympathy with a united South generally, and the citizens of Memphis particularly, and desire to add their earnest request to that of the Confederate Historical Association of this city, that his honored remains may find its final resting place here where he was always loved."

From Mayor John T. Glenn, Atlanta, Ga.:

"The West View Cemetery Company tenders a beautiful lot for the burial of Mr. Davis and his family, and will have the remains of any of his children removed to it. The people of Atlanta would be glad to have the remains of your illustrious husband rest in their midst, and will take pride in protecting his grave in the future."

From Captain J. J. Crossman and Rev. A. D. Sears, Clarksville, Tenn.:

"A public meeting of the citizens of Clarksville join Forbes' Bivouac in tendering to you and yours their heartfelt sympathies in the hour of your affliction. Our people mourn with you in the death of your illustrious husband and our ex-President, and shall ever cherish the memory of his invaluable services to our Southern land."

From Governor Fitzhugh Lee, Richmond, Virginia:

"The sympathetic cords of the hearts of our people are deeply touched at the loss of one we have ever regarded with the greatest affection, and the memory of whose valor and virtue we will ever hold sacred."

From Justice L. Q. C. Lamar, Washington:

"The whole Southern people are in grief over the death of their great and beloved countryman, and their sympathy with you and your precious ones is deep and pervading. Please believe that what I feel for you cannot be told in words."

From J. T. Skipp, commander, J. T. Dickerson, adjutant, Chattanooga, Tenn.:

"For many days we have eagerly watched the bulletins from the bedside of our late chieftain, sharing your anxiety as to his condition. The ray of hope that gleamed but yesterday filled our hearts with joy commensurate with your own unsolicited letter of congratulations for Forest Camp, which scarcely started on its way when we were shocked by the announcement of his death. Our heads bowed in sorrow and our hearts ache in sympathy with you and your family in the hour of your bereavement, that is shared in our whole Southland."

From Miles Sells, Esq., St. Louis, Mo., to J. U. Payne:

"In the loss of your devoted and life-long friend, my heart goes out in deepest sympathy to you and Mrs. Davis, with an assurance of my profound sorrow and regret."

From Joseph Boyce, Esq., President, St. Louis, Mo.:

"The members of the ex-Confederate Historical and Benevolent Association of St. Louis tender you their deepest sympathy. The memory of your illustrious husband will always be fresh in our hearts."

From Governor Daniel G. Fowle, Raleigh, N. C.:

"North Carolina mourns with you the death of the greatest and most beloved of the sons of our Southland."

From ex-Mayor W. S. Ressee, Montgomery, Ala.:

"All sons and daughters of Alabama weep with you and yours."

From General E. C. Walthall, U. S. Senator, Washington, D. C.:

"The whole South mourns with you. Your husband's hold upon the affections of the people in his last days was even stronger than in the time of his great power."

"Mr. J. U. Payne received a dispatch from ex-Governor, Lubbock, of Texas, asking when Mr. Davis would be buried, as he desired to attend."

From Governor Robert Lowry, Jackson, Miss.:

"The great heart of Mississippi is touched by the death of her best beloved."

"His noble nature and public services will be treasured always in the memory of her people."

"Accept assurances of my heartfelt sympathy. Your bereavement is our bereavement, and may the merciful God comfort you."

From Price Williams, President Lee Association, Mobile:

"President Army of Northern Virginia :

"Please telegraph me when the funeral of Jefferson Davis will take place and what arrangements will be made for delegations of military and citizens."

"The necessary response was wired last evening.

"Mr. Edgar H. Farrar received a telegram from the mayor of Natchez, Miss., asking for explicit information regarding the time of funeral, leading to the supposition he will attend with the Natchez Council."

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FUNERAL.

From the full reports of the New Orleans papers we shall cull or condense at pleasure, and we make, in advance, this acknowledgment.

"In order that proper arrangements might be made for the funeral the mayor invited the following prominent gentlemen to meet him in his parlor at noon December 6, to confer on the subject: Francis T. Nicholls, Charles Chaffe, Louis Bush, John Dymond, A. K. Miller, R. M. Walmsley, Esq., John G. Devereux, Esq., John T. Hardie, Esq., Colonel John B. Richardson, General Adolph Meyer, General John Glynn, Jr., I. H. Stauffer, Esq., Hon. Edward Bermudez, Hon. Walter H. Rogers, Colonel David Zable, General A. S. Badger, Dr. A. W. Smyth, Hon. T. C. W. Ellis, Hon. Thomas Agnew, B. M. Harrod, Esq., Wright Schaumberg, Esq., Hon. James G. Clark, Jules Tuyes, Esq., Pierre Lanaux, Esq., Ringgold Brousseau, Esq., Dr. E. E. Souchon, Dr. A. B. Miles, Rev. Dr. Markham, Rev. Father Hubert, Rev. Dr. I. L. Leucht, Bishop Keener, Bishop J. N. Galleher.

"The first to appear was Bishop Galleher, who arrived shortly after 11 o'clock.

"Justice Fenner, of the Supreme Court, at whose residence Mr. Davis passed his last hours on earth, and Mr. E. H. Farrar, a nephew of the deceased, called soon after the bishop.

"Colonel Wm. Preston Johnston, who was aid-de-camp to Mr. Davis, came accompanied by State Senator Avery. Colonel Johnston was about to depart, but prevailed upon to remain, having been on the President's staff and also representing the Tulane University.

"Mayor Shakspeare, Major Wright Schaumberg and Messrs. Fenner and Farrar held a brief consultation before the meeting.

"When the meeting was called to order by Mayor Shakspeare, the following gentlemen were present:

"Bishop Galleher, Justice Fenner, Colonel Wm. Preston Johnston, Father Hubert, Dr. Miles, A. Ringgold Brousseau, Attorney-General W. H. Rogers, P. A. Orr, T. M. Wescott, F. Codman Ford of the Mechanics, Dealers and Lumber Exchange; Jules Tuyes, president New Orleans Insurance Company; State Senator Avery, State Assessor James Demoreulle, Councilmen A. Brittin, James G. Clark, George Lhoste and Frank Hall; Army of Northern Virginia—President F. S. Washington, Major E. D. Willett, Colonel

David Zable, Fred. A. Ober; Washington Artillery—Colonel J. B. Richardson, Colonel Wm. Miller Owen, and Col. T. L. Bayne; Grand Army of the Republic—General A. S. Badger, deputy collector of the port of New Orleans; Army of Tennessee—A. J. Lewis, W. T. Cluverius, J. B. Vinet, John Coos, Nick Cunney, A. Boisblanc, J. B. Wilkinson, Jr., J. H. Duggan; United Veterans—J. A. Chalaron; Sons of Veterana, Army of Tennessee—Major J. Numa Augustin, Percy Campbell, Lamar C. Quintero; Confederate States Cavalry—Colonel George W. Moorman, D. A. Given, J. H. Behan, J. H. Duggan, T. W. Castleman, Wright Schaumberg; Sons and Daughters of the Army of Northern Virginia—W. S. McElroy and Charles Smith, Jr.; President Delgado, of the Sugar Exchange; President Chaffe, of the Cotton Exchange; Judge T. C. W. Ellis, Civil District Court; President A. K. Miller, Maritime Association; Veterans' Association—Messrs. Washington and Given; President Louis Bush, Board of Trade; Major General John G. Glynn, Jr., State National Guard; Dr. LeMonnier, Army Tennessee; R. M. Walmsley, President Louisiana National Bank; Rabbi I. L. Leucht, Rev. Dr. Markham, Judge R. H. Marr, Criminal District Court.

"There were many other prominent gentlemen present who were lost to view in the large assemblage.

"In calling the meeting to order Mayor Shakspeare addressed the assemblage as follows:

"Gentlemen—I have invited you as representatives of the South's chief city, to meet in conference for the purpose of making proper arrangements to pay the last sad tribute of respect to him who was in his generation the foremost man in all the South, and who possessed in an eminent degree the highest public and private virtues. Of a necessity, a man so great and so aggressive must have had great and sometimes bitter opponents. But in the presence of that great leveler who lays at last the shepherd's crook beside the scepter, political animosities and differences should cease and all be ready to pay a tribute to the memory of a man who while he lived, stood forth as one of nature's masterpieces and who, when he died took with him from the earth such wealth of virtue and of intellect."

"The mayor called for suggestions, in response to which Captain Lewis suggested that before action be taken Associate Justice Fenner be consulted regarding the wishes of Mrs. Davis.

"Associate Justice Fenner arose, and with deep emotion, speaking feelingly, and at times scarcely above a whisper, said:

"The great, strong, gallant heart of Jefferson Davis has ceased to beat. His soldierly form, clad in Confederate gray, lies hard by in your midst. His family and friends, who have done what lay in their power to minister to his needs and to soothe his last hours, recognize the justice of the claim preferred by the battle-scarred veterans of the legions he led so gallantly, and by the citizens summoned by your honorable mayor as representatives

of the people of New Orleans, of the South, to take into their care the remains of the honored dead, and to prepare and organize those public ceremonies which the occasion seems to demand.

"Mrs. Davis has signified her desire that the corpse should remain in her private charge to-day. It was suggested that perhaps committees which would be appointed by the veteran associations and citizens' committee, through the mayor, would designate some public place where the remains might lie in state to receive the affectionate greeting and homage of his fellow-citizens. It has also been suggested that it might be well that the removal to that place be made quietly and unostentatiously at some hour to-night, and the public be notified through the newspapers as to the place.

"It is supposed that the committees will take such steps as they think meet and proper, and fix a day and place for the temporary interment until permanent disposition of the remains might be determined on; also, that the order and method of the proceedings be fixed so that the people of the South might have an opportunity to pay that honor to one who was ever true to them.

"Captain A. J. Lewis moved that the body of Mr. Davis be transferred to the City Hall at an appropriate hour at night, there to lie in state until Tuesday at 12 o'clock M., and then be conveyed to its temporary place of resting—the tomb of the Army of Northern Virginia. The veterans, represented by several committees, had discussed this question earnestly and seriously, and it had been agreed that the temporary resting place should be the tomb of the Army of Northern Virginia. The City Hall was selected as the most appropriate place for the remains to lie in state. It was impossible to select the Washington Artillery Hall, owing to circumstances over which that command has no control. The hall has been leased for certain festivities.

"The programme, as laid down by Captain Lewis, was adopted by the meeting.

"Captain Lewis further announced that telegrams had been sent to General Gordon, and one had been received from Mobile and Memphis, and it was necessary to give time to the friends and admirers of Jefferson Davis to come to New Orleans to pay respect to his memory.

"Attorney-General Rogers said that there were many preliminaries to be observed, and he suggested that the mayor appoint committees. The work would have to be performed by committees, and at least two should be appointed.

"Mayor Shakspeare informed the gentlemen present that he had been called up at such an early hour of the morning that it was impossible for him to get at the various organizations and persons who should have been invited to the meeting, and he hoped no feeling would be exhibited by those forgotten. The sad news had been conveyed to him by a reporter, and the proclamation had been written hurriedly.

"Major Schaumberg suggested the appointment of an executive committee of seven members to take charge of the entire affair, that committee to appoint such sub-committees as it might see fit. Adopted.

"Attorney-General Rogers announced the presence of General J. G. Glynn, commanding the State military forces, and he suggested that the mayor officially notify the governor of Louisiana of the death of Hon. Jefferson Davis, so that he might take such action as might be deemed necessary.

"Major Schaumberg, the secretary, immediately penned a letter to Governor Nicholls, which was handed to General Glynn to be conveyed to the Governor. The letter ran as follows:

"To Governor Francis T. Nicholls:

"It becomes my sad duty to inform you of the death in this city last night of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, and that a joint committee of veterans and citizens has been formed to arrange proper means of paying a tribute to his memory.

"The chairman of the executive committee appointed at this meeting is Colonel William Preston Johnston, president of the Tulane University.

"Very respectfully,

"JOSEPH A. SHAKESPEARE, Mayor."

"Judge Rogers, on behalf of Colonel Bush, stated that Tuesday was too early a date for the ceremonies, and the time was changed until 12 o'clock M. Wednesday, so as to afford non-residents an opportunity of reaching New Orleans.

"The mayor also sent a telegram to the Governor of every one of the former Confederate States, as follows:

"It becomes my sad duty to announce to you and your people the death in this city of Hon. Jefferson Davis. The funeral rites will be held here on Wednesday, 11th of December, at noon."

"The Mayor, after a brief consultation with gentlemen assembled, announced the executive committee as follows:

"Chairman, Colonel William Preston Johnston, president of the Tulane University; Captain J. A. Chalaron, United Veterans; Colonel J. B. Richardson Washington Artillery; Captain Jacob Grey, Grand Army of the Republic; Hon. J. G. Clark, City Council; Major D. A. Given, Veteran Cavalry; Major J. Numa Augustin, Sons of Veterans; Captain A. J. Lewis, Army of Tennessee; President Frederick S. Washington, Army of Northern Virginia.

"The Council chamber was assigned for the reception of the remains.

"Colonel Richardson announced that a guard of honor in full uniform from the Washington Artillery would be on duty at the City Hall and watch over the remains.

"This ended the business of the general committee and the meeting adjourned."

To the energy and efficiency of this executive committee, aided by the Veteran Association and the citizens generally, was due in no small degree the fact that the preparations for the funeral were wisely conceived and admirably executed, and the final arrangements well nigh perfect.

As soon as the death of Mr. Davis became generally known, the citizens began to drape their places of business; the public buildings were all draped, and by the day of the funeral the whole of the great city wore emblems of mourning, and the draping was so general as to make its absence an occasion of adverse criticism.

"The council chamber was profusely and fittingly decorated with the sombre trappings bespeaking the gloom that dwelt in the hearts of the thousands to whom the name of the dead chieftain was dear.

"It was midnight before the decorations in the City Hall, the place assigned for the remains to lie in state until Wednesday at noon, when they will be conveyed to their temporary resting place, the tomb of the Army of Northern Virginia, were completed.

"President of the Council James G. Clark was assigned the duty of directing the decorations. They were planned by him, and were rapidly carried into effect by skillful hands.

"Broad bands of black crepe encircle the ponderous pillars supporting the alcove, the base of each pillar being set off with white bunting. The wide door giving entrance to the marble hallway has been profusely adorned with black, the streamers reaching from base to dome.

"Entering the marble hallway, which extends the entire length of the building, the hallway is found to have been draped in sable cloth. Bands of black are festooned to the ceiling, extending down the walls to the marble flooring. The doors leading to the various departments have also been draped in mourning.

"The Council chamber is reached through the marble hallway. It has been turned into a death-chamber, in the centre of which the catafalque upon which rests the remains has been erected. It is a simple platform covered with black cloth. The iron railing separating the catafalque from the lobby has also been covered with black.

"The catafalque is a square twelve by twelve feet in extent, and two tiers of steps above the flooring. A pedestal stands upon the catafalque, and upon it rests the casket. Around the pedestal ferns are banked.

"The windows and doors have been heavily draped, as well as the cornice extending around the room, a large rosette here and there keeping the black in position, and emphasizing the sombre drapery. The walls have been draped in mourning.

"To the rear of the catafalque has been erected a slanting stand covered with black and crowned with floral offerings. The background of this stand, which hides from view the desk of the mayor and clerks, contains floral swords, the tribute of the Confederate Cavalry Association, crossed with the United States and the Fourteenth Louisiana regiment flags, tattered and shot-torn in many fights, crossed above the regimental colors, a flag that followed the fortunes of the Confederacy from its birth to its close. Above the flags is the American eagle and the coat of arms of the United States, appropriately draped in crepe.

"To each side of this are the large portraits of ex-President Harrison, 'old Tippacano,' and Henry Clay. They face the coffin, are draped in the American colors, and appear to be gazing upon the countenance of the dead President.

"On the opposite of the room is the picture of Mr. Davis, heavily framed in black, out of which shine electrical sparks. The drapery is puffed and incandescent lights are distributed within the puffs, producing a striking effect. Thus above it all looks down the counterfeit presentment of the dead chieftain. 'Crowned as best be seen a warrior from the order of his fame,' with the flag of the country to which his services in camp and field and cabinet had added so much lustre.

"Suspended from the ceiling over each corner of the catafalque are dropping columns of black entwined with ivy.

"Shortly after 10:30 o'clock Colonel J. B. Richardson, of the Washington Artillery, brought two twelve-pound bronze mountain howitzers into the Council Chamber, and one was placed on either side of catafalque, adding considerably to the military character of the scene."

The Washington Artillery was given the post of honor as guard to the dead chieftain, and details from the Army of Northern Virginia Association, and from the Army of Tennessee, Association were also in constant attendance while the body was lying in state.

AT THE FENNER MANSION.

The beautiful picture "After Death"—which we give from a photograph taken at the time, correctly represents the calm repose of the great chieftain as he lay in the parlor of the Fenner mansion.

We will not parade before the public incidents of the sacred grief of the noble woman who had been so long the companion, and helpmate, and who had watched so faithfully at the bedside



AFTER DEATH.

until all was over. Suffice it to say that while, of course, plunged into the deepest grief, she had been too long accustomed to sorrow, and had passed through too many scenes of bereavement not to bear this one with the Christian fortitude which has ever distinguished her.

From an early hour of the morning of the death of Mr. Davis, crowds of friends began to call at the house bringing offers of service, beautiful flowers, and loving words.

The following incident given by the *Times-Democrat* is worth preserving:

"As a result of his gracious dignity, Mr. Davis never came in contact with a menial but that at once they grew devotedly attached to him. More than once have family and friends quizzed him regarding the absorbing love of the porters, servants, and slaves that accident threw in his way. Never was a man more loved by those who served him, and this was peculiarly noticeable among the negroes he owned before the war. One of the most affecting incidents connected with the death, was the arrival and grief of this old negro, a former slave of Mr. Davis' brother, the late Joe Davis.

"For a number of years Miles Cooper, a decrepit colored man has sent from his present home in Florida, little tokens in the way of fruits raised by his own hands for the hospitable Beauvoir table. Through the local press, Miles heard of Mr. Davis's extreme illness, and, putting every personal interest and comfort aside, hastened to see the master he loved. Unused to travelling, aged and uncertain in his movements the unselfish servant again and again missed connection in the short trip, was delayed, left behind, and put to every possible annoyance and inconvenience. Finally he arrived, and full of pleasant anticipations, hurried up to look once more in those kindly eyes and feel the cordial grasp of that genial hand. Reaching the residence, all stilled as it was surrounded by an atmosphere of death, the servant learned of Mr. Davis's death the night previous. It was more than he could bear and breaking down with an outburst of deep grief, Miles sat crushed and hopeless, only asking the one favor to be admitted to the presence of his master. Every one, save the family, had been denied entrance, but Mr. Farrar, at Mrs. Davis's request, led the way, and soon the ex-slave stood face to face with the noble dead. It was pitiful to hear the sobs and wails of the old man. He mourned with unaffected grief for the 'Mars Jeff' of his youth, and prayed earnestly for the welfare of those he left behind."

The grief of the venerable Mr. J. U. Payne, the life-long friend of Mr. Davis, was very touching.

REMOVAL OF THE BODY.

The *Picayune* gives the following deeply interesting details:

"Yards of mourning material caught up and festooned with artistic taste; flowers wrought into every variety of fancy figure; pictures draped in black; heavy cannon; torn and tattered Southern battle flags side by side with the stars and stripes; a throng of people who stood with uncovered heads in reverential respect for the dead; stacked rifles and soldiers on guard were the scenes of special incident at the City Hall last night that mutely told of the death of the great Southern soldier, statesman and patriot, and the love a devoted people bore for him. It was a silent, solemn tribute to a gallant soldier in the early war of the Union with Mexico, to an able Secretary of War, to a noted figure on the floor of the United States Senate, and to the revered leader of the Lost Cause.

"When the carpenters and the decorators finished their task the City Hall presented a handsome appearance. President James G. Clark of the council, and Major Wright Schaumberg spent the entire evening in supervising the work of transforming the building into a home of death.

"The decorations were not elaborate. They were simple and appropriate. Around the massive granite columns supporting the pediment and cornice heavy black cloth was wound, relieved at the top by just the slightest touches of intertwined white and black calico.

"The perspective of the hall is a showy festooning of black. Drapery fell from the rafters to the sides, the entire length of the hall, and the doors leading into the chamber of death are hung with heavy curtains that usher the mourner into the hall where the distinguished dead lies in state.

"The interior of the Council Chamber is suggestive of the deepest mourning. The gorgeous wall paper is hidden by the sombre colors of death.

"Heavy black tapestry runs down the sides of the window frames and around the wall, and the inner railing is concealed from view. From the ceiling just above the catafalque are hanging mourning columns twined with ivy.

"The two massive pictures that hang on either side of the mayor's desk, the one of Henry Clay and the other of William Henry Harrison, have been tastefully draped and hung with the national colors. The clerk's and mayor's desk has been entirely shut out from view by a stand that is covered with black cloth and filled with chrysanthemums, immortelles and other rare flowers. Above the desk are crossed colors. One is a regular American flag and the other is the torn and tattered ensign that the Fourteenth Louisiana carried from the beginning to the end of the war, and which Mr. Davis held in his hand on the occasion of the last Confederate reunion.

"Just above these flags is a huge golden eagle, appropriately draped. Beneath, crossed swords are suggestive of heroic epochs in the life of the sol-

dier cold in death. A crown and a crescent complete the figure. On the rear wall of the chamber hangs a portrait of Mr. Davis. It is placed within a frame of mourning, from which a myriad of electric lights brightly sparkle.

"The catafalque is in the centre of the chamber. It is two steps high, trimly and strongly built, and finished in black. The trusses rest on a fluffy rug, and the casket is placed with the head of the dead statesman toward Carondelet street. Immediately inside the railing, pointing directly toward the coffin, stand two heavy twelve-pound howitzers of the Washington Artillery, forming an appropriate feature of the decorations.

"While the finishing touches were being put to the decorations of the hall, leading citizens, representing every walk of private and professional life, visited the hall, inquired about the arrangements for the funeral, talked over the virtues of the deceased, and mourned in unison the death of the man who was once the ruler of millions of people, and one of the foremost characters in American history.

"The veteran associations of the city recognized in the battalion of the Washington Artillery the only veteran military command still maintaining its military organization, and at once accepted Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Richardson's tender of the battalion as a guard of honor and escort.

"Last night, at 10:30 o'clock, the Washington Artillery marched to the City Hall, and when the carpenters and decorators had finished, word was sent to the Fenner mansion that everything was in readiness for the reception of the body.

"It was just midnight when the word was passed along the line that the remains had reached the hall, and, though the hour was late, a crowd that blocked the rear of the chamber and filled the corridor was present. The troops presented arms, the officers uncovered, a detachment of three officers in charge of Corporal Cooper marched down the hall, and the pall-bearers, carrying the rich casket, passed through, and the coffin was deposited on the catafalque, where it will rest until it is removed to its temporary tomb of interment on Wednesday.

"The upper lid was removed and the body and the pale, thin features, forever chilled in death, were exposed to view to the crowd in waiting. The battle-flag of the Fifth Company of the Washington Artillery and a crossed Spanish dagger, with a sheaf of wheat, was placed on the casket.

"The Washington Artillery representatives present, besides the commanding officers, were Captains E. I. Kursheedt, adjutant; C. L. Dupuy, ordnance officer; J. H. DeGrange, quartermaster, Lieutenant H. N. Baker and Sergeant-Major William Whitney Crane. The guard was furnished from the famous Battery B, commanded by Captain Eugene May and Lieutenants George W. Booth and J. J. Hooper.

"Here is the guard of honor furnished last night from Battery B: Sergeants Fred. Kornbeck, H. K. George, B. F. Burnet, J. Atcheson; Corporals R. G. Richardson and E. L. Dickerson; Privates W. W. Carter, W. H. Cook, A.

Coste, H. Clark, B. L. Cole, J. H. Cohen, T. F. Eyrich, G. Eyrich, H. F. Foster, William Gardner, G. F. Holder, and Edw. Stafford.

"Battery B will be relieved by Battery C, Captain H. M. Isaacson commanding at 8 to-night, and Captain E. M. Underhill, with Battery A, will come on duty Sunday evening.

"When all those present had gazed on the features of Mr. Davis, the chamber was cleared, and the soldiers were left alone in their nightly vigil with the distinguished dead.

"The body will lie in state from 10 A. M. to 10 P. M. every day and night until the day of the funeral. The public will be admitted at the St. Charles street entrance, pass through the hall, enter the chamber where the body lies, and then make its exit through the rear entrance at the back of the City Hall, on Lafayette street."

THE CAUSE OF HIS DEATH.

"Justice Fenner, in speaking in the Council Chamber of Mr. Davis's death, said :

"Mr. Davis had been ill for a week before he arrived in this city. Passed without proper opportunity for relief, the loss of this precious time militated against his recovery. He was already greatly weakened and his powers of resistance to disease were impaired.

"During the first week after his arrival he was considered by all to be in a dangerous condition, but after that careful nursing and the skill of his able physicians, seemed to have conquered disease and to have left for solution only the problem of his capacity to recuperate. Although his system did not respond in the rapid improvement desired, yet up to Thursday evening there was every ground for hope of his recovery. Then came the sudden congestive chill, the history of which is known, and which was followed by his speedy dissolution.

"From the first Mr. Davis was despondent as to his chances of recovery, but he was, at all times, patient and otherwise cheerful; always ready to greet the familiar faces which saluted him daily; often indulging in the kindly humor which characterized him, disposed to converse more than was permitted to him under the advice of his attending physicians.

"The suddenness of his relapse, followed by stupor and partial want of consciousness, deprived his family and friends of the opportunity of inviting or hearing any expression of his last wishes or sentiments. Death approached graciously and attended by little suffering. He simply breathed at first with rapid difficult respirations, becoming toward the end slower and slower with longer intervals, until at last the recurring gasp so anxiously looked for by the loving eyes that viewed upon him, failed to come, and Jefferson Davis was dead!"

"Dr. Stanford E. Chaille, who was one of the late Hon. Jefferson Davis's physicians during his fatal illness, was seen at his residence by a reporter.

"He said that he had been the family physician of Mr. Davis for a number of years, and that the deceased was a warm personal friend of his. In answer to a query as to the health of Mr. Davis for the past few years, the doctor stated that he had been afflicted with chronic bronchitis and chronic indigestion.

"In giving the history of the fatal sickness, Dr. Chaille said that he had been in attendance twenty days before the lamentable end came. He gave as the cause of death, Mr. Davis's chronic diseases coupled with malaria fever and old age. The malaria was no doubt greatly aggravated by Mr. Davis, being exposed to the cold in going to his plantation about three weeks ago.

"'At no time,' Dr. Chaille said, 'did I feel sure of his recovery, and would only say that I thought the chances were in his favor. Thursday, however, when his digestion broke down entirely I gave up all hope of his recovery. At no time, till Thursday, did any of the symptoms of disease indicate a fatal issue.'

"'Prior to Thursday,' Dr. Chaille said, 'that which rendered the issue doubtful was his debility, old age and inability to take proper nourishment.'

"In answer to an inquiry as to the health of Mrs. Davis Dr. Chaille stated that she was entirely overcome with grief at the death of a loving husband with whom she had spent forty years of wedded happiness, but that the shock had no serious results.

"Dr. Charles J. Bickham, the physician Dr. Chaille called in shortly after Hon. Jefferson Davis arrived in New Orleans, was seen at his residence by a reporter last night. He stated that he had never, previous to the late fatal sickness, treated Mr. Davis, and consequently did not know much about his physical condition prior to the fatal attack. He said, in summing up the case briefly, that acute bronchitis was the exciting cause of death, while the predisposing cause was chronic bronchitis, age, insufficient nutrition on account of the delicacy of his stomach, and suffering probably from malaria before. 'From the beginning of the fatal illness,' Dr. Bickham said, 'neither Dr. Chaille nor myself were buoyant regarding Mr. Davis's recovery. Mr. Davis seemed to foresee the end, and if asked how he felt, even when not in pain, he would say, 'I feel as though I were going down, down, down.' This state of the mind had considerable effect on our patient, for the mental faculties have a great effect on a patient.

"It was learned from Dr. Bickham that Mr. Davis had never been better during his sickness than he was for two or three days previous to Thursday. 'A distressing feature in the illness,' said Dr. Bickham, 'was Mr. Davis's great loathing of food. And, when he did take nourishment, it did not seem to strengthen him or the blood supply as would be expected. This, of course, was due to the weak condition of his stomach. If he had had

strength enough he would have resisted the chill that proved fatal Thursday night.'

"In answer to a question Dr. Bickham said: 'He never rallied after being seized with the chill, which was probably easily brought on in consequence of the malaria in the system.'

"During the entire sickness, although Mr. Davis seemed confident of his death, he was resigned and showed no signs of dread of the approaching end."

LYING IN STATE.

"From 10 o'clock Saturday morning, December 7th, the hour appointed for throwing the City Hall open to the public, the central point of interest in this city was the large lofty Council Chamber in the rear of the building, where the dead statesman and ex-President of the Confederacy lay in state. The sombre mourning decorations that draped the heavy fluted columns supporting the alcove, fittingly introduced the sympathetic crowds into the splendid marble hallway, the ceiling, and upper walls of which were a fluttering mass of festooned crepe. Passing through the darkened corridor each visitor paused before the chamber of death, to be directed by the police officers and aged veterans guarding the entrance, to go quietly through, pass the remains and so on out by the other door.

"Until after 3 o'clock in the afternoon the decorators were busily completing their work, retouching draperies and finishing elaborate arrangements of the handsome mourning stuffs used. As an entirety, the apartment presented an impressive appearance, affecting those who pass under the heavy black portiers with the deep solemnity of the occasion. Admirable taste and a keen sense of fitness has evidently dictated the planning and execution of the whole.

"Against the densely black background of the east end of the Council Chamber have been placed the floral offerings received, with large boxes of loose cut flowers filling the air with their fragrance. Some of the tributes are wonderfully handsome, although they in no way represent the wealth of blossoms to come later on.

"The funeral being set for Wednesday, it is improbable that the offerings will begin to be received in numbers before Monday afternoon. In three corners of the apartment the burnished muzzles of the bronze mountain howitzers shine and reflect the long lines of light cast from the great central chandelier, shedding a flood of illumination above the casket. Stacked arms add to the military appearance of the arrangements, further enhanced by the stern, soldier-like guards stationed at intervals about the chamber.

"Fully 10,000 persons passed the casket containing the remains of Mr. Davis Friday. The scene during the entire day and night was an impressive one. The Washington Artillery guard of honor kept watch over

the casket, while beside it at the head stood a maimed veteran, an inmate of the Soldiers' Home.

"The door of the mortuary room was not opened to the public until 10 o'clock. A large crowd stood in the corridor of the building and on the marble stairs leading thereto, awaiting the opening of the doors, to get a glimpse at the features of the dead President of the Confederacy.

"In the throng stood persons young and old, male and female, white and colored and of all nationalities. They realized the solemnity of the occasion and conversed in tones barely above a whisper.

"At the large doorway leading to the Marble Hall, which is heavily draped in mourning, stood Police Corporal Cooper, who quietly arranged the throng into line to permit them to enter the room in single file. It was arranged to have the visitors enter the Council Chamber from the opening through which the councilmen pass into the chamber, mount the steps of the catafalque, pass beside the coffin, and leave the room through the iron gateway in the centre of the railing which separates the Council Chamber proper from the lobby, and through the lobby down the Lafayette entrance, which was used as an exit. Thus the visitors entered the building on St. Charles street and made their exit on Lafayette street.

"President of the Council James G. Clark arrived at the hall early, and at 10 o'clock, the appointed hour, he ordered the doors opened.

"Then the line began to move, and a hurried look was cast upon the face of the illustrious dead. The line moved with slow-measured tread, and this was kept up until 10 o'clock at night, when the doors were closed.

"Among the first to view the remains was General George W. Jones. He came in accompanied by Private Nobles of the Louisiana Field Artillery. The venerable soldier, the lifelong friend of the dead President, took his place in the line. Stopping beside the casket he gazed upon the features of the dead, and tears dropped from his eyes upon the glass cover. With bowed head he left the room. When he reached the hallway his handkerchief went to his eyes. Wiping away tears, he said, 'My dear friend.'

"The general's grief affected all those who stood near him. 'I want to see Colonel Schaumberg, whose father was my friend,' said the general, and he was escorted to the mayor's parlor, where Colonel Schaumberg was engaged with matters connected with the ceremonies.

"As he walked up to the colonel's desk the general's greeting was: 'Wright, my boy, don't you know me?'

"Colonel Schaumberg replied, 'No; I hardly think I do.'

"I am Jones, your father's friend. Mr. Davis, your father and myself were college-mates at Transylvania. The two clasped hands, and the general continued, with deep emotion, 'Yes; we were classmates; your father, Jeff. Davis, and I, and thus I meet the son of him who has gone long before, and the other now lying cold in death.'

"The scene was a very affecting one, and there were few dry eyes in the room. After a lengthy conversation with Colonel Schaumberg about his family and personal affairs, General Jones looked at the oil paintings which adorn the walls. Gazing upon the likeness of Zachary Taylor, the general exclaimed: 'Zach. Taylor. I knew him well. I fought under him and have slept in the same tent with him.' The general then departed.

"Commodore Hunter of the Confederate States Navy, was in line and viewed the remains shortly after General Jones. The Commodore took a hurried look and slowly moved on. He was deeply affected, but did not utter a word.

"Many old ladies clad in deep mourning viewed the remains. Most of them sent sons or husbands to the front at the outbreak of the war and never saw them again.

"One of these was a feeble tottering figure whose gray hair and sombre dress and eighty-four years of age at once arrested attention. She leaned over the casket a face that worked emotionally as if sad memories swept over her. Her last visit to these halls was when Butler occupied them, and her footsteps led through lines of blue uniforms and muskets that glistened with bayonets. Her present one was to shed a tear over the body of her lifetime friend. She was the wife of Rev. J. T. Wheat, of Memphis, in whose church Mr. Davis was senior warden. Lulled into delaying an anticipated visit to Mr. Davis by the favorable reports of his condition, she did not leave her home in Salisbury, N. C., in earlier time than to reach here Thursday noon. That night she called at his residence, and was told Mr. Davis was too ill to be seen.

"The next morning his old friend read that he was dead. She faltered in the hallway as she departed from where the body lay, and seemed overcome by her harrowed feelings. Sergeant-at-arms of the city council, John Hurley, standing near by, supported her with his one arm and strong frame. In apology for her weakness she said her name was Wheat, and her son had held a commission from Jefferson Davis. He was Colonel Robert O. Wheat, of the Louisiana Tigers. 'Ah! madam, I remember him well,' replied big-hearted Hurley, 'I lost my arm the same day he was killed.'

"A large number of citizens from Mississippi were in line, but the line moved so rapidly that it was impossible to learn who they were. A number of colored citizens from Mississippi who had been slaves of Mr. Davis, formed part of the line, and spoke in the highest praise of their dead master. One of them wept as he looked at the face of the dead man. He gave his name as William Samford, of Vicksburg, and said that he had come to the city to pay his last tribute to his old master. 'That I loved him this shows, and I can say that every colored man whom he ever owned loved him. He was a good, kind master.'

A lady passed along with the line with a four-year-old child, which she lifted up to look at the corpse. As she reached the hall-way her handker-

chief went up to her eyes. She answered a reporter, who asked if she knew Mr. Davis, by saying:

"Oh, no, sir," she answered, "but I realized, looking upon that kind, fatherly face, so still and tranquil in death, how much the Southern people loved him, and I could not help crying. My father and some of my kin were in the war with him, and this sight of the dear old chief, so still and white, was too much for me, and makes me think of my own people who went to war and never returned."

"Rabbi I. L. Leucht, accompanied by a number of ladies, was among the callers.

"The Confederate flag, which plays a conspicuous part in the decorations, was much admired. Some of those present had never seen one. The battle-worn flag of the Fourteenth Louisiana brought back recollections of the war to the mind of many a veteran.

"Mr. E. H. Farrar called on the mayor yesterday afternoon, and stated that it was desired to have Mr. Davis's sword, which he carried through the Black Hawk war, placed in the Council Chamber. It was at Beauvoir, and Mrs. Davis feared that it might be lost if brought by express. The mayor at once instructed Chief Hennessey to detail a special officer to go to Beauvoir and bring the sword to the city. The messenger left last evening.

"James Lewis, who is looked upon as a leader of the colored citizens of New Orleans, called upon the mayor and had a conversation. The mayor told him to tell his people that the City Hall was open to all, no cards of admission were needed, and that the public generally was invited to view the remains.

"Chaplain Witherspoon, of the Army of Tennessee, and Chaplain Markham, of the Army of Tennessee, were among the visitors.

"At 10 o'clock the Council Chamber was closed, and there were yet many who desired admission. The building was then placed in charge of the Washington Artillery, acting as a guard, and none but members of the press were admitted.

"Just before the Council Chamber closed last night the Sons and Daughters of Confederate veterans, numbering over two hundred, called and viewed the remains.

"The Confederate States Cavalry Association also came in a body after their meeting.

"At five minutes before midnight Captain Isaacson withdrew the guard from the Council Chamber, and Undertaker Johnson and his assistants took charge of the mortuary room. Only they were permitted to enter the room.

"They unscrewed the glass lid from the casket and removed it so as to allow Mrs. Hayes, daughter of Mr. Davis, and General Joseph R. Davis, a nephew, to view the remains.

"As the bell of the City Hall tolled the hour of midnight, Mrs. Hayes, leaning on the arm of General Davis, entered the room. Not even the

undertaker was present. What took place is not known, but as they made their exit ten minutes later, Mrs. Hayes was weeping, while General Davis showed that he deeply felt the loss of his relative.

"Soon after the departure of Mrs. Hayes and General Davis, Mr. Orion Frazee, the artist who had come from Atlanta to take a death mask of Mr. Davis, appeared and at once went to work.

"No one was present but the sculptor, the undertaker, and Messrs. Farrar and Clark, representing Mrs. Davis.

"The head was raised and the impression of the face taken in plaster of paris. It was found impossible to take the hand or foot, because they had become shrunken. The artist was much pleased with the impression of the head. The features, he stated, he would be able to reproduce from a photograph. His first idea was to get an impression of the right hand and foot but that was found to be impossible.

Mayor Shakspeare received the following telegrams :

From Governor T. P. Flemming, Tallahassee, Fla. :

"Please advise as soon as known the time and place of the funeral of Mr. Davis."

From Governor Daniel G. Fowle, Raleigh, N. C., December, 7 :

"North Carolina, through her committee, will unite with the people of the South in the funeral service in your city, whilst at that hour memorial services will be held throughout this State appreciative of our great leader."

From W. E. Gonzales, Private Secretary, Columbia, S. C., December 7 :

"The Governor and a commission of five will attend the funeral of the departed Southern chief."

From Governor J. P. Richardson, Columbia, S. C., December 7 :

"Your telegram received. Issued proclamation yesterday. State will be represented at funeral."

From Governor E. W. Wilson, of Charleston, West Virginia, December 7 :

"I regret to say that it will be impossible for any of our State officials to attend the funeral of Mr. Davis."

From M. A. Fanning, Private Secretary, Jefferson City, Mo., December 7 :

"Governor Francis out of the State at present. Cannot advise you myself, but will wire him."

From Governor E. E. Jackson, Salisbury, Md., December, 7 :

"It is with deep regret we learn of the death of the Hon. Jefferson Davis. Were it not for the pressure of public duties I would endeavor to be present at the funeral ceremonies. Assure Mrs. Davis of Maryland's heartfelt sympathy."

From J. K. Jackson, Private Secretary, Montgomery, December 7 :

"The Governor is not well to-day, but will, if possible, attend the funeral of Mr. Davis. Certainly representatives of the State will be present."

From Governor James P. Eagle, Little Rock, Ark., December 7:

"Your official notification of the death of Jefferson Davis received. A statesman in time of peace, a soldier in war, always a patriot; the South mourns the death of one of her greatest chieftains."

From Governor Robert Lowry, Jackson, Miss., December 7:

"State officials and a committee of citizens will attend the funeral of President Davis."

From Governor Robert L. Taylor, Nashville, Tenn., December 7:

"I have appointed a number of distinguished ex-Confederates. Can't tell how many will attend."

From Governor F. P. Flemming, Tallahassee, Fla., December 7:

"I will attend the funeral and will wire you if there are other representatives of the State who will attend."

From Governor S. B. Buckner, Frankfort, Ky., December 7:

"I expect to attend the funeral of Mr. Davis. I will stop at the St. Charles."

From F. A. Reichardt, Captain commanding Houston Light Guard, Houston, December 7:

"The company which formed the first military guard of honor to ex-President Davis after the late civil war begs to be included in the military arrangements of the funeral cortege of the distinguished Southern statesman, patriot and soldier. Please answer."

The mayor responded that the Houston Light Guard would be assigned a position.

Mayor Shakspeare yesterday sent the following dispatch:

"NEW ORLEANS, Dec. 7.

"Hon. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

"I have officially to inform you that the Hon. Jefferson Davis, at one time Secretary of War of the United States, died in this city yesterday.

"His funeral will take place here on December 11, at 12 o'clock noon.

"JOSEPH A. SHAKSPEARE, Mayor."

Mayor Shakspeare also issued the following proclamation:

"To the Citizens of New Orleans:

"As an outward sign of the love and admiration our people feel for the illustrious man and stainless gentleman now lying dead in the City Hall, I recommend that commercial bodies and citizens generally drape in appropriate mourning, and that on Wednesday, December 11, business be suspended and the various civic and military organizations, as well as individual citizens attend the funeral of Jefferson Davis.

"A life so pure, a career so illustrious, may well serve as an example to rising generations, and I recommend that the schools be closed and that the children attend the funeral.

"JOSEPH SHAKSPEARE, Mayor."

The following messages were among those received by Mrs. Davis:

From Collin Cobb, President, Cambridge, Mass., December 7:

"The members of the Harvard Southern Club extend to you their heartfelt sympathy in your great bereavement."

From Mayor C. B. Gomees, Columbus, Ga., December 7:

"The citizens of Columbus in mass meeting assembled desire to express their sincerest sympathy for yourself and family in heavy affliction which has befallen you in loss of your distinguished husband, our ex-President and honored chieftain."

From Mayor A. G. Deleso, Yazoo City, December 7:

"Our citizens send their condolence and mourn with you the death of your illustrious husband."

From S. A. Manuel, President, Georgetown, S. C., December 7:

"The Survivors' Association of Company A, Tenth South Carolina Regiment, Confederate States Army mingle their tears with yours in the death of your husband and their illustrious chieftain."

From Chaplain J. Carmichael, Armory Wilmington Light Infantry, Wilmington, N. C., Dec. 7:

"Amid the tender sympathies which every true Southern heart feels for you in the departure of your immortal husband, none are deeper or more genuine than that of this command."

From George B. Eastin, President, Louisville, Ky., Dec. 7:

"The people of Kentucky reverence the name of our lamented, and feel a pride in the fact of his being a native of this State. I am directed by the Confederate Association of Kentucky and by the people of Louisville, to respectfully advise you that they have secured for you in Cave Hill cemetery the beautiful lot formerly set aside for President Zachary Taylor, but never used, and they beg of you that they be honored by having you bring here the remains of Jefferson Davis."

From Harris P. Manning, Chairman, Henderson, N. C. December 7:

"The citizens of Henderson, N. C., in public meeting assembled, extend to you their sympathies in your sad bereavement. The loss to you is a devoted husband, to the South a noble chief. May the God of All give comfort and bless you and yours."

From Thomas A. Brander, Commander, Richmond, Va., December 7:

"R. E. Lee Camp No. 1, Confederate Veterans, in meeting assembled. send you their sincerest sympathy. The tears of every Confederate veteran mingle with yours in sorrow over the loss of our honored and loved President."

From General E. Kirby Smith, Sewanee, Tenn., December 7:

"You have the heartfelt sympathy of myself and family."

From J. H. Littlefield, Chairman, Hillsboro', Miss., December 7:

"The people of Hill county, Texas, in mass meeting assembled, direct me to extend to you their heartfelt sympathy in your deep bereavement."

From Mayor R. F. Beck, Vicksburg, Miss., December 7:

"Acting in my official capacity, at the request of the citizens of Vicksburg, in mass meeting assembled, I am authorized to tender you a last resting place within the corporate limits of this city for the remains of your late illustrious husband."

From Messrs. B. F. Ward, D. Sweatman, Frank Hawkins, and J. H. Somerville, Vienna, Miss., December 7:

"The people of Montgomery county, in mass meeting, under deep conviction of the country's great loss, tender warmest sympathies in this your sad bereavement."

The Mississipians in Washington sent by telegraph to Mrs. Davis the resolutions of regret adopted by them.

From Jeff. D. Griffith, Esq., Kansas City, Mo., December 7:

"Our hearts are sad with yours."

From William Y. Kamlin, Esq., Detroit, Mich., December 7:

"I condole with you the illustrious dead. Please accept assurances of heartfelt sorrow."

From Hon. H. Dudley Coleman, Washington, D. C., December 7:

"I most respectfully tender to you my sincere condolence in this sad hour of great affliction. Many suffering hearts among our dear homes are sympathizing with you in silent grief and mute distress."

From Messrs. Robert McCulloch, James Harding, W. E. Coleman, Theodore Brace, J. L. Keown, D. D. Owen, John B. Ruthven, B. J. Clarke, J. M. Ballin, W. S. Pape, William S. Davidson, and D. H. McIntyre, Jefferson City, Mo., December 7:

"The undersigned ex-Confederates, residents of the city, desire herewith to tender you their heartfelt sympathy and condolence in this the hour of your great affliction."

From Messrs. R. L. Gibson, N. C. Blanchard, Bowman Matthews, T. S. Wilkinson, C. J. Boatner, S. W. Perkins, Andrew Price, and S. N. Robertson, Washington, D. C., December 7:

"We beg leave to tender to you our profound sympathy in your bereavement, and to express our own sorrow at the death of your illustrious and beloved husband."

From R. W. Sleger, Esq., Chicago, Ill., December 7:

"Am one of many Northern men feeling sympathy for you, and having greatest respect for the dead."

"Telegrams were also received from John J. Hurt, R. E. Ballenge, and S. A. Jackson, of the Kappa Sigma Society of Abingdon, Va.; General S. D. Lee; President George Moorman, of the Veteran Cavalry Association, who is at present in St. Louis; Judge and Mrs. David Clopton, of Montgomery, Ala.; the Independent Light Infantry, of Fayetteville, N. C.; the women of the Richland Moral Association of Columbia, S. C.; Zollicoffer Camp Confederate

Veterans; P. I. Chapter of Kappa Sigma Society, Va.; the people of Santa Fe, N. M.; the ladies of Summit, Miss.; the Confederate Veterans of Savannah; M. J. Colson, of Brunswick, Ga., and the Confederate Survivors' Association, of Laurens, S. C.

"The guard of honor, battalion Washington Artillery, the second night was from Battery C, Captain H. M. Isaacson, Lieutenant R. A. Phelps, Sergeant Jesse Fettis, Sergeant A. L. Meyer, Sergeant John Green, Corporal H. E. Shropshire, Jr., Corporal J. A. Haggerty, Privates J. A. Alternio, A. B. Brand, A. D. McBride, James Freret, Joseph T. Scott, Jr., George P. Thompson, E. J. Evens, Herbert Palfrey, John Monroe, Charles Doerr, J. D. Preston, L. Imholte, Jr., G. H. Stevenson, E. E. Chubbuck, Jr., L. Hyman."

The following proclamations were issued on the 7th and telegraphed to New Orleans:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF LOUISIANA,

"BATON ROUGE, Dec. 6, 1889.

"To the end that the universal sentiment of sorrow at the death of Jefferson Davis, which prevades this State, may find simultaneous expression, I earnestly invite the people of Louisiana, on the day and hour of his funeral, December 11, 1889, at 12 M., to assemble and hold memorial services in their respective localities.

"FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS.

"Governor of Louisiana."

"STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

"JACKSON, Dec., 7, 1889.

"The great Mississippian has fallen. The Hon. Jefferson Davis, the soldier of dauntless courage, the wise statesman, the distinguished orator, the true patriot, the model citizen, the elegant Christian gentleman is dead. This death has touched every Mississippian's heart. Ours is a common grief. It is meet and desirable that all the people should honor the memory of Mississippi's noblest son. In recognition of the universal esteem in which the beloved dead was held and the common sorrow of our people, I, Robert Lowry, Governor, recommend and urge all the citizens of the State to meet at some suitable place on Wednesday, 11th instant, at 12 M., the hour fixed for the funeral and hold memorial services in honor of Mississippi's distinguished son.

"ROBERT LOWRY

"By the Governor:

"GEORGE M. GOVAN, *Secretary of State.*"

"Whereas, the Hon. Jefferson Davis, by his gallant conduct, as a soldier on numerous fields of battle, by his bold, staunch and unselfish devotion to his

ideal or public duty, and by his stainless private character, has made his fame the common heritage of the people of every Southern State; and

"Whereas his recent death in New Orleans has carried a sense of profound bereavement to his fellow-citizens throughout the South, who once gladly acknowledged him their chosen leader, now, therefore, I, Thomas Seay, Governor of Alabama, in conformation to the desire of the people of this State, do hereby make proclamation and name Wednesday, December 11, as a proper time for them to meet together and show their reverence for the illustrious dead.

THOMAS SEAY."

"STATE OF FLORIDA, Executive Department.

"To the people of Florida:

"The immortal soul of Jefferson Davis passed from earth on Friday, December 6, 1889.

"It is fitting that those who honored and revered him in life, and mourn him in death, should pay meet tribute and respect to his memory. Now, therefore, I, Francis P. Flemming, Governor of the State of Florida, do hereby invite the people of our State on Wednesday, the 11th instant, at 12 noon, being the day and hour appointed for his funeral, to assemble at convenient places in their respective communities and join in appropriate memorial services. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the State at Tallahassee, the capital, this 7th day of December, A. D., 1889, and of the independence of the United States, the one hundred and fourteenth year.

"FRANCIS P. FLEMMING Governor.

"Attest:

"J. L. CRAWFORD, *Secretary of State.*"

"AUSTIN, December 7.

"Governor Ross having notice from Mayor Shakspeare that the funeral of Mr. Davis would take place at noon, December 11, in New Orleans, issued his proclamation declaring "that in order that the people of Texas may have the mournful privilege of laying a simple wreath upon his tomb and mingle their tears with those who would pay fitting tribute to the public and private virtues of one who as a true reflex of their sentiments and with a heart that never quailed and a courage that never faltered, was constant in pleading for that Anglo-Saxon birthright of largest liberty and freedom of conscience in a government where the consent of the governed is the life and soul of our institutions, and who, with 'charity toward all and malice toward none,' died in that Christian faith whose wisdom it is to impart moral health and soundness to the race of man; now, therefore, I, L. S. Ross, Governor of Texas, do earnestly invoke all those who cherish with filial devotion the hallowed associations and historic glories which

cluster about his name to lay aside their customary avocations on that day and hour and express in an appropriate manner their deep and lasting grief."

Mrs. Davis sent out the following graceful acknowledgment:

"NEW ORLEANS, LA., December 7.

"To the Agent of the Associated Press:

"Dear Sir:

"Will you have the kindness to say for me through the Associated Press that it will be a physical impossibility for me to answer the thousands of telegrams of condolence that have poured in from all parts of the United States. I therefore take this means of expressing my appreciation of the profound sympathy exhibited by so many of Mr. Davis's friends to his bereaved and grateful family.

"Very respectfully yours,

"VARINA HOWELL DAVIS."

The following note was received and referred to Mrs. Davis:

"NEW ORLEANS, December 7.

"Colonel Wm. Preston Johnston, Chairman Executive Committee:

"Dear Sir:

"While the entire South claims him as her own, New Orleans asks that Jefferson Davis be laid to rest within the city where he fell asleep.

"To this end the Metairie Cemetery Association offers to you, as the representative of the people of the South, the mound to the left of the entrance of the cemetery and immediately opposite to and corresponding with that where rest the heroes of the Army of Tennessee.

"GUS. E. BREAUx,

"J. H. BELL, Secretary."

"President Metairie Cemetery Ass'n.

It is simply impossible to give the full details of the honors paid to the "Tall chieftain of the men in Gray" while his body was lying in state.

It is estimated that during the days and nights of Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday morning at least one hundred and fifty thousand people passed by the bier and viewed the body.

And during the pouring by of the constant stream of reverent people some very touching incidents occurred. And during these days telegrams of respect and condolence continued to pour in from all parts of the country, so numerous that we cannot give even the names of the parties from whom they came.

The *Times-Democrat* of the 10th had this editorial:

"If there was ever the shadow of doubt in the minds of the people of the United States of the hold of Jefferson Davis upon the hearts of the Southern people that doubt has been removed. From city and country, from every nook and hamlet, have come expressions of profoundest sorrow over his death; of grief at the passing away of the great Confederate chieftain.

"Jefferson Davis's place in the affections of his people can never be filled. They loved him; they loved his pure and manly character; his integrity, the spotlessness of his life among them. They turned to him as the Mussulman to his Mecca—the shrine at which all true Southern-born should worship.

"There has never been any division of sentiment as to the greatness of Jefferson Davis. He has always been the hero of his people—their best beloved. From the day that Lee laid down his arms at Appomattox to the hour of Jefferson Davis's death the Southern people look upon the ex-President of the Confederacy as the embodiment of all that was grand and glorious in the Lost Cause. Standing alone as a citizen without the power to exercise his citizenship, the last surviving victim of sectional hate and malevolence, he was an exile while on the soil of his native land and in the midst of his own people.

"We repeat it—there can no longer remain a doubt of the affectionate regard in which the Confederate chieftain was held by those among whom he had lived for more than fourscore years. The tribute that has come is universal; there is not a jarring note to disturb the hour. Jefferson Davis will go to the grave bathed in a people's tears."

The following telegraphic correspondence explains itself, and we give it without comment:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,

"Washington, December 8.

"Hon. Joseph A. Shakspeare, Mayor, New Orleans:

"Your telegram informing me of the death of Mr. Davis is received. In refraining from any official action thereon, I would not and hope I do not add to the great sorrow of his family and many friends. It seems to me the right course and the best one for all. You will, I am sure, understand that its adoption is prompted also by a sincere wish and purpose to act in the spirit of peace and good will which should fill the hearts of our people.

REDFIELD PROCTOR, *Secretary of War.*"

"MAYORALTY OF NEW ORLEANS,

"City Hall, December 9, 1889.

"Hon. Redfield Proctor, *Secretary of War*:

"Sir—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your telegram replying to mine announcing the death of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, formerly Secretary of War of the United States.

"Permit me to say that the kindly expressions therein do honor to the man, and will go far toward removing the sting inflicted in our people's hearts by the fact that the secretary cannot display from the War Office the customary official signal of respect to a dead predecessor.

"Respectfully your obedient servant.

"JOSEPH A. SHAKESPEARE, *Mayor.*"

Among a number of poems published in the New Orleans papers we select the following from the *Times-Democrat*, December 6th:

JEFFERSON DAVIS IS DEAD.

"And God is love," fell on a nation's ears.

As sounds of grief commingled with her praise,
Told how a great man died; great length of days
Congealed not up the fountain of her tears.

For he who'd led her armies held for years
A place too dear to lose it in a maze
Of any length of time, nor may the haze
Of centuries efface his love—or fears.

A great man's dead; and all the Southland mourns
For more than a great chief—for he to all
Was as a sire—yea! he loved all his land.
His name, his deed—his very life adorns
The page of history; and at the call
For *men*, his great heart leaped—he led the band!

New Orleans, La.

—*Fred. Lucca Squires.*

"PRAY EXCUSE ME."

Last Words of Jefferson Davis.

O, great, true heart! these gentle, courteous words,
Addressed to friends about thy dying bed,
Proclaim a message clear as songs of birds,
Which well may reach the living from the dead.

O, world of hate! who scoff above his bier,
Heed ye the message, gentle, yet so strong:
He sought the right—unmoved by love or fear;
Excuse him that he could not bow to wrong!

O, world of love! who mourn him near and far,
Enshrine his message in each loyal soul,
Though needed not. His memory, like a star,
Shines ever on toward Honor's brightest goal.

O, Kingly soul! O, silent, knightly lips,
Which plead to be excused for work well done,
Ye still attest—in spite of Death's eclipse—
The Southland's chieftain was her humblest son!

New Orleans, December 10, 1889

—*S. B. Elder.*

The Association of the Army of Tennessee Veterans held an enthusiastic meeting at their hall on Tuesday night, December 10th, the President, Colonel A. J. Lewis, in the chair.

The Executive Committee presented suitable resolutions of respect to the memory of the great chief, after which General George W. Jones was called out and gave some deeply interesting reminiscences of his old college-mate and life-long friend.

Rev. Dr. T. R. Markham had been fortunately selected as the orator of the evening, and made the following eloquent and appropriate speech, which was punctuated with generous applause:

ADDRESS OF DR. MARKHAM.

"Mr. President and Comrades:

"You have often honored me by asking me to give voice to your convictions and emotions at our annual reunions. But to-night, in calling upon me to respond to resolutions which so fitly and felicitously express our appreciation and affection for him who through four eventful years guided our affairs, in this, while doing the highest honor, you have also laid upon me the weightiest burden. And I can only ask that the imperfectness of my utterance shall have this as its extenuation, that out of the abundance of the heart it will be spoken.

"And those were eventful years through which he led us. Years of sunshine and of storm, in which, its flag flung to the battle and the breeze, there lived, ruled, and warred a nation, a Confederacy, with its president, its statesmen, its Congress, its leaders, its soldiers, and its people—men steadfast and true—and women (its flower and crown) who suffered and endured. That is history.

"That past is secure, and as to-night its memories gather about our hearts and tremble on our lips, its achievements swell the souls, fire the spirits, and nerve the arms of freemen, and will while truth, honor and nobleness have name and praise among men.

"Looking back, an air of romance pervades its origin and action, for its birth throes recall the fable of the crop of full-armed men that sprung from the brow of the Grecian Minerva. A nation of agriculturists, a class unused and indisposed to organization and combination, separate persons dwelling apart either in their narrower independencies or their wider principalities, and holding these in watch and ward in a feudalism jealous of intrusion, and with an individualism proud of its possessions, it imparted but this one advantage at the outset of the conflict which against such odds it waged so long and so well, that its farmers and their boys, and its planters and

their sons, were ready for the fray, for they had been trained, after the manner of the Persian Cyrus, 'to ride, to shoot, and to tell the truth.'

"Therefore, deceit and falsehood were not their dominating frailties, but rather an over-sensitiveness to the claims of honor, an excess of pride of spirit, and a being 'sudden and quick in quarrel.'

"Without armories, foundries, or factories, destitute of ships and hindered by defective lines of inner transportation, the equipping its men, the manufacturing of its guns, the casting of its cannon, and the assembling of its forces, so that, in their first fiery onset, they routed adversaries armed with the best of weapons and supplied from the amplest resources, seems a story worthy a place in the 'Arabian Nights,' a result recalling the magic effect of the rubbing of Aladdin's lamp.

"Nor were these adversaries like the people through whose wide domains the Greek Xenophon conducted the retreat of the immortal 'Ten Thousand.' Nor their armies as the Persian hordes pierced and parted by Alexander's wedge-shaped phalanx. But they were men of like descent, sprung from the same ancestral stock, who only needed time and training to make them 'foemen worthy of our brave men's steel'—men who, when they too had learned to ride and shoot, in their disciplined valor so made the two antagonistic forces peers that neither, without self-depreciation, might underestimate the other.

"And now, surely, with us some master mind at the directing centre must have arranged so improvised a combination and shaped so effective an organization, whose conjoined elements of force and action so speedily and promptly converged to the appointed place and achieved the planned purpose.

"Such a man there was. A man selected as singularly suited to the place and work, and a man manifesting a fitness so seen by all, that the universal voice assigned the post to him. A soldier who in two wars had 'proved his armor'—one with the Indians on the frontier, and the other with Mexico's trained battalions.

"A statesman who stood conspicuous in a Congress of which Clay, Calhoun and Webster were the ornaments and pride. An ex-Secretary of War, whose brilliant record is part of the national fame. And who, as 'good wine needs no bush,' needs no flag at half-mast, that might have been lowered by an official who missed his opportunity. Whose 'covert attempt to dwarf and minimize our cause,' (I quote the words of a venerable rector of our city, Rev. Dr. Hedges, whose every heart-beat is loyal to our patriotic past) in the person of our hero and head, by styling him and his people 'Mr. Davis and his many friends,' can only recoil upon himself.

"Many friends! Aye, the South is his friends. And ere the hour of noon to-morrow, when the doors of the Council Chamber, where his body lies in state, shall have closed, more than 100,000 eyes will have looked

their last in love and reverence on the venerated form and face of the ex-President of the Confederacy. 'Many friends!' let the telegrams from the Governors of States with their proclamations, the messages from the mayors of cities and towns, and the officers of companies and corporations; let draped Southern homes, houses and halls; let the cities and States contending for the honor of giving his remains a resting place; let the spontaneous gatherings of the people, through which to-morrow, at mid-day, an electric thrill will pass from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande, from the Ohio to the Gulf and from the Mississippi to the Atlantic; let the paeans of praise that in all these States shall be spoken and sung; let the ministers of religion sanctified by prayer and the divine word; let these make answer, and millions of attesting voices in a reverberating chorus swelling to the sky, will tell to our day and to all time, how, from Maryland to Texas, from Arkansas to Carolina, from Missouri to Florida, and from Kentucky to Louisiana, the people of these States, their faith in him re-affirmed, their affection freshened and their devotion deepened, embalm and bedew the memory of the man whom they delight to honor.

"Behind him, through those years was a willing people, willing in the day of his power, 'who helped to make him great. A great people and a strong'—great in quality though not in quantity—not in numbers but in spirit, in courage in devotion. A citizen soldiery at the roll-call of whose commands men by the thousand could have stepped to the front worthy the comradeship of Cæsar's Tenth Legion, of Cromwell's Ironsides, of Wellington's Scotch Grays, or of Napoleon's Old Guard.

"At his side were Benjamin and Breckenridge, in whom dwelt the spirit of counsel and understanding, and at hand were Lee and Jackson, leaders, whose presence gave inspiration to all true and valiant souls, while Albert Sidney Johnston, Polk, Cleburne and Forrest, and others, whose 'name is legion,' upheld his arm and strengthened his soul.

"And at home, men and boys, true as steel; women and girls, the peers of the noblest and best, who have given ministries of comfort and help to man, and faithful slaves tilling the soil for masters absent in camp and field; all together working, serving and suffering for the one end and aim.

"Men, we know, called his a personal government. If true, it sets on him the ineffaceable stamp of greatness. The man who, while caring for our encircling border and our extended coast, through four years, held at bay outnumbering forces, which returned recruited from their own and other lands (for the world responded to their plethoric purse) must have been as sleepless as Cerberus, as many eyed as Argus and as many handed as Briareus. One, whose firm mind, indomitable will, fixed purpose and quenchless spirit that never flagged nor faltered, stamped his a personality of tremendous potency and impassive inflexibility.

"Reading yesterday, from the other side, a not unfriendly criticism, it was said, Mr. Davis died *unrepentant*. And of what was he to repent? That as 'a good and faithful servant' he had obeyed the voice of his own sovereign State and then of his and her sister sovereignties? Repent! Why, had the faintest whisper of such a word parted his lips, from a hundred Confederate cemeteries, and from a thousand battle-fields where sleep our undiscovered dead, skeleton forms, reanimated, turning uneasily in their graves, would have cried 'shame!' and have rent the heavens with their groans. He repent! Why should he?

"Who repents? Not the men 'who through the war wore the gray. Not one woman. Thank God, our wives, sisters and mothers and the wives of your sons have never through one such utterance swelled the chorus of the time serving and the timid.

"That to me would be treason. Treason to truth and right, to honor and duty. A crime which through that war and after could not be laid at our door. Could it have been, the man whose memories we are reviving to-night, would have expiated that crime by the shedding of his blood. Never would he have stepped forth a free man from that fortress where they bound him in fetters of iron—fetters that we esteem anklets of gold, for he wore them for us. Chains whose clank makes music to our ears, for the sound has in it the martyr ring. Relics of his sufferings, which in our keeping would be held as Christians hold the wood of the cross.

"Think you that, when his faithful follower and friend, that noble man and good priest, Father Hubert, knelt by that casket and prayed his prayer for the repose of his leader's soul, that he would have had those lips opened to make penitent confession of the leadership, as a sin unshriven? You and I know what answer he would make.

"Mr. Davis and we fought for the Constitution framed by our fathers. At Appomattox, by the arbitrament of arms, that Constitution was changed; we have accepted that change. And were we now for one hour to attempt that which we then endeavored through four years, that would be treason, which it was not in that day. Mr. Davis's release and the nolle prosequi of the law cleared us of that charge, our adversaries being themselves the judges. But while thus standing for our past, a past to us rich in recollections of honor, truth and duty, we are equally clear in obeying that changed Constitution, and if need be sustaining it with our blood

"Like Napoleon, Mr. Davis, after his career closed, lived to learn somewhat of the historic place that he would hold. But their lots were cast in striking and painful contrast. The great Frenchman in exile, a prisoner dying before his meridian. The great American, though expatriated, dwelling at home among his people, until past his fourscore, and having in largest measure 'that which should accompany old age, as honor, love, obedience, troops of friends.'

"Spared to outlive envy, silence and calumny ; spared to advocate with his pen (a mightier weapon in his hand than the sword) the cause a people that he loved ; while illustrating the law, 'be thou chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou'lt not escape calumny,' it was his compensation that Beauvoir, his home beside the Mississippi sound, became a Mecca to which the feet of pilgrims turned from his own and other lands. And all who came felt the charm of his magnetic presence, of the union of dignity and suavity, of sweetness and sincerity of elegance, and simplicity that made him in manner perfect and in address complete.

"As a Christian, 'a devout man and a just,' a reverent worshiper of his Lord and of the truth, he had fulfilled to him God's promise to David, who had been a man of war from his youth, 'With long life will I satisfy him and show him my salvation' under the home roof of a friend to whom his heart, through sixty years, had been tied as the heart of David to Jonathan, he fell gently asleep. His two dear daughters were absent, the one we call The Daughter of the Confederacy across the sea. But the one nearest in all the world was there, giving to the last her loving ministry, and with her that friend of old whose home was as his, and other valued friends who in that supreme hour learned that

The chamber where the good man meets his fate
Is privileged beyond the common walks
Of virtuous life, quite on the verge of heaven.

"To-morrow we will follow him, with solemn and reverent tread to his temporary tomb ; and somehow it seems to me that his final resting place, until he is wakened at the resurrection of the just, should be here near the mouth of the great river on whose banks at Briarfield, with reading, thought and study he mewed his mighty youth, taking thence his eagle flight ever after, moving upward toward the sun.

"His name and fame we can commit to mankind and time. The suggestion that we leave his epitaph to the future and have him for the present share that in which, in the tomb of the Army of Tennessee, our own Dimitry has crystallized Albert Sidney Johnston's character and career, shared by the two who were twin in spirit and one in affection, if they are placed near together, is not an unfelicitous conception.

"To us, comrades, the overarching heavens glitter with bright symbols of his character and career. It moved in its orbit with the steadiness of a star in its course ; like to a liquid planet, it lighted the earth beneath with the serene shining of its brightening way, and when its course was run its setting was as the setting of earth's golden sun—all radiant and glorious with the brightness and beauty of its evening sky, its conveying clouds clothed with light and bathed in splendor, and its sinking orb encircled with a halo of heaven's own glory."

In response to calls, brief speeches were also made by General S. B. Buckner, of Kentucky; General T. T. Munford, of Virginia; Dr. J. William Jones, of Atlanta; General S. W. Ferguson, of Mississippi; General S. D. Lee, of Mississippi, and Judge Walter H. Rogers, of New Orleans, which elicited loud applause.

THE FLORAL OFFERINGS.

Never, perhaps, were floral offerings at a funeral more profuse or more beautiful. It is almost impossible to describe them in detail, and in full, but we give the following from the *Times-Democrat* of December 11th, only adding that a large number of beautiful designs were brought in after this was written:

"The great stand at the west end of the Council Chamber, heavily draped in black, has, from the very hour the remains arrived, been brightened by a wealth of superb flowers. It was not until yesterday noon, however, that the mass of floral tributes now crowding every particle of available space in the apartment began to arrive. From mid-day until 12 o'clock last night Sergeant Hurley was kept busy bringing in the magnificent designs and finding place for them in the flower-perfumed death chamber.

"The picture presented as the setting sun sent its long shafts of golden light through the hall of mourning was beautiful and impressive. A very wall of roses had grown up on all sides of the beloved chief; blossoms of every conceivable tint glorifying the room and laden with the soft summer-like breezes stealing through with rare and delicious fragrance. In spite of the unusually warm weather every bloom was as fresh as when gathered by loving fingers for the honored dead. Not a leaf had turned. The delicate petals stood firm and fair, each rose and lily erect, as though conscious of the dignity of their mission.

"Many were the touching incidents connected with the presentation of these floral offerings. With tear-stained cheeks and dimmed eyes, some stepped quietly up to the big table near the door and laid great dewy clusters of hyacinths, daisies and lilies down without a word or card to tell whence they came. Not a few handed the officers near by beautiful bouquets of exotics, and in voices quivering with emotion begged they might be laid near their departed chief. Nearly all murmured apologies for the simplicity of their gifts, saying they knew they could bring nothing worthy of the dead, but they loved him who was gone and gave what they had.

"When the public school teachers came after 3 o'clock, each one had a handful of flowers she reverently laid beside the bier. Some brought violets they swept gently across the glass lid carrying them away again as cherished souvenirs of the solemn occasion. As the day wore on hundreds of bouquets and small designs were counted that had come anonymously, no line or sign save deep spontaneous affection telling from whom or why they were there. After all these seemed the most affecting of the scores of gifts given. Without a care for any personal connection, they were indifferent save that their mites be added to the overflowing devotion, impelling a united people to illuminate this disappearance of all that is mortal of a great man from the face of the earth.

"Amidst the wealth of floral designs was a splendid colossal ornamental cross eight feet in height, a triumph in flowers, and as noble a piece of handiwork as was ever seen. From a great base made of golden wheat and tall fern fronds sprang the superb shaft and arms woven of yellow rosebuds, white camelias, Roman hyacinths, forget-me-nots, smilax, and maiden hair. Two immense palm branches supported the flowery column, a dove in the hollow centre of the transverse held in its beak a long, rich silk ribbon, the floating ends of which was caught by the snowy birds poised on either side. In raised purple letters on the narrow white scarf were traced the words, 'Sympathy and love of the Confederate Association of Missouri.'

"From Captain P. A. Alba, of Mobile, was sent a large piece exquisite as a cameo in the taste and delicacy of its fashioning. The arch was a mass of gorgeous white camelias studding a back ground of mignonette, ox-eyed daisies and maiden hair fern. This was four feet in height, with gates ajar woven of the same flowers as the arch and base. Across the flowers lay a broad satin band with the words: 'Peaceful be thy rest.' The cotton used in packing could not be entirely removed and left a fine veiling of the fabric over the flowers.

"The most aristocratic of the numerous pieces was a dainty tribute from the Woman's Jefferson Davis Circle. The base was of yellow wheat, the viol above of daisies and feathery immortelles. The dove, with out-spread wings above, had an ivy leaf in its bill and a ribbon lettered with the initials of the society.

"In a graceful arch of rich purple immortelles swung a golden gate of chrysanthemums, a charming piece of floral work sent by the Sons and Daughters of Veterans Louisiana Artillery, Army Northern Virginia, with the inscription, 'To the hero of our fathers.'

"Two broad palm branches towered above a flowery square of beautiful flowers, making the design sent by Battery B, Louisiana Field Artillery, fully four feet in height. Within the arch were the gates of yellow chrysanthemums. A bird of snowy plumage, under the shadow of the palms held the ribbon with Battery B's name,

"From McDonogh High School, No. 3, came a shield of glowing red roses, crossed by a sabre of violets—its shield of yellow blossoms. The palm leaf and dove completed the beauty of the piece.

"A pillow of ivy, bearing a crescent of white jessamine blooms, with a palm branch and sheaf of wheat, represents the Girls' High School.

"Mrs. Samuel Delgado, a broad vase of flowers, an anchor surmounted by a crown.

"Forbes Bivouac, of the Tennessee Veterans' Association, J. J. Crussman, president, sent a heart of tuberose upon a plaque of Marechal Neil buds and smilax with a sheaf of grain caught in a scythe of flowers. A big, beautiful wreath of rose geraniums and Southern garden flowers brought from 'Beauvoir,' the dead statesman's home, hung between the two side windows over against the catafalque. Mrs. H. W. W. Reynolds, a mother deeply bereaved by the loss of her son in the army, sent a wreath of oak leaves with the red, white and red in ribbons crossed in the centre.

"A cross of camellias, roses and chrysanthemums had a card attached with the words 'For my dear old Confederate chieftain,' from Mrs. Wm. E. Jackson, Augusta, Ga.

"One of the noblest and grandest of the many superb designs was received from the students of the Jesuit College—a colossal urn five feet high, woven of the finest African immortelles, its grace and surpassing beauty attracted universal attention and admiration. A blazing cross of coral honeysuckle decorated the graceful bowl, from which sprung delicate handles of pink buds. From the full throat of the vase rose a huge cluster of dewy duchess roses, lilies and ferns. A Latin inscription was traced along the base.

"The Dyker Institute contributed a charming anchor and cross, with fluttering white ribbons. The Ladies' Confederate Memorial Association was represented by an original and a very lovely piece—weights and balances of scarlet and white flowers, the card accompanying it inscribed, 'A tribute of love and loyalty to the memory of our honored and illustrious President, Jefferson Davis.' The dark-green ivy foundation threw into high relief the brilliancy of the finely-woven flowers. Mrs. William H. Carroll and Miss Mattie McKay, a floral tribute, with love and sympathy expressed. Miss Leovy, a bouquet. From the Girls' High School another design, a beautiful plaque of roses. 'Ich Dien,' circle of King's Daughters, a handsome bouquet of palms, ferns, and fragrant white jessamine, the rare cluster tied with dark violet ribbons.

"From Mrs. George Nicholson, a magnificent screen of variegated blossoms, with a gorgeous cluster of pale-pink roses pinned to the centre. The Woman's Club presented a pillow of freshly-cut roses, the word 'Finis' wrought in delicate immortelles down in one corner. A basket of greens and roses, with long, swinging handle, sent anonymously.

"Mrs. Luther Manship's name, as vice-president of the Confederate Memorial Association of Mississippi, was attached to a tall, handsome scroll of roses, with flowers for the patriot, soldier, and statesman. A broken column of white blossoms, five feet high, with a crescent, bore the signature of J.S. Richardson. Mrs. Charles E. Bateson, of New York, a bouquet; Mrs. Peter Francesco Pescud, a bouquet; Mrs. J. H. Stauffer, a bouquet, with sympathy; Mrs. King and Miss Annie King, a bouquet; Mrs. Andrew Stewart, a big pillow of roses.

"The Veterans of the Army of Northern Virginia sent a wreath of bay leaves, with the red, white, and red. Confederate States Cavalry, a fair crown and crescent above a rich flowery base of yellow chrysanthemums. Three boxes of loose rare cut flowers from Mrs. Thomas H. Allen, and Mrs. Thomas H. Allen, Jr. Mrs. John McEnery, a beautiful shield of half-blown roses, and the red, white, and red in rich silk ribbons.

"From Mrs. W. R. Stauffer, a cross of white flowers. Two exquisite designs came from McDonogh School No. 8, saying the tributes were 'For one whom the little children loved.' Mr. and Mrs. S. H. Kennedy, palms and roses, artistically woven together. The teachers of the High School also sent a graceful arrangement of roses and palms.

"A large wreath of light blue and pale gold immortelles duplicated the handsome badge worn by the famous Washington Artillery, and occupied the place of honor in the black screen in the west end of the Council Chamber. The Savannah (Georgia) Veteran Association sent a sumptuous wreath of camellias encircling a pillow of roses, on which was outlined in purple immortelles the words, 'Our President.' Beneath were woven the Confederate battle-flags, tied with a bit of crape. The Washington Girls' School, No. 1, an anchor and cross of roses and ferns.

"The Boys' High School was lavish in its tribute, sending a huge book, two feet square, of flowers, with clasps and back of purple immortelles. A cluster of perfect roses adorned the upper lid, and completed one of the handsomest of the many superb designs.

"From the medical department of Tulane University came a tall easel holding a rose shield, crossed by a long sabre of fine blossoms, and a dove poised above the elegant arrangement. Although it made no show whatever among the host of gorgeous floral designs that crowded the still stately death-chamber, no single tribute sent to the dead ex-President breathed a purer or more fervent spirit of love than came with a modest box expressed from South Carolina. When opened it was found to contain two bunches of sweet violets, packed in wet sponge to keep them fresh, and the simple words, 'From an old soldier and his son.' Another inconspicuous gift came inscribed, 'The poor widow's mite to the chief of our cherished Confederacy. E. M. C.'

"Among the very handsome designs was a pillow of roses, hyacinths, camellias, and carnations, with a crown of violets on a cross and palm leaves four feet high, sent by the Richmond R. E. Lee Camp.

"During the afternoon the distinguished tragedian, Frederick Warde, visited the hall and asked for permission to view the remains, in order to make a careful study of the dead statesman's face. Mayor Shakspeare granted the right, but before passing to the bier Mr. Ward added to the already overflowing wealth of flowers with a sphere of charming half-blown roses handsomely arranged.

"The Quarante Club sent a splendid model of the old Confederate flag in exquisite flowers, three feet high, made of bravadiers, white jessamines and delicate ferns. The Boys' High School sent yet another tribute, a pillow of natural roses, cornelian pinks, violets and smilax, with handsome hyacinths.

"From South Carolina came a pyramid of snow-white blossoms, palms in the centre, beneath which were crossed canons, and the words South Carolina in red.

"The Louisiana Historical Association, of which Mr. Davis was chairman, sent a great chair of the rarest blossoms, tall and gracefully designed, a most costly and imposing piece, that made a fine appearance.

"The Louisiana Sugar and Rice Exchange offered a large massive wreath of half-opened roses, with crossed trumpets resting on the broad dark green palm leaves, and the words 'Ad Sum.'

"A tall, splendid white cross, four feet high, surmounted by a crown of crimson roses came from Mayor Ellyson, of Richmond, Va.

"Texas' floral tribute to the illustrious dead is magnificent. It is made of the finest flowers, all fresh from the gardens, forming the neatest and most appropriate offering at the bier of the gallant chieftain. The design is three feet wide and is set upon a solid base of flowers, making in all about six feet in height. The large lone star, made of white monte-flora jessamines, tinted with delicate pink and white bouvardias, has a raised centre of Marechal Neil roses and maiden-hair ferns, and between the points of the star are raised letters in crimson bouvardias bearing the name, Texas. This is all gracefully set upon a field of sweet alyssum, and the whole encircled by a green wreath of laurel and oak.

"The design is beautifully mounted upon a large base of pure white flowers of different varieties. The effect is splendid, and well worthy of the grand State from which it comes. It is well that the gallant hero whose pure life was an offering upon the altar of the sunny land he loved so well sleeps softly beneath its loveliest flowers, which are sprinkled with the tears of veterans who followed our standard in an honorable contest, and now weep at the honored grave of our chief.

"Mr. R. Maitre gave a wreath of mixed oak and laurel. Cobb's Kentucky Battalion remembered the dead statesman with a magnificent floral harp,

six feet high, all of natural flowers, roses and bravardiers, with a spray of oak leaves in the centre. The Kappa Sigma Fraternity of Tulane University sent a star and crescent four feet high. In the centre of the star were the initials 'K. E.,' and worked in white jessamine, their badge and the Tulane colors.

"Dallas, Tex., sent her floral offering in the shape of a massive ship made of natural flowers, which arrived at 11 o'clock last night. Flying from the masthead was the emblematic words, 'The Lost Cause,' 'Ship of State.' It is one of the finest pieces received."

THE NEW ORLEANS RESOLUTIONS.

We can only find space for a few of the resolutions adopted by the various organizations of the city.

The Bench and Bar Association adopted the following after eloquent and appropriate speeches from Chief-Justice Bermudez, Judge Walter H. Rogers, Associate-Justice Poche, and Hon. Thomas J. Semmes :

"*Resolved*, by the Bench and Bar of Louisiana, That we deplore the loss of Jefferson Davis, the venerable ex-President of the late Confederate States, who departed this life in the city of New Orleans on the 6th day of December, 1889, in the eighty-second year of his age, honored and revered by the people, who, with abiding faith, had entrusted him with their lives, their fortunes and their honor. Although misfortune attended the cause of which he was the chivalrous representative, we regard with satisfaction and pride the spotless integrity and resolute devotion to duty which characterized his career through life, and we emphatically approve the manly sentiments expressed by him in the last public paper which emanated from his pen: 'Instead of being traitors, we were loyal to our States; instead of being rebels against the Union, we were defenders of the Constitution as framed by its founders and expounded by them. We do not fear the verdict of posterity on the purity of our motives, or the sincerity of our belief, which our sacrifices and our career sufficiently attested.'

"*Resolved*, That we tender the family of the deceased the assurance of our sincere sympathy.

"*Resolved*, That the chairman transmit a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased, and that we attend the funeral in a body, as a tribute of respect to the memory of the Hon. Jefferson Davis."

The Veteran Confederate Cavalry Association adopted the following:

"Whereas, The wise Ruler of the Universe has seen fit to take from us our beloved comrade and late illustrious Commander-in-chief Jefferson Davis;

that while bowing to the inscrutable will and omniscient wisdom of the giver of all things, we desire to leave upon record a testimonial, showing the undying affection and esteem which we cherished for him while living, and for his hallowed memory, not alone for his peerless ability, dauntless courage and grand career, but added to these his gentleness, resignation, Christian virtues and splendid characteristics, all of which rank his one of the most illustrious names, coupled as it is with truth, justice and honor, which the world has ever produced.

"Resolved, That honored as this association is by having his name on the roll of its membership, we will cherish his name, his fame and his memory as the most priceless legacy which has been handed down to us and to our children.

"Resolved, That all the members of this association go in a body, as a guard and bivouac the last night on earth with the mortal remains of the late Hon. Jefferson Davis."

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Board of Trade the following resolutions were adopted:

"Jefferson Davis is dead. The patriot, the hero, the statesman has gone to the bourne whence none return and no more shall be seen of us to command respectful homage and admiration, and while we mourn the great loss sustained by our people, we feel that his life and memory are embalmed in the hearts of his countrymen, and that his name and patriotism shall never perish so long as the spirit of liberty shall remain the foundation upon which our government shall rest.

"Therefore we bow with reverence to the will of God and tender to the widow and daughters of deceased our heartfelt sympathy and condolence, assuring them that their future welfare shall always remain dear to the people of the South, and be guarded by them as a sacred treasure, worthy the keeping of a chivalrous and devoted people.

"That record be made of these proceedings on the minutes of the New Orleans Board of Trade, Limited, and that copies thereof be engrossed and delivered to the wife and daughters of Mr. Davis.

"The following was also adopted:

"Resolved, To close the Board of Trade, Limited, on Wednesday next, and that the flag be placed at half-mast, and the entrance to and the Board rooms be draped in mourning for thirty days.

"At a meeting of the law class of Tulane University, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, The South has been called upon to mourn the death of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, we, the students of the law department of Tulane University, desirous of adding our humble tribute to the memory of the distinguished dead, hereby resolve that in recog-

nition of the services that he has rendered to this and our sister States, and with a due sense of appreciation of that martyrdom which he suffered for principles dear to us all, with a knowledge of his abilities as a statesman, his heroism as a soldier and his virtues as a Christian, do lament his departure from among those who loved and revered him; be it further

"Resolved, That we do offer to his wife and family our deepest sympathy and affection in this moment of bereavement; and it is further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of this law class, and a copy be sent to Mrs. Davis.

Wm. K. Horn, Chairman; Geo. K. Favrot, John Dymond, Jr., Wm. L. Hughes, Marshall J. Gasquet.

"The law class will attend the funeral in a body.

"At a meeting of the New Orleans Stock Exchange, the following resolutions, introduced by Mr. Durant Da Ponte, were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, In the course of nature it has pleased the Almighty to remove from among us Hon. Jefferson Davis, a man who, by the purity of his character and the eminence of his intellect, had earned a recognized place, not only in the anthology of his country, but among the great figures of history, and, at the grave of such a man, animosities should be forgotten and criticism disarmed; therefore.

"Be it resolved, That the members of this Exchange participate in the universal grief which this loss should entail upon the nation; and that they are confident that, as the memory of their lamented leader is now revered by the people of the South, so, in the time to come, it will be to all Americans an illustration of the virtues which adorn and the intellect which exalts the human character.

"Be it further resolved, That we tender our deepest sympathy to the bereaved family of the deceased, and that the secretary of the Exchange be instructed to present to them a copy of these resolutions.

"At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange the following was unanimously adopted:

"The members of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, individually and as a body, join in the universal mourning at the demise of a great and good man, Jefferson Davis. Although full of years and arrived at a time when his removal from our midst in the ordinary course of nature could scarcely have been prolonged for a much greater period, his loss is felt none the less keenly, and we share in the profound sorrow which prevails throughout the South at the death of the man who has for so many years held so prominent a place before the people. Without touching upon any of the great questions of which Mr. Davis was a partial embodiment, as business men and representatives of many sections at home and abroad, we view Mr. Davis in the light of one who possessed the affection and reverence of the South, and sincerely participate in the sorrow at his loss. Mr. Davis's

career is too well known to every man, woman, and child of this section to need even a partial recital at our hands. Clearer heads and abler brains will do all this, and history will afford the true meed of praise for his greatness.

"We mourn with our fellow-citizens and friends.

"On motion it was ordered that the above be spread on the minutes of the Exchange; also that it be published and a copy thereof sent to the family of Mr. Davis.

"CHARLES CHAFFE, *President*.

"HENRY G. HESTER, *Secretary*.

"At the same time and place it was

"*Resolved*, To close the Exchange at 12 o'clock on Wednesday next, and that the flag be placed at half-mast and the front of the Exchange draped in mourning until the day after the funeral.

"We, the undersigned colored citizens of the city of New Orleans, La., desire to lay our tribute of honor and to join in the universal feeling which pervades this Southern country, of which we are and intend to be beneficent factors, to the memory of the great and good man, Jefferson Davis, recently passed from us, whose memory will be guarded by us as by all.

"Signed by G. J. McCree, John Lasalle, Michael Kirk, — Hooks, Michael Fitzgerald, Christian Rheinhard, C. Ingraham, J. B. Chandler, Charles W. Davis, C. Foster, D. Mullett, C. J. Strange, Frank Carson, J. M. Robinson, William Davis, Robert Johnson.

"At a meeting of the Faculty of the Academic Department of Tulane University the following resolutions, were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, 1. That the Faculty of Tulane University adds a voice of sympathy to the general expression of sorrow felt throughout the South at the death of Jefferson Davis.

"*Resolved*, 2. That in those personal characteristics which have endeared him to the people of the South, his integrity, his self-poise, his gentleness and urbanity, his warm interest in all that tends to uplift humanity, his firm but unobtrusive piety, his fearless and constant advocacy of principles which he deemed great, strong and fundamental, whether for individual conduct in private life or for the directions of public affairs, we recognize the loftiest type of a Christian manhood and an American statesman.

"*Resolved*, 3. In the public services rendered by Jefferson Davis not only to the Southern people, but to the cause of representative government everywhere, we recognize that noble purpose and lofty aim which may well become the study and example of the youth of the country, assured that in the life in which he lived and the principles which he illustrated through long and eventful years, through gain and loss, through prosperity and adversity, peace and in war truth is stronger than time, more enduring than success, and must at the end lead to its own vindication.

"*Resolved*, 4. That for the exercise of those virtues which make a private life of public worth, and for those noble qualities which make of public services a private benefaction, we hold the name of Jefferson Davis in our warmest affection, as in our highest esteem, and extend to his bereaved family and friends our earnest sympathy and respectful condolence.

"*Resolved*, 5. That the university buildings be appropriately draped, that all exercises of the academic department be suspended on Wednesday, 11th, the day of the funeral, and that the officers, faculty and students unite as a body in participating in the public exercises appointed for that day.

"*Resolved*, 6. That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the faculty, and a copy sent to the family of Mr. Davis."

"At a meeting of the students of the Medical Department of Tulane University, a committee consisting of Messrs. E. C. Hunt, chairman; F. D. Smythe, Secretary; J. J. Stevens, J. A. K. Birchett, J. R. Jiggetts, G. R. Eckles, R. D. Session, N. S. Walker, Mississippi; H. B. Wallet, E. D. Fenner, H. S. Lewis, Louisiana; E. Jowen, Georgia; C. A. Jeffries, South Carolina; D. W. Coter, North Carolina; F. M. Thigpen, Alabama; H. C. Black, Texas; J. S. Davis, Virginia; E. J. Reeves, Arkansas; McKinstry, Florida; J. T. Waffer, Kentucky; R. T. Lbester, Tennessee; W. T. Adams, California, and P. Arnold, Illinois, were appointed to draft suitable resolutions expressive of the regret of the association at the death of the ex-President. Their report, which was unanimously adopted, was as follows:

"Whereas we have learned with profound regret of the death of the illustrious statesman, Jefferson Davis; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we mourn with the whole South the death of the man that for so many years has occupied the highest place in the respect and affection of the Southern people, whose interests and well-being were ever the subjects of his deepest solicitude. The South has lost in him the man that was the peculiar representative of her ideas in that great struggle for those rights which she deemed inalienably hers, and for which she freely poured forth the best blood of her sons and sacrificed the whole of her material prosperity. On his shoulders not only fell a tremendous share of the cares and responsibilities of the great struggle, but when the arbitration of the sword had solved the vexed questions that convulsed the nation, his was the burden of the reproach and obloquy so freely showered. How his burden—grievous as it was—was bravely and uncomplainingly borne, is known to all mankind. History shall do justice to his honesty and singleness of purpose, his inflexible moral courage, his devotion to the ideas which he represented. It is with pride that we, as Americans, can point to a record so consistent, so blameless, as that of the great old man who has gone to his rest:

"His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Natures might stand up
And say to all the world: 'This was a man.'"

“Resolved, That we tender the bereaved family our sincere and heartfelt sympathy in this their great affliction. While theirs is the greatest loss, may it console them to know that thousands of other hearts share in their sorrow and bereavement.

“Resolved, That we request the faculty to suspend all exercises on the day of the interment, and that we attend the funeral in a body.

“In the civil district court the tribute of respect to the memory of the illustrious dead was indeed heartfelt. Judges Monroe, Rightor, Voorhies, Ellis, and King met in chambers and decided that each division should adjourn.

“Judge Monroe ordered the following entry made in the minutes of his court:

“Considering that Almighty God has seen fit in his wisdom to call from earth the soul of a citizen who, during a long life devoted to the service of his fellow-men, ever attracted the affection and commanded the respect of those whom he served; that this, our community, and this, our country, are to-day mourning a soldier who knew no fear; a statesman whose eminent services they are proud to recognize, and a patriot whose virtues have shed lustre upon history itself; considering that, in the death of Jefferson Davis, the bench and the bar, republican government, and all those who love their country, have alike sustained an irreparable loss, and unite in a common sorrow, and in a common desire to pay that respect which is due to so great and so melancholy an occasion, it is ordered that business in this court be suspended and the court stand adjourned.

“The other judges also made appropriate entries upon the minutes of the court.”

Delegations and individuals from all of the Confederate States continued to pour in up to the morning of the funeral, until the hotels were all full, and the great city was crowded with visitors.

Streams of visitors continued to pour by the bier until the doors were closed on Wednesday morning for the funeral obsequies.

THE FUNERAL OBSEQUIES

Wednesday morning, December 12th, was one of the most beautiful, balmy days of the year, and it was a notable day in the annals of our Southland; for we laid in the tomb the precious dust of our grand old chief, while in every city and town appropriate memorial services were held.

We cull from the report of the *Times-Democrat* the following very full, accurate, and deeply interesting account of the obsequies:

"A seemingly endless line of sorrowing admirers who have passed through the Council Chamber by tens of thousands since the remains of Mr. Davis were first conveyed to the City Hall continued yesterday from 7 o'clock in the morning until the clock tolled the hour of ten. The light of early day illuminated the flower-scented chamber with its glory of December roses was as fair and sweet a spot as could be found on earth. In spite of the immense amount of detail arrangements attendant on preparations for the imposing funeral ceremonies, the utmost quiet prevailed. No hasty tread or discordant tone disturbed the solemnity surrounding the cherished dead.

"An immense concourse of residents and belated visitors passed silently through, and for thirty minutes after an order had been issued to clear the hall, groups of six and ten men and women and children begged so earnestly for admittance that until the last minute they were permitted to view the body. It was easy to distinguish the visiting companies of militia, who came in small detachments. All were full of appreciation of the dignity of the occasion.

"Among those who arrived after 10 o'clock was Mrs. Wheat. The venerable lady, bent and trembling under a weight of years, was supported on the arm of Mr. Douglas West, and when she passed the bier her sobs were audible all over the room. Two conspicuous and distinguished figures were those of Mr. M. U. Payne, of Boone county, Mo., who came in arm in arm with his aged brother, Mr. J. U. Payne, of New Orleans. Both are very old gentlemen, and had been close and life-long friends of Mr. Davis.

"The Mobile Cadets, the Lomax Rifles with their chaplain, Rev. Mr. G. C. Tucker; the First Alabama division, the Columbus Rifles, the Mobile Rifles, the Gulf City Guards, Montgomery True Blues, Montgomery Grays, the Alabama State Artillery in a body, and a delegation from the Young Men's Benevolent Association were among those last to go through. Mr. L. Q. C. Lamar, Jr., of Mississippi, and Mrs. A. W. Roberts, a niece of Mr. Davis, also passed.

"Finally the time drew near for the opening of the ceremonies. All those not directly connected with the sad duties of the hour were rigidly excluded, and a deeper hush fell over the still chamber. The military guard was doubled, and Mr. A. J. Lewis, as President of the Army of Tennessee, watched at the head of the bier.

"So quietly, it was impossible to say when he entered, Father Hubert came for a last visit to the great man he loved. Mr. Lewis at once surrendered his position, and with his gentle countenance deeply moved the aged priest prayed long and fervently over the still, white face beneath its clear

glass covering. Gradually the look of pain wore away and was replaced by a glow of joy. At this time the casket was covered with badges from the various army organizations and the honey bee buzzed bravely in the heart of a great cluster of loose white roses heaped over the patriot's breast. Father Hubert also gave way, and no sooner had Rt. Rev. Bishop Thompson and Fathers O'Connor, Miles and O'Shannon reverently looked upon the dead, than at a signal from Mr. James G. Clark the lid was brought forward to shut the face of Jefferson Davis away forever from the sight of the world.

"The Southern Governors filed in at this moment, but were told they were too late, and so passed on. Soon the velvet cover was complete, and after wrapping the old army flag about the casket, a floral design, taken at random from the masses near, was laid over all. It was a beautiful and fitting accident of fortune that the emblem thus honored proved to be a noble cross of white jessamines and roses sent by the High School girls of New Orleans. It was placed on the coffin by Mr. P. F. Alba, of Mobile, with the crossed palm leaves sent by Mrs. W. H. King, just after Mr. Davis's death, which has never once been removed.

"Precisely as the hour struck 12 the clergy entered the Council Chamber from the rear, Rev. J. Gordon Bakewell walking first, and fifteen in line, all wearing their robes. The sight was deeply impressive. With his long crape scarf, Mr. Lewis stood immovable at the head, while Private Pete Mitchell, in a full suit of Confederate gray, guarded the foot of the bier. After the Episcopal clergy had passed, ministers of all denominations followed, every church and religious body being largely represented.

"At this moment the detachment of Louisiana field artillery detailed to bear the body forth formed on either side of the casket, and grasping its heavy silver bars, raised the beloved remains and carried the chief away from his flower-crowned resting place. With slow and solemn tread the pall-bearers walked close behind the coffin. Among them Commodore Hunter and Dr. Jones, two aged gentlemen, helping each other to follow for the last time their adored leader.

"The hush of death had settled in the great corridor, with its heavy draperies of fluttering crape, and no murmur broke the stillness as the sad procession passed out toward the sunshine. Reaching the stately stone portico of the City Hall, the soldiers tenderly supported their precious burden and laid it down in the eyes of the assembled multitudes. The garish light of day fell upon a striking scene. Nearly all of those near to the dead were elderly men. Faces full of the dignity of years and eyes familiar with wild battle-fields looked with misty vision upon him they had brought forth to the people. The surpliced clergymen formed in a wide semi-circle to one side.

"The young soldiers who were to carry him hence held their positions beside the bier. The two bishops stood at the foot of the casket, while pall-

bearers and ministers of all denominations crowded the upper flights of steps. By this time the sun was throwing its clear, powerful mid-day rays upon the hall, blinding all those facing the light, but illuminating the picture for the crowds viewing it from a distance.

"As the great deep-throated bell in the tall spire of Dr. Palmer's church tolled the first funeral stroke, a minute-gun was fired, and from the lips of Rev. Mr. Thompson, of Biloxi, fell those words of divine consolation, beginning the solemn ritual for the burial of the dead:

"I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord; he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me, shall never die."—St. John xi., 25, 26.

"Then came the psalm, as sung by Rev. Mr. Thomas R. Martin, with hearty responses from the united clergy:

"Lord, let me know my end and the number of my days, that I may be certified how long I have to live.

"As the last amen was said, Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Markham read the lesson in solemn tones, beginning:

"I Cor., xv., 20: Now is Christ risen from the dead and become the first fruits of them that slept.

"When the last note had died away Right Rev. John Nicholas Galleher, Bishop of Louisiana, stepped a trifle forward and in slow, measured accents, spoke as follows:

"When we utter our prayers to-day for those who are distressed in mind; when we lift our petitions to the Most Merciful, and ask a benediction on the desolate, we remember that one household above others is bitterly bereaved, and that hearts closely knitted to our own are deeply distressed.

"For the master of Beauvoir lies dead under the drooping flag of the saddened city; the light of his dwelling has gone out and left it lonely for all the days to come.

"Surely we grieve with those who weep the tender tears of homely pain and trouble and there is not a sigh of the Gulf breeze that sways the swinging moss on the cypress trees sheltering their home but finds an answer in our over-burdened breathing.

"We recall with sincerest sympathy the wifely woe that can be measured only by the sacred deeps of wifely devotion; and our hearts go travelling across the heaving Atlantic seas to meet and comfort if we might the child, who coming home, shall for once not be able to bring all the sweet splendors of the sunshine with her.

"Let us bend with the stricken household and pay the ready tribute of our tears. And then, acknowledging the stress and surge of a people's sorrow, say that the stately tree of our Southern wood, planted in power, nourished by kindly dews, branching in brave luxuriance and scarred by many storms lies uprooted!

"The end of a long and lofty life has come; and a moving volume of human history has been closed and clasped. The strange and sudden dignity of death has been added to the fine and resolute dignity of living.

"A man who has in his person and history symbolized the solemn convictions and tragic fortunes of millions of men cannot pass into the glooms that gather around a grave without sign or token from the surcharged bosoms of those he leaves behind; and when Jefferson Davis, reaching 'the very sea-mark of his utmost sail,' goes to his God, not even the most ignoble can chide the majestic mourning, the sorrowing honors of a last salute.

"I am not here to stir by a breath the embers of a settled strife; to speak one word unworthy of him and of the hour. What is writ is writ in the world's memory and in the books of God. But I am here to say for our help and inspiration that this man, as a Christian and a churchman, was a lover of all high and righteous things; as a citizen, was fashioned in the old, faithful type; as a soldier was marked and fitted for more than fame, the Lord God having set on him the seal of a pure knighthood; as a statesman, he was the peer of the princes in that realm; and as a patriot, through every day of his illustrious life, was an incorruptible and impassioned defender of the liberties of men.

"Gracious and gentle, even to the lowliest—nay, especially to them—tender as he was brave, he deserved to win all the love that followed.

"Fearless and unselfish, he could not well escape the life-long conflicts to which he was committed. Greatly and strangely misconceived, he bore injustice with the calmness befitting his place. He suffered many and grievous wrongs, suffered most for the sake of others, and those others will remember him and his unflinching fidelity with deepening gratitude, while the Potomac seeks the Chesapeake, or the Mississippi sweeps by Briarfield on its way to the Mexican sea.

"When on the December midnight the worn warrior joined the ranks of the patient and prevailing ones, who

"Loved their land with love far brought,"

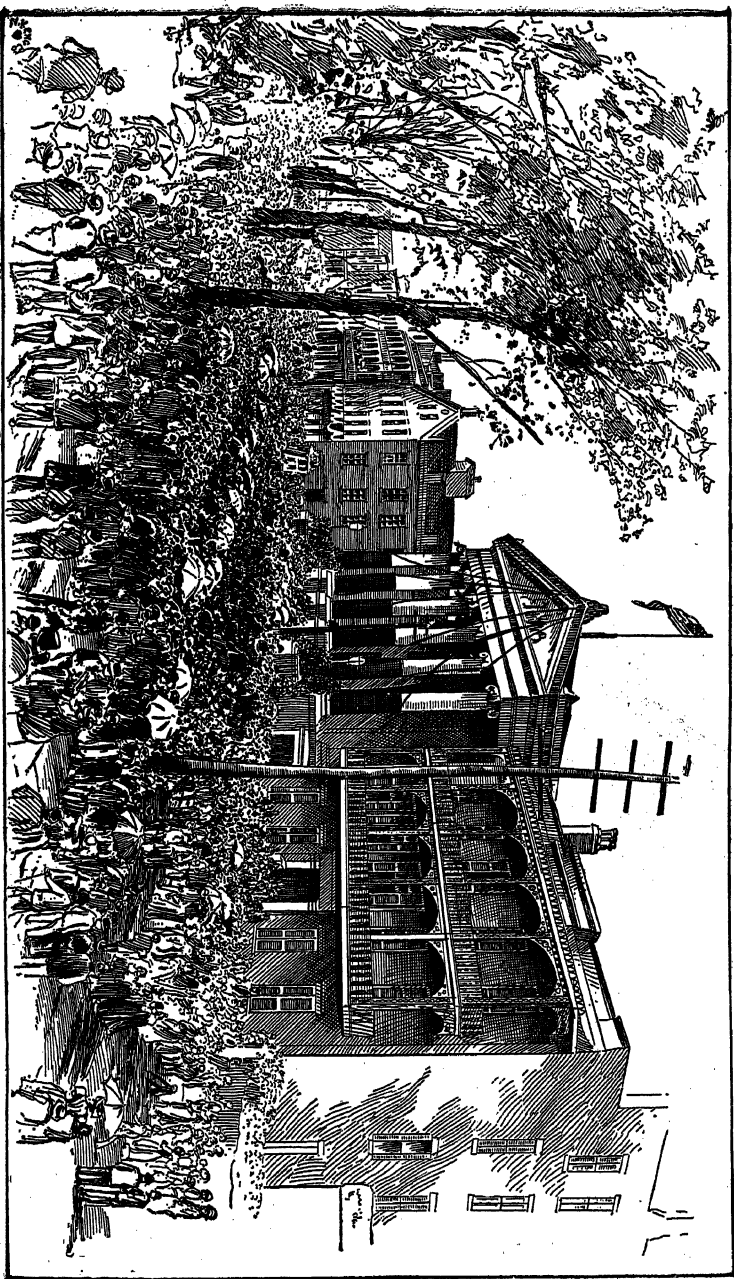
if one of the mighty dead gave the challenge:

"Art thou of us?"

He answered: I am here."

"The benediction was given, and then came the most affecting portion of the entire service. Dr. Thompson surrendered his post at the head of the bier, and Rev. Father Hubert, of the Jesuit Church, stood once more beside the beloved remains. The priest's sensitive face was eloquent with overwhelming emotion. His gentle voice trembled with suppressed sorrow, and there were few dry eyes as he prayed with almost passionate fervor:

"O, God! loving and compassionate Father, in the name of my heart-broken comrades, I beseech Thee to behold us in our bereavement, from



CITY HALL, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
— TAKING THE REMAINS TO THE FUNERAL CAR, 12.30 P. M., DECEMBER 11TH, 1889.

whom Thou hast taken one who was to us a chief, a leader, and a noble and constant exemplar. Thou knowest how in time of his power he ever took care that his soldiers should have with them Thy ministers, to cheer, to warn, to teach them how to fight and die for the right. See him now at the bar of Thy judgment, at the throne of thy mercy-seat, and to him let justice and mercy be shown. And may we one day with him love and bless and praise Thee forever more, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.'

"Throughout the services the bell tolled, and at regular intervals minute-guns were fired.

"A signal was made, the bands struck up a funeral march, and the soldiers on duty again lifted the casket to carry it to the caisson in waiting. The clergy, with the bishops at their head, first passed down the steps, then came the casket, followed by the pall-bearers and other clergy in attendance, walking two-and-two. Reverently, and in the presence of a multitude who uncovered as the remains were brought to the carriage, the casket was placed within the catafalque.

LAIID TO REST.

"While yet the heavy gray mists hung dark and damp in the streets, as if clinging to the wet pavements, though the stars were already paling in the widening dawn of yesterday, many a war-worn veteran was astir. It was no new thing for these grizzled sons of the South to turn out before the sun at the call of duty, but many years of peace and comparative inactivity had made them unused to it. They had many a time responded to the midnight alarm, or to the reveille as the first streaks of dawn were painting the eastern horizon; they had rallied around the stars and bars, with snow and ice under foot and grim, sullen storm-clouds drifting over head; they had wakened 'neath the leaden rain of the enemy, and they had known what it was to contend against overwhelming odds when they knew their cause was lost; but they never had a sadder awakening than that of yesterday. The great standard-bearer of the Confederacy had at last laid down the burden of life, and the day had come when the last farewells must be said.

"Away beyond the midnight preceding, veterans had been coming and going beneath the sombre funeral draperies that enshrouded the great stone columns and massive doorways of the City Hall, and the sleepy guards had hardly said good night to the last of these ere they were greeted by the early comers of yesterday. Steadily the multitudes gathered as the day wore on.

"The latest visitors were not there for idle curiosity. They did not come to New Orleans that they might have it to say that they had seen the great statesman on his bier. As they looked on the face of the dead, the flushed cheek, the swelling throat, the swimming eye, and now and then a salt tear stealing down a bronzed and furrowed cheek, told that the memory of Jefferson Davis was that of a friend, a comrade, a chieftain.

"While the visits to the death chamber were in progress the crowds were gathering fast in the streets. Soldiers in uniform were hurrying to their rendezvous, while civilians were drifting slowly and leisurely toward Lafayette square. The early comers lounged wearily on the grass before there were sufficient numbers assembled to make it worth while to secure places from which they might witness the formation of the grand and solemn pageant.

"About 11 o'clock, however, streams of humanity began to pour into the square through every street that opens upon it, and before the procession had taken form the square and its surroundings looked like an almost unbroken mass of men, women and children. Every doorway, gallery or window commanding a view of the square was crowded, while the banquettes of every street leading out of it were filled to the very curbstones with dense, moving masses of humanity for several blocks from the square.

"More and more brilliant did the scene become as the morning wore on and the preparations for the pageant progressed.

"Though the early morning had been misty with a dappled and half threatening sky, every trace of cloud and mist rolled away before mid-day, and a flood of golden sunlight was being poured out of an unclouded sky of deepest and purest blue when the first note of the solemn funeral service floated from behind the sombre draperies that shrouded the massive colonnade of the City Hall.

"The square was packed with a mass of humanity in the comparatively dark attire of civilians, while all around this ran a deep border of military whose uniforms of blue and gray and green in varying shades, with facings, caps, and trappings of white, scarlet, buff, blue, and gold, gleamed in the sunlight, looking not unlike a gorgeous and brilliant fringe upon a giant mantle of black.

"The service at the City Hall was a brief one, and soon the mournful tolling of the bells and the deep booming from out the iron throats of the minute-guns told that the ashes of Jefferson Davis were being borne to a bed of dreamless rest.

"Plaintive dirges rose above the subdued murmur of the multitudes that lined the streets. Tattered and smoke-stained battle flags furled and swathed in sable crape were borne aloft by maimed and scarred veterans of the war while the drums, whose martial throbs had in the days that are gone thrilled many a Southern heart, where thick dun clouds of battle smoke were pierced by leaden hail, now gave out only muffled sobs to the rhythm of the slow and measured tread of thousands who marched sorrowing to enact the last sad scene of the great national tragedy.

"The monster procession extended so far beyond the line of vision from any given point that the eye could not picture it as a whole. There were youthful soldiers in brilliant uniforms and gilded trappings, and there were

grizzled men whose bronzed cheeks, soldierly bearing and a certain unbending determination in their look that stamped them as veterans of the late war. They needed neither badge nor uniform to establish their identity, which, with nothing else to mark it, would have sufficiently appeared in scarred faces, empty sleeves and halting gaits.

"Slowly the vast procession moved through the streets with that decorous solemnity that comes of heartfelt but unostentatious and manly sorrow, while the vast concourse of people, estimated at 200,000, that thronged the banquettes, the galleries, the windows, and even the housetops, all along the long line of march, looked on in sorrowing silence.

"With that spirit of sturdy heroism that long ago won for them and their comrades undying fame the staunch old veterans marched all the way to the cemetery behind the body of their fallen leader unmindful of dust, heat, and fatigue that proved sufficient to overcome more than one of the more youthful soldiers in uniform.

"As the sombre cortege passed slowly beneath the broad arch opening into Metairie Cemetery the beautiful life-like statue of that other hero of the Confederacy, Albert Sidney Johnston was seen on the right, veiled in crape, as if even the insentiate bronze mourned the fallen statesman.

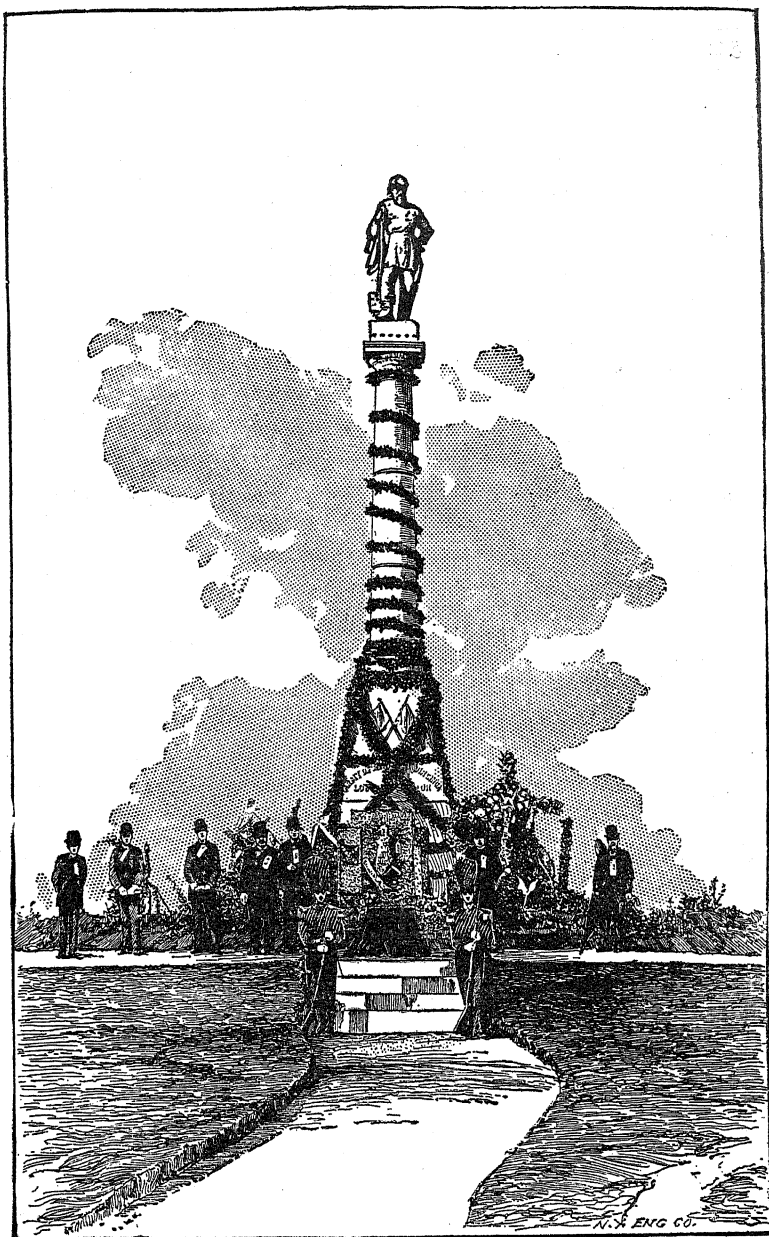
"Slowly and sadly the procession threaded its way along the white shelled avenues of that beautiful city of the silent. The snowy tomb glistening in the mellow light of the afternoon sun looked to be rising out of a plain in which the emerald and gold of growing and ripened grasses were mingled with exquisite effect. Here an orange tree with gleaming foliage of deepest green was bending beneath its burden of golden fruit; roses were everywhere looking their freshest and brightest, while the foliage of the shade trees, as well as that of the forest border which fringes the inclosure, wore a gorgeous blending of richest green and fiery bronze.

"At last the procession halted before a great, verdant mound, surmounted by a massive pedestal of gray stone from which rose a tall, slender shaft bearing aloft the statute of still another Southern hero, Stonewall Jackson. Here, with his comrades of the Army of Northern Virginia, were the ashes of the dead chieftain to be laid at rest.

"The pedestal at the base of the shaft was almost hidden by rich and rare floral designs, while around the shaft from cap to base was twined a spiral wreath.

"Soon a cordon of military was extended around the tomb, and in a few moments thousands of people were standing outside the cordon waiting to witness the burial rites.

"Those who were permitted to pass within the cordon entered the inclosure with uncovered heads, and as the veterans filed around the tomb they showered upon it fresh cut flowers till the air was redolent of their delicious fragrance,



TOMB ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA, METAIRIE CEMETERY.
VETERANS AND GUARDS OF HONOR AWAITING THE REMAINS.

"At last the casket, half covered with the old Confederate flag and strewn with flowers, was born aloft and placed at the entrance of the sepulchre. The solemn service of the Episcopal Church was performed. Faintly and with inexpressible sadness came the intonations of the surpliced choir and the soft obligato of the cornets to the ears of the vast multitude beyond the cordon.

"Just as the rites were begun a soft, feathery cloud of golden bronze mellowed the sunlight that flooded the place as if great nature itself would lend solemnity to the scene, and as the ceremony progressed the light became more and more softened, while thousands listened for the faint and far off tones with bated breath; and not even the faintest breeze stirred the sere leaves on trees or shrub.

"At last, clear, distinct and full of pleading pathos, came that grand petition,

Rock of ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee.

"Then in deeper and even more earnest tones came the words:

Not the labor of my hands,
Can fulfill Thy law's demands.

"And then with boundless fervor came the sublime refrain:

In my hands no price I bring,
Simply to Thy cross I cling.

"As the last stanza was sung many a veteran's cheek was wet, and there were voices that mingled chooking sobs with the words.

While I draw this fleeting breath.
When my eyelids closed in death.

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Rock of Ages, cleft for me.
Let me hide myself in Thee.

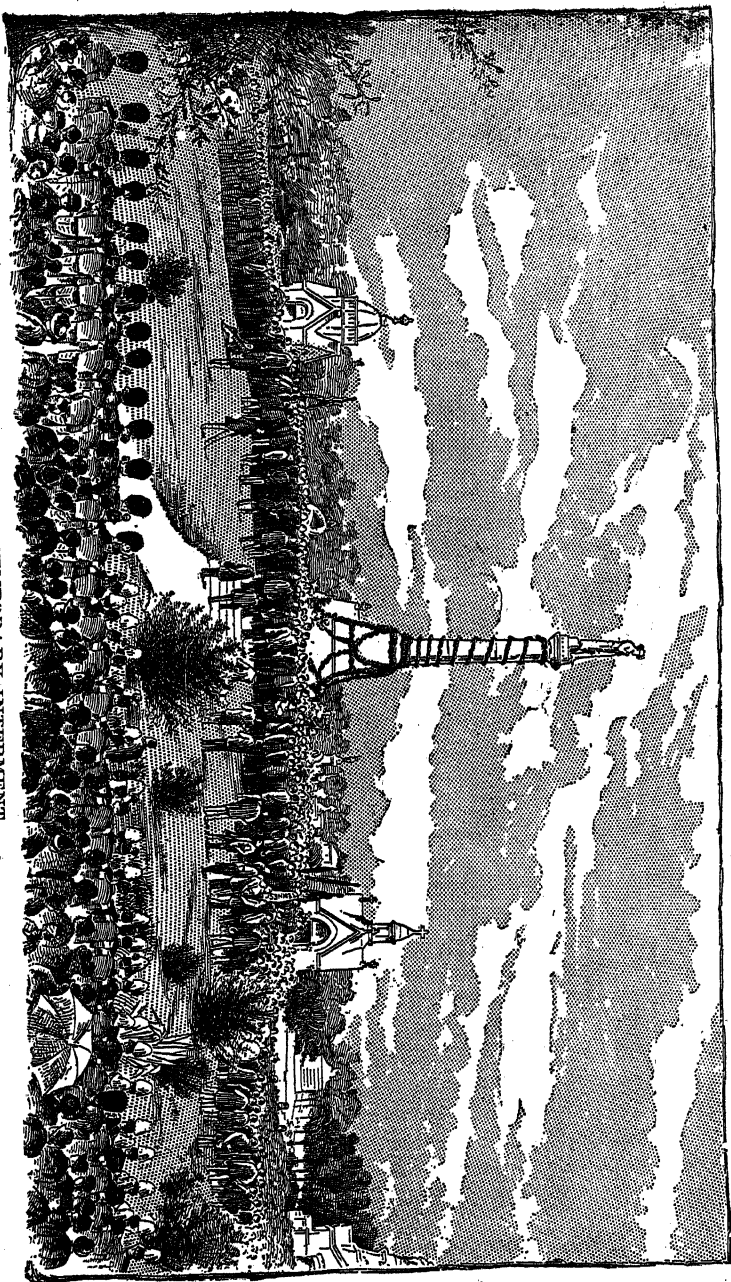
"As the burial rites were ended the declining sun sank deeper among the clouds of purple and bronze in the western horizon, the shadows were lengthening and deepening, and the short winter day was fast drawing to a close. Puffs of smoke curled upward as the cannons boomed the parting salute telling that the great leader of the Confederacy had been laid to rest, and before the tiny smoke clouds had faded in empty air the sun had hidden his face in a cloak of purple cloud, whose curling upper rim, marked with a border of flaming gold, told where he had gone down.

"Thus was broken another cord that bound the living, throbbing heart of the South to the dead, but loved and unforgotten past.

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION.

THE ORGANIZATIONS COMPOSING THE SIX DIVISIONS IN LINE.

"At 12 o'clock sharp, General John Glynn had everything in readiness to move, but the religious ceremonies were still in progress on the portico. Chief-of-Police Hennessey and his men were also ready to start. They



THE TEMPORARY INTERMENT.
TOMB ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA, METAIRIE CEMETERY, NEW ORLEANS.

kept the street in front of the City Hall clear, so that nothing might interfere with the commands when they started to move. At precisely 12:30 o'clock Chief-of-Police David C. Hennessey, mounted and in full uniform, commanded a picked detachment of his corps, that headed the procession and cleared the way for it through the crowded thoroughfares over which the line marched.

"The route of parade was up St. Charles street, around Lee Circle to Calhoun, to Camp, down to Chartres, to St. Louis, to Royal, to Canal, and out to the cemeteries.

"Behind Chief Hennessey were Captains Colleyn, Barrett, Donnally, Sergeants Walsh and Lynch mounted.

"Then came Sergeants Day, McCabe and Blancher afoot. A detachment of forty-eight picked men were under command of Corporal Cooper, and marched twelve abreast.

"Then came the honorary marshal, Governor, Gordon of Georgia, and General Glynn, marshal of the day.

"General Glynn was followed by his staff: Lieutenant-Colonel John D. Scott, A. A. G., chief of staff; Lieutenant-Colonel E. C. Fenner, inspector-general; Colonel L. J. Fremaux, quartermaster; Captain Charles H. Fenner, aid-de-camp.

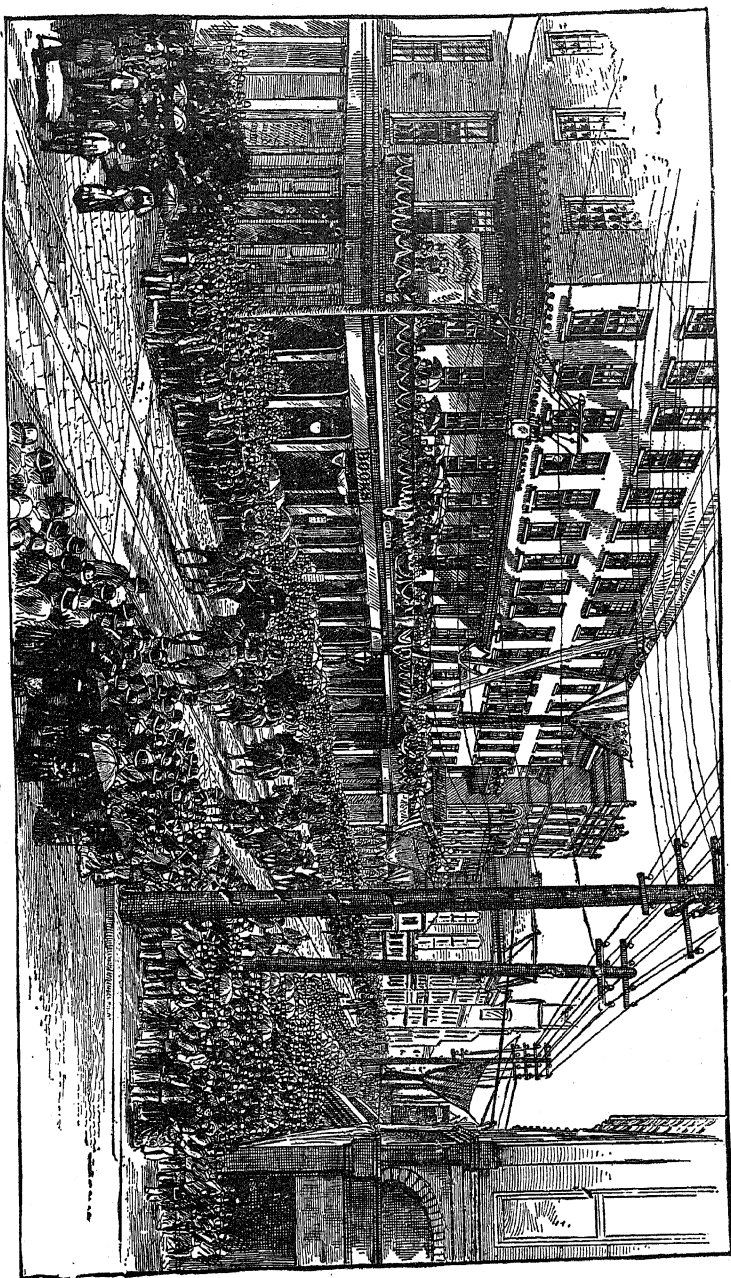
"In the rear of General Glynn's immediate staff were the honorary aids, riding four abreast. They were: General Leon Jastremski, James A. Kinsley, C. V. Labor, J. H. Renshaw, Major Gilbert Hall, John M. Avery, D. H. Lombard, E. J. Salvant, and ex-Mayor W. S. Reese, of Mobile.

"There were a number of other gentlemen, who were among the honorary aid marshals, but they were on duty in other parts of the procession.

"General Glynn and his staff were mounted and in full military uniform. General Gordon, honorary marshal, was attired in black broadcloth and black gloves, and he wore a large silk sash, his ensign of office. The honorary aids were attired in black, wore silk hats and black gloves, and their left shoulders were ornamented with crape rosettes, the centre of which contained a 'forget-me-not.'

"The first division was composed of Brigadier-General Adolph Meyer and staff, detachment of city police, military escort, consisting of the troops of the first military district, and visiting military, clergy attending, physicians and pall-bearers in carriages, the bier and guard of honor and family of the deceased in carriages.

"The first division was commanded by Brigadier-General Adolph Meyer. His staff was Lieutenant-Colonel Clem. L. Walker, A. A. G.; Major W. H. Pinckard, A. I. G.; Major S. P. Walmsley, A. Q. M.; Major F. A. Behan, brigade ordnance officer; Major Blain Jamison, commissary; Dr. A. W. de Roaldes, brigade surgeon; Captain Wm. A. Brand, aid-de-camp. In addition to the regular staff, there were present as guests Brigadier-General F. S. Myles, inspector-general on Governor Lowry's staff, of Mississippi; Col-



GRAND MARSHALS AND AIDS.
CAMP STREET, THE FUNERAL PROCESSION EN ROUTE TO METAIRIE CEMETERY.

onel J. W. Parson, also of Governor Lowry's staff; Colonel Cox, of Texas, and Captains E. A. Jones, Lieutenants Dufour and Cohen of the Meyer battalion. These officers were all mounted.

"Following General Meyer and staff came the Continental Guard's Band opening the march of the military column.

"The first company was the Volunteer Southrons, of Vicksburg, Miss., under command of Captain C. J. Searles. This company was assigned the post of honor by Captain Beanham, of the Louisiana Field Artillery, who had been assigned to this duty. Adjutant-General Wm. Henry, of Mississippi, made this request because of the close associations of the command with President Davis, and Captain Beanham promptly acceded.

"There were twenty-eight men in line, rank and file, who wore uniforms of blue, with white shakos. They carried their flag in the rear, which was heavily draped in mourning.

"The Columbus (Miss) Riflemen came next. The Riflemen were represented by a detachment of twenty men, under command of Captain A. J. McDowell. Their gray uniforms, with black trimmings and white helmets, appeared to advantage.

"Under the command of Captain D. P. Porter came the Capital Light Guards of Jackson, Miss. This company had thirty men in line, whose blue uniforms, with white and gold trimmings and fatigue caps, were very becoming.

"The Jefferson Davis Volunteers, of Fayette, Miss., with their high shakos, light blue trousers and dark blue frock coats, with buff trimmings were next in line. Captain L. R. Harrison was in command of twenty men, who made a soldierly appearance.

"Preceded by a splendid brass band came the Alabama delegation from the First and Second regiments. The staff of the Governor of Alabama and the regulars were also in line. They were: Charles P. Jones, adjutant-general; L. J. Lawson, inspector-general; M. P. Le Grand, judge advocate-general; E. Stollenwerck, quartermaster general; Paul Sanguinette, ordnance officer; James L. Tanner, A. Steinhart, and J. F. Ross, aides-de-camp.

"Next marched the Jefferson Volunteers of Birmingham, under Captain L. V. Clark, attired in blue uniforms trimmed with gold. They wore helmets ornamented with plumes, and numbered thirty men rank and file.

"The Montgomery True Blues, Company K, Second Alabama Regiment, in command of Captain H. E. Stringfellow, marched in double rank. There were thirty-three rank and file in line. They wore tall black shakos with blue uniforms ornamented with gold.

"Colonel Thomas G. Jones, of the Second Alabama Regiment, was at the head of the next company.

"The next company was the Montgomery Greys, thirty-eight strong, Captain W. J. Boothe in command. They wore handsome and becoming uniforms of gray, trimmed in gold, with white shakos.

"Captain A. A. Wiley, in command of the Montgomery Mounted Rifles (dismounted), thirty-six strong, in dark blue, with buff trimming, followed the Greys. Although accustomed to parade in the saddle, the Rifles marched as steadily as the infantry commands.

"The Montgomery Field Artillery, under command of Lieutenant W. R. Taylor, had twenty-seven men, clad in blue uniforms, trimmed in gold. They wore the regulation stripes of red on their pantaloons.

"Headed by Captain G. C. Tucker, chaplain of the First Regiment Alabama State troops, came five companies belonging to that regiment, in command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dick Roper.

"The first company to appear was the Lomax Rifles, who captured the great trophy at Washington a few years ago. The tall white hair plumes in their shakos, their uniform of dark blue with gold trimmings, and their highly polished muskets, made them one of the most conspicuous commands in the procession. Captain F. P. Davis commanded the thirty-two Lomax Riflemen.

"Captain Murray next appeared with the famous Mobile Rifles, who are no strangers to New Orleans. Thirty men rank and file were in line. They wore bottle green uniforms trimmed in gold.

"The Gulf City Guards, commanded by Captain A. C. Ebeltorft, with thirty men, followed, wearing blue uniforms, trimmed in gold and red, and white helmets and plumes. The Guards presented a striking appearance.

"Lieutenant R. A. Siddle commanded the Mobile Cadets, thirty strong. They were attired in Confederate gray, with black trimmings and black plush caps, ornamented with black plumes. Each man's arm was ornamented with a band of crape.

"The Alabama State Artillery, in blue uniforms, trimmed in red, under Captain R. S. Seales, had thirty men in line, and beside the commander at his post marched Sergeant Angelo Fistorazzi, of the First regiment.

"The Washington Artillery, headed by their own band, came next. The battalion was under command of Lieutenant-Colonel John B. Richardson, assisted by Major Andrew Hero, Jr., and staff, as follows: Captain E. I. Kursheedt, adjutant; C. L. C. Dupuy, ordnance officer; Joseph H. DeGrange, quartermaster; Alfred T. Baker, commissary; J. T. DeGrange, surgeon; William W. Crane, sergeant-major; Gus Leefe, quartermaster-sergeant; Hy. Febal, commissary-sergeant; Reeves, ordnance-sergeant, and Samuel Fitzhugh, color-sergeant.

"First came a picked detachment of veterans of this historic command. They were under command of Major Robert Strong and Captain Emile J. O'Brien, and were attired in old Confederate gray uniforms, trimmed with red, wearing the regulation kepi.

"Following this detachment marched sixty-five veterans of this command, who kept step to the beat of the muffled drum. Their movements

were precise and exact, as only those of veterans can be. They were attired in black suits and wore the badge of the command.

"On the right of the battalion, occupying posts of honor, were the Gate City Guards, of Atlanta. The post of honor on the left was occupied by the Dallas Light Artillery. They had telegraphed for horses (brought their guns with them), intending to appear mounted, but the telegram was received too late. Next followed the three batteries of the Washington Artillery, numbering 125 men.

"Captain Henry M. Isaacson commanded Battery C, thirty-eight men; Captain Underhill, Battery A, thirty-two men; Captain Eugene May, Battery B, thirty-nine men.

"Sixteen artillerymen of the Dallas Light Artillery, under Captain A. P. Wozencraft, brought up the left of the line. They wore blue uniforms trimmed in red.

"The Continental Guards, in their showy uniforms, followed the Washington Artillery. The company was under command of Lieutenant E. K. Skinner, and turned out thirty-eight men, rank and file. Continentals in citizens' dress did duty at other points along the line.

"The Tiro Al Bersaglio, officered by Captain Patorno, came next, divided into three companies, numbering about one hundred men, rank and file. Their dark olive-green uniforms and broad-brimmed, low-crowned black hats, freely garnished with black cocks' feathers, contrasted strikingly with the blue and gray uniforms of those who had preceded them.

"The close-fitting blue uniforms, high, black hair shakos of the Louisiana Rifles, under Captain Charles H. Adams, came next. There were twenty men in line and a like number on guard at the cemetery.

"Next came the clergy in carriages, as follows:

"No 1. Bishops Galleher and Thompson.

"No. 2. Rev. Messrs. Sessums, Bakewell, Snively and Wiggins.

"No. 3. Rev. Fathers Fitzgerald, Smith, Moore, and O'Neil, of St. Joseph's Church.

"No. 4. Rev. Messrs. Waters, Thompson, Markham, and Hedges.

"No. 5. Rabbi I. L. Leucht and Rev. Messrs. R. W. Merrill, T. J. Draine, and H. M. Smith.

"No. 6. Rev. Fathers Miles O'Connor and O'Shannahan, from the Jesuits' Church.

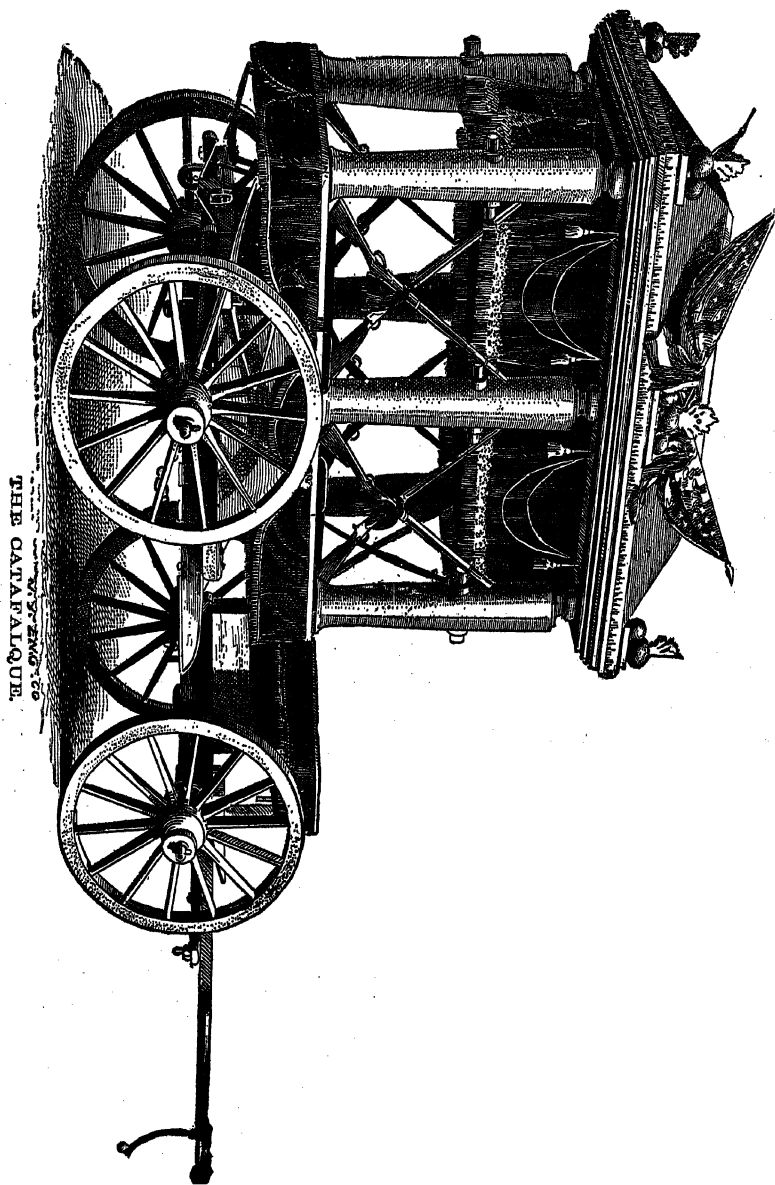
"No. 7. Rev. Messrs. Mallet, Elwang, Hall, and Blingsly.

"No. 8. Father Hubert and Comrade Ed. Ryan, Army of Northern Virginia.

"No. 9. Rev. Messrs. Percival, Martin, Hunter, Bussey, and Trader.

"No. 10. Rev. Messrs. Schwarts, Hyland, Lyle, Keole and Trawick.

"No. 11. Rev. Fathers Mignot, of the Cathedral, and Chasse, chancellor of the archbishop.



THE CATALPAQUE

*No. 12. Rev. Messrs. Minnegerode, Cleburne, Tardy, and Hammond.

‘Next came the following pall-bearers in carriages :

“No. 1. Governors Watts and Lubbock and Generals Cabell and Wilcox.

“No. 2. Justice C. E. Fennor, General George W. Jones, General Stephen D. Lee, and Rev. Dr. J. William Jones, of Atlanta.

“No. 3. Ex-United Senator B. F. Jonas, Captain Leathers, Colonel Overton, of Tennessee, and Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, of Kentucky.

“The other pall-bearers were in other portions of the parade.

“Captain William Beanham, of Battery B, Louisiana Field Artillery, mounted, led the way for the funeral car, which was drawn by six black horses covered with black velvet housings. The horses stepping slowly and quietly along as if conscious of the solemnity of the occasion, were ridden by G. D. Alexis, W. W. Fredericks and Corporal F. B. Freeland, of Battery B, Louisiana Field Artillery.

“The detail of the guard of honor had been selected from Battery B by request. Captain Beanham fixed the guard of honor as follows :

“Warren Light Artillery, Vicksburg, Miss.—William Bussleman, D. B. Genasci, sergeants ; M. Gomes, Jr., John Valandingham.

“Alabama State Artillery, Mobile, Ala.—Sergeants John F. Powers, W. W. Novell.

“The funeral car was of strikingly artistic design, elegant in detail and constructed of rich material.

“The superstructure was mounted on a caisson. The platform upon which the casket was placed rested on three springs. There were six bronze Napoleon guns resting on their muzzles, forming columns rising from the platform, which supported a canopy draped in heavy sable cloth, with a rich frieze and braid border. On the corners of the canopy rested six cannon balls, while the top of the canopy was ornamented with festooned American flags ; between the cannon and resting against them were crossed muskets.

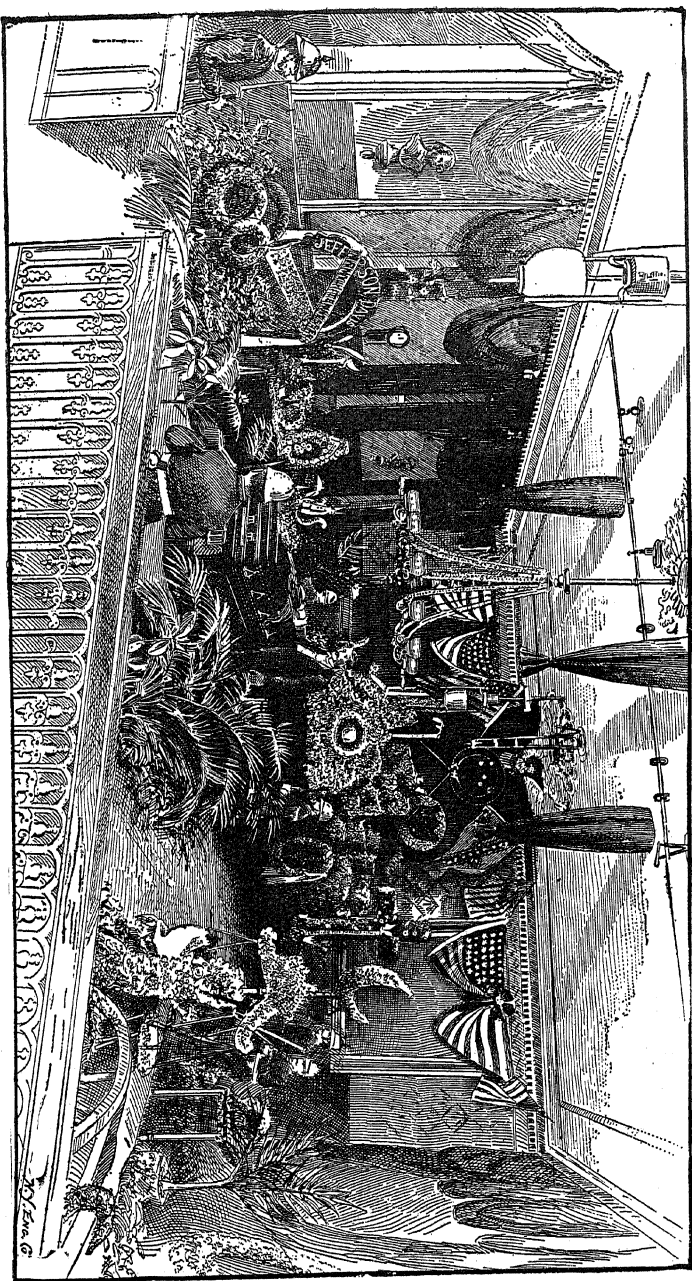
“To the front of the car were two crossed cavalry sabres. The lower portion of the car was ornamented with rich silvered fringe, which covered part of the caisson.

“To the rear of the caisson was the guard of honor from the Louisiana Field Artillery, consisting of a lieutenant and eight sergeants, who attended the remains at the City Hall and cemetery ; Lieutenant F. M. McKeough, Sergeants C. W. Brown, E. Devepas, R. J. Wire, J. J. O’Riley, W. J. McCorkindale, G. B. Hamilton, A. H. Goodin, C. B. Guillotte and A. Alexis.

“Lieutenant H. Bolivar Thompson, with a detachment, was in line with the Vicksburg Southerners, who had the right of the line.

“Following the funeral car came the widow and relatives of Mr. Davis in carriages in the following order :

“No. 1. Mrs. Jefferson Davis, Mrs. Hayes, Mr. Davis’s daughter ; Mr. J. U. Payne, an intimate friend, and General Joseph R. Davis, his nephew.



THE LAST NIGHT'S VIGIL.
COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY HALL, NEW ORLEANS, DECEMBER 10TH, 1889.

"No. 2. Mrs. Ellen Keasy, niece of Mr. Davis; Hugh L. Davis, grand-nephew; Mrs. General Joseph R. Davis; Miss N. D. Smith, grandniece, and Miss Mamie Searles, great-grandniece.

"No. 3. Attending physicians, Drs. Chaille and Bickham.

"No. 4. Mrs. A. R. Brousseau; Mrs. Dr. C. P. Wilkinson, Miss Elsie White, grandniecès, and Mr. Sidney White, grandnephew.

"No. 5. Mrs. Mary Stamps, niece; Mr. E. H. Farrar; Master Edgar Farrar and Misses Mary and Annie Farrar.

"No. 6. Mr. Jefferson Davis Smith, grandnephew, Mrs. L. G. Balfour, grand-niece, Lulu, Gartley, Minnie and Hollie, children of Mrs. Balfour and great-nieces of Mr. Davis.

"No. 7. Misses Varina D., Mary L., and E. Hilton Howell, and W. H. Bailey and W. F. Howell, nieces and nephews of Mrs. Davis.

"No. 8. Girault Farrar and wife, and Mr. and Mrs. H. Richardson, cousins and nephews.

"No. 9. Mrs. C. E. Fenner, Mr. E. D. Fenner, Guy and Gladys Fenner, and nurse.

SECOND DIVISION.

"The second division, marshalled by General W. J. Behan, was composed of Confederate Veteran Associations, local and visiting, the Ladies' Confederate Monument Association, and distinguished lady guest in carriages.

"Early yesterday forenoon the Confederate States Cavalry Veterans, members of the association of the Army of Northern Virginia, visiting veterans, and sons and daughters of veterans flocked to the Army of Northern Virginia hall on Camp street, where Colonel George Moorman, of the Confederate States Cavalry, and Captain Fred, A. Ober, of the Army of Northern Virginia, were receiving them and giving them badges and instructions as to the line of march. Shortly after 11 o'clock the veterans of both commands and the numerous visitors formed line in Commercial alley and marched up to Lafayette square, where they joined the Army of Tennessee, with other guests.

"In falling into the line of march General Behan, with his staff of mounted officers, composed of Colonel George A. Williams, A. A. Maggins, Colonel E. H. McEwen, J. B. Sinnott, G. H. Dunbar, P. O. Fazende, George E. Apps, E. H. McCaleb, W. B. Ringrose, Major J. G. Devereux and Colonel A. W. Crandall came directly behind the family carriages.

"Following the marshal and his staff and heading the Army of Northern Virginia on the right and the Army of Tennessee on the left was the Eureka brass band.

"The Army of Northern Virginia, on account of Mr. Fred. Washington being a pall-bearer, was commanded by Captain Fred. A. Ober, with the following officers: Mr. Charles Smith, Major L. L. Lincoln, Mr. J. M. Wilson and Mr. J. Wax of Baton Rouge.

"The members of this association turned out about 400 strong, all wearing the red and white army badge and a white memorial badge. The flags of the company were furled and heavily draped with crape, in charge of the color guard, captained by J. M. Wilson.

"A member of the Natchez Fencibles marched. He was the only representative in line of that old company, which was organized in 1824.

"The Army of Tennessee, which marched on the left of the Army of Northern Virginia, was officered by Colonel W. T. Cluverius, commander, and Messrs. Screven, Bullett, Santana and Petit. This association had about 350 men in line, decorated with white memorial badges similar to those of the Army of Northern Virginia.

"Following the veterans of the Army of Northern Virginia came the Confederate State Cavalry veterans. This detachment was commanded by Colonel George Moorman, assisted by Major John Henry Behan, Major D. A. Given being a pall-bearer. The command was about 150 strong. The memorial badges of this command were yellow with a black fringe. Heading this detachment was a veteran soldier, Peter Moreau, carrying a battle-worn flag of the Second Louisiana Cavalry, entwined with the colors of the Confederate States Cavalry. This valuable relic is owned by Colonel W. G. Vincent, and it is claimed has gone through scores of battles greatly disfiguring and soiling it, but making it dear to the hearts of ex-Confederates.

"Following the above veteran associations came visiting and unattached veterans, among whom were a small detachment of F. K. Zollicoffer's Camp, of Knoxville, Tenn. Adjutant Charles Ducloux carried the colors and wore an old gray cap that he had worn during the war.

"A large detachment, numbering about one hundred and eighty of Mobile veterans of the Army of Tennessee, with Thomas Q. Barnes carrying the colors, made a large addition to the Army of Tennessee line.

"Veterans of the Mexican war, about thirty in line, followed in the march of the funeral officered by Messrs. H. Marks, J. E. Stafford and Lyman.

"Twelve old soldiers of Walthall's Camp I, Meridian, Mississippi, and Guibet's Battery, about fifty strong, were also among the veterans who paraded.

"In the Army of Tennessee line were delegations from Mississippi, Alabama and Texas, and four members of Jefferson Davis's original company, the 'Mississippi Rifles.'

"Among the other veterans in line were four members of the Twelfth Mississippi, Colonel J. F. Shipp, commanding N. B. Forrest's Camp, a large Mississippi delegation, and Major J. H. Leathers, with twenty-five members of the Kentucky Confederate Association.

"Governor Buckner, of the Kentuckians, was among the honorary pall-bearers, Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, active pall-bearer, and Colonel E.

Polk Johnston in carriage as State official of Kentucky, with a party of Louisiana State officials.

"The Sons of Veterans of the Army of Tennessee turned out 106 strong, and made a fine appearance under Messrs. H. J. Prados, J. N. Augustin, Percy Campbell, C. C. Luzenburg and C. P. Johnston. Vernon Venables carried the colors of the association.

"The Sons and Daughters of the Veterans of the Army of Northern Virginia were officered by Messrs. P. Zerr, Louis Schell, W. S. McIlroy and Albert Charles. They turned out about seventy-five strong of both sexes.

"Following came the veterans of Battery B. Louisiana Field Artillery. There were twenty-four in line, and were commanded by Charles A. Thomas.

"Following the veterans came the Ladies' Confederate Monumental Association and visiting ladies in carriages. The ladies occupied eight carriages, and among them were: Mrs. L. A. Adams, president of the association; Mrs. M. A. Townsend, Mrs. D. A. S. Vaught, Mrs. L. A. Schute, treasurer; Mrs. P. E. Pescud, Mrs. D. A. Given, Mrs. Libano, Mrs. W. J. Behan, Mrs. Judge Braughn.

"But few members of the second division of the funeral dropped out before the cemeteries were reached, although the road was hot and dusty, with no shade or protection from the blazing sun.

"The Grand Army of the Republic did not participate in the funeral officially, but a number of the members of that organization attended the funeral individually.

THE THIRD DIVISION.

"The Third Division formed on Lafayette street, north side, with its right resting on St. Charles street and extending west.

"The division was under the command of Marshal General J. B. Vinet, aided by Captains Nobert Tregagnier and J. G. Blanchard. The entire division were arranged in carriages and wore white silk badges, on which the portrait of Mr. Davis was stamped and bore appropriate inscriptions.

"After the band came the marshal and his aids, and they were followed by Governors Francis T. Nicholls of Louisiana, Robert Lowry, of Mississippi, Eagle of Arkansas, Fleming of Florida, Buckner of Kentucky, Richardson of South Carolina, Fowle of North Carolina, Lieutenant-Governor Jeffries of Louisiana, Acting Adjutant General Faries, in the order named.

"The next carriage contained Mrs. Governor Nicholls, her two daughters, Mrs. Justice Poche and Colonel Charles G. Larendon, who were followed by General Wright of Georgia, Chief-Justice Bermudez, Associate-Justices, Poche and McEnery, of the Supreme Court of the State; Judges Ellis, King, Voorhies and Monroe, of the Civil District Court; Judges McGloin and Kelly, of the Court of Appeals; Judges R. H. Marr and J. G. Baker, of the Criminal District Court.

"The members of Governor Nicholls' staff, consisting of Adjutant-General Burt, Colonel Scott, Lieutenant-Colonel Fenner, Lieutenant-Colonel Cottram, and Colonel Gillespie, were followed by State Treasurer Pipes, Secretary of State Mason, Auditor Steele, Superintendent of Public Education Breaux, and Commissioner of Emigration Poole.

"Next came Mayor Shakspeare and members of the Council, among whom were Messrs. Lhote, Hall, Lynd, Dudenhefer, Prague, Shelleck, Hodgson, Finlay, Hauer, Aitken, Beck, Brittin, Borman, Claiborne, Daniels, Delavigne, Haag, Hanemann, Hirsch, Hymel, Keppler, Lambert, Landry, Moulin, Stockton, Stoulig, and Major Schaumberg, secretary to the mayor.

"The Board of Health was represented by President Wilkinson, Chief Sanitary Inspector Blanc, Secretary Saloman, Clerks Lanaux, Voorhies, Coalhasse, and Wills. Representing the State judiciary officers were Messrs. Vance, Carroll, Lee, C. H. Parker, I. W. Patton, Thomas Duffy, L. Arnauld, James Renshaw, Colonel Z. Zable, Samuel Kohlman, Joseph Demoruelle, and Louis Richards Higgins.

"The Board of Trade delegation consisted of President Louis Bush, Vice-Presidents Hugh McCloskey and Breedlove Smith, Secretary Edwin Belknap, Messrs. Udolpho Wolfe, T. J. McMillan, F. O. Trepagnier, A. E. Morphy, J. H. Lafaye, W. A. Gordon, A. LeDuc, P. Farrelly, Garland Wolfe.

"The public officials of Alabama followed, and were succeeded by the staff and brigade of the officers of Governor Fowle, of North Carolina.

"From the Louisiana Senate and House of Representatives were Senators Goldthwaite, Larry O'Donnell, Cordell, United States Senator-elect White, Duggan, Bernard Shields, and Representative Larrieu.

"The School Board was represented by Superintendent Easton and Messrs. Chaffe, Grandjean, and Seay. Delegations from the Chamber of Commerce, Sugar and Rice Exchange, and the Stevedores and Longshoremen's Associations followed, and the division closed with thirty-five members of the choir."

FOURTH DIVISION.

"The fourth division formed on the south side of Lafayette square, head resting on St. Charles street. Headed by a band of twenty-five pieces, playing a solemn funeral dirge, the column presented a fine appearance.

"Marshaled by Colonel A. W. Hyatt, with his aids, Colonel Joseph Voegtle and Dr. William Hincks, the several organizations comprising this division marched with solemn tread toward the last bivouac of the dead.

"At the head of this division, preceded by their band, marched the Uniform Rank of Odd-Fellows, Canton Columbus No. 1, Patriarchs Militant, under command of A. S. Dwyer, nearly one hundred strong. This body presented a magnificent appearance in their handsome uniforms of dark blue and helmets surmounted by purple and red plumes,

"Immediately behind came a battalion of Knights of Pythias, Uniformed Rank.

"A uniformed band preceded the Knights. The battalion was uniformed in dark blue, with helmets and waving plumes. They carried their swords reversed, as did the preceding command. Orleans Division No. 1, and Ascalon Division No. 3 were in command of Captain M. O'Rourke. Calambe Division of Plaquemine, under command of Captain J. A. Herbert, and Algiers Division of Algiers, under command of Captain A. Tuff, completed the battalion of over one hundred, all under the command of Major Henry Street.

"The representatives from thirteen State camps of the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America closed the rear of the division. The members of the order were dressed in black, and wore sashes of red, white, and blue, with white agulets. The order turned out over two hundred strong, and were preceded by a band playing funeral music. The appearance of this rising order in the line added much to the parade."

THE FIFTH DIVISION.

"When the procession passed the corner of St. Charles and Girod streets the fifth division, the head of which rested on the corner, filed in at the allotted place.

"The fifth division was composed of civic organizations, and was headed by Grand Marshal Charles H. Soniat and his aids, Messrs. James Legendre, Walter Denegre, George H. Thcard, and G. A. Lanaux. After the marshals came a brass band, and then followed 1,500 students from the medical and law departments of the Tulane University and the high school of the same institution. The delegation, the largest in the procession, was in charge of Drs. Miles, Souchon, Chaille, Lewis, and Professor Metz, and was followed by a delegation from the ambulance corps, arrayed in their neat blue uniforms.

"The students from the Tulane University marched by fours, and wore suspended from the lapels of their coats a broad strip of black ribbon with edges of gray. In the centre of the badge were inscribed the words 'Jefferson Davis' in steel gray. The ambulance students were decorated with stripes of crape tied about the arm. The students from Mississippi were given the place of honor in the order of march in the delegation, and were succeeded by those from Texas and other States, while the students from Louisiana brought up the rear.

"Next came a delegation, two hundred and thirty strong, of students from the Boys' High School, under the charge of Professor J. V. Calhoun, and in respect to the honored dead a thin strip of crape was bound about the arm of each one in the ranks. The students were divided into three divisions, emblematic of the years of study at the high school, and were followed by

the captains of all the British steamships in port. The delegation numbered twelve, and was preceded by a large British flag draped in mourning.

"A delegation of fifty of the members from the Alumni Association of the Jesuits' College was the next in line, and were preceded by a field band. The badges worn by the delegates were of white silk, with the inscription 'Alumni Association J. C.' printed thereon in black.

"Twenty of the members of Guibets' Battery Benevolent Association, headed by President B. Roman, followed. They wore white silk badges, with the name of the association printed thereon. Jefferson parish sent a joint delegation of 300 men under the command of Mr. Louis Fruling. The delegation consisted of 150 members of the Lee Benevolent Association, in charge of Mr. Edward Ries, and the remainder was made up of delegates from David Crockett Fire Company No. 1, Gould Fire Company No. 2, Mechanics' Hook and Ladder, and the Citizens' and Taxpayers' Association. The flags, three in number, were draped with crape and the men wore white silk badges, bearing the inscription: 'In memoriam. [Portrait of Mr. Davis]. Died Dec. 6, 1889. Jefferson Parish Delegation.'

"Next in line came a delegation of twenty-five from the Typographical Union No. 17, in charge of the Secretary Richard A. Norman. The delegates wore black satin badges, on which the following was inscribed in gilt letters: 'Typographical Union No. 17, New Orleans.' The Union sent an elegant and appropriate floral offering to be placed in the mound. The design was of natural flowers and stood five feet high—a crescent and star. Above the crescent a dove was perched and from either side hung streamers, on which the name of the organization was inscribed.

"Headed by President John Breen, a delegation of twenty-five from the Screwmen's Benevolent Association was the next in line. Owing to the fact that so much shipping was going on in the port and so many of the screwmen were very busy the full force of the organization could not attend the funeral, but sent a delegation. They wore black silk badges, with white rosettes, and the edges were fringed with gilt. On the badges the name of the organization was inscribed.

"Following the screwmen came a delegation of twenty-five from the Cotton Yardmen's Association, under the marshalship of President Daniel Mahoney. They wore the blue badges of the association, fringed with gilt, and had their flags furled about the poles and bound with crape.

"Then followed the delegation from the Longshoremen's Benevolent Association, in charge of their President, Henry Reilly. Most of the men being busy working on the levee, the association could not attend in a body. They wore a neat badge of mourning.

"Headed by a brass band and under the command of State Delegate Captain John Fitzpatrick followed a hundred members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in two divisions, the first in charge of County Delegate John

Breen, the second headed by Mr. Maurice Kelley. The delegation consisted of members from the six divisions of the order and wore their full regalia of emerald green sashes, bespangled and ornamented with harps and fringe, and bore the letters A. O. H. The badges were of white silk and bore appropriate inscriptions, and the banner and flags of the order were heavily draped.

"A joint delegation of 700 members of the Columbia Athletic Club and Sons of Louisiana Benevolent Association followed in the order named, and were in charge of Messrs. A. Cared and J. Weinfurther. The badges were two in number, of white silk, and bore the inscriptions 'S. O. L.,' and 'C. A. C.,' respectively.

"Twenty-five representatives of all the branches of the Catholic Knights of America, under the command of Supreme Director James David Coleman, next followed. They wore white silk memorial badges.

"The Fifth Division closed with the entire force, 300 strong, of the Southern Athletic Club, in charge of Second Vice-President J. C. Campbell. The club made a fine appearance, and wore small black silk badges on which the letters 'S. A. C.,' were inscribed in steel gray.

SIXTH DIVISION.

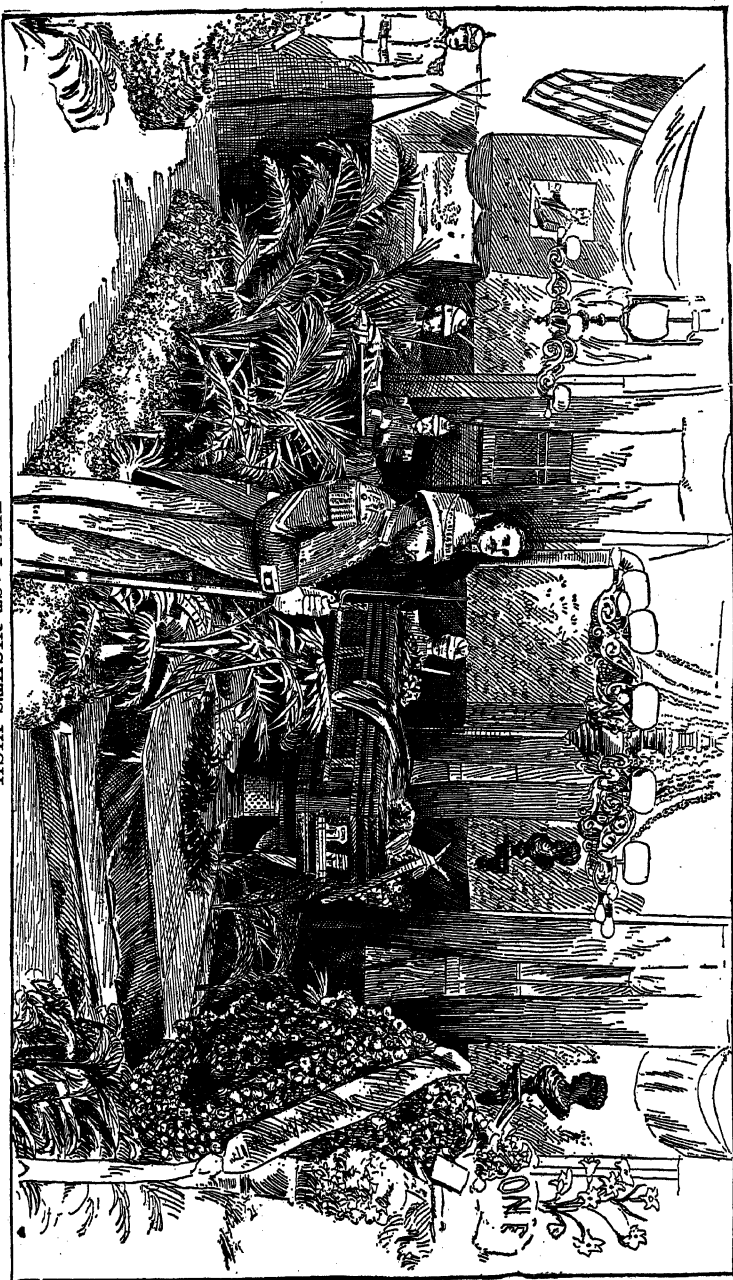
"This division formed on Julia street, with its right resting on St. Charles, running west and was composed of representatives of the Firemen's Charitable Association of New Orleans, and the exempt and active members of the volunteer fire department of this city. While the companies did not, by any means, turn out their full membership, the average was about thirty men, this placing over 1,000 firemen in the line. They fell into line in the following order: First came a carriage carrying in front a magnificent floral offering, a crescent and star, bearing the words, 'Patriot and Statesman.' In the carriage were Mr. I. N. Marks, president of the Fireman's Charitable Association; Charles A. Butler, T. C. Flannagan, and Henry Schriber. Following the carriage was a band with muffled drum and then Chief Thomas O'Conner and his assistants, Andy Lynch and J. D. Donovan.

"Leading the line of firemen was Volunteer No. 1, led by her foreman, Jacob Housser, with his trumpet draped with crape. About thirty firemen followed in red shirts, dark trousers with white caps.

"St. Bernard No. 1, of St. Bernard, was second in the line. The company had ten men with white shirts, black trousers and black caps, and were in charge of Foreman Flescher.

"The following companies then came in the order named: Mississippi Steam Fire Company No. 2, with forty men, wearing white shirts, black trousers, belts, and black gloves. Foreman Dan. A. Ross was in command.

"Vigilant No. 3, with twenty-five men, was in command of First Assistant Foreman Charles Cruso.



THE LAST NIGHT'S VIGIL.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY HALL, NEW ORLEANS, MIDNIGHT, DECEMBER 10TH, 1889.

"Lafayette Hook and Ladder No. 1, with about twenty men in line, was in charge of Foreman August Klein.

"Columbia No. 5, had about twenty-five men in line. They were in charge of Foreman James Walsh.

"Louisiana Hose, led by a band of music, had about thirty men in line. They were in charge of Foreman Edward Schwartz.

"Mechanics' 6, had thirty men in line. Mr. H. F. Caymo, their foreman, was at their head.

"American Hook and Ladder No. 2, turned out thirty members strong. They were under charge of Foreman W. Allen.

"Phoenix No. 8, with Foreman Louis Knopp at their head, had twenty-five men in line.

"Creole No. 9, with their Second-Assistant Foreman August Miller in the lead, thirty-five men.

"Protector No. 9, the junior company, paraded in the rear of Creole 9.

"Good Will No. 10, with Foreman Max. T. Miller, turned out with twenty-five men.

"Irad Ferry No. 12, headed by a band of music and in charge of Foreman J. J. McGinnis, had thirty-five men in line.

"Hope Hook and Ladder No. 3, F. A. Sanchez, first assistant-foreman, appeared with twenty-five men in line.

"Perseverance No. 14, Foreman Chris. Boeshelsen, had about thirty men in line.

"Philadelphia No. 14, had forty men behind their foreman, F. J. Mackey.

"Jackson No. 18, in command of F. S. Housen, foreman, was represented by thirty members.

"Washington No. 20, headed by a band of music, and led by Foreman J. Petrie, had twenty-five men in the line.

"Pelican No. 4, had thirty men marching in the column.

"Orleans No. 21, had twenty representatives.

"Jefferson 22, presented twenty men, in charge of Foreman J. Becker.

"Chalmette 23 turned out with thirty-two men, under Foreman J. Renne.

"Crescent 24 had twenty men in line, wearing red shirts and black pants.

"Metairie No. 4, were representtd by a delegation, and were followed in the parade by delegations from the Sixth District Fire Department representing Pioneer No. 1, Phillips No. 4; Young America and Protector No. 2. They were headed by Chief Winn and his aids.

AT METAIRIE.

THE REMAINS DEPOSITED IN THE TOMB OF THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA.

"The beautiful city of the dead, one of the handsomest in the United States, selected as the temporary resting place for the remains of the illustrious Southerner, was never more lovely than on yesterday. Its bright

shelled walks, bordered with shrubbery, interspersed with ornamental trees, were never more inviting, and the very atmosphere was redolent with the perfume of flowers.

"The chaste and elegant marble sepulchres wherein repose the relics of the loved and cherished departed shone with dazzling brightness in the glad sunlight, and attested by their scrupulous cleanliness the care and attention which the affection of the living have bestowed upon them.

"The tomb of the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, in which were interred the remains of the ex-President, occupies a point in the northeastern portion of the cemetery, and is one of the graves furthest removed from its entrance.

"A number of subterranean marble vaults, surmounted by a mound of turf forms the tomb upon which towers a monument fifty feet in height. The apex of this column consists of a statue of Stonewall Jackson.

"The tomb bears the following inscription:

"'From Manassas to Appomattox, 1861 to 1865.' It occupies a decided place of vantage, and from its elevated tableau commands an interesting view of the country in the immediate vicinity.

"During the early morning hours decorator J. H. Menard and a corps of assistants busied themselves in completing a task at which they were engaged all through the previous night, that of arranging, with judicious taste, upon the tomb the innumerable floral tributes of love and affection received from the friends of Mr. Davis in the South. After long and assiduous labor the work was finally finished, and a happier combination of color could not be conceived.

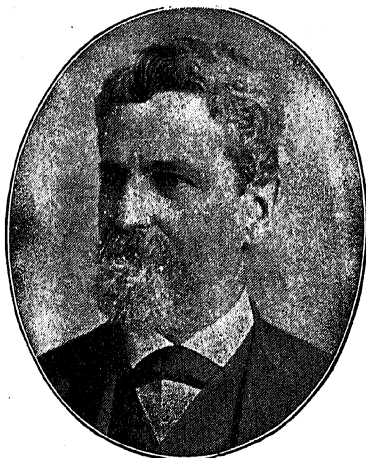
"With artistic hand and an eye for the beautiful, immortelles, hyacinths, camelias, lillies, pansies, variegated roses and all the wealth of the flowery kingdom, wrought in tasteful masterpieces of the florists' art, adorned the grave, which was now truly metamorphosed into a bed of flowers. As a fitting climax the column itself was festooned with laurel and oak leaves from its base to the top.

"The Louisiana Rifles received the signal distinction of doing guard duty at the grounds, and Sergeant James Littlefield, M. Heisman, corporal of the guard, with a detachment of ten men from the Louisiana Rifles, arrived at the cemetery at 9 A. M., and assumed charge of the aisles at each intersection.

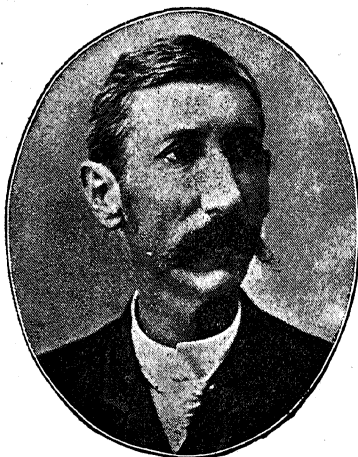
"Notwithstanding the early hour, there were then many visitors at the burial grounds, mostly strangers, who diverted themselves by strolling through this and adjoining cemeteries, preparatory to the arrival of the funeral cortege. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon Captain Charles Adams, in command of thirty men, fully equipped, reached the cemetery in two furniture vans and took positions assigned to them in keeping in check the constantly increasing crowds.



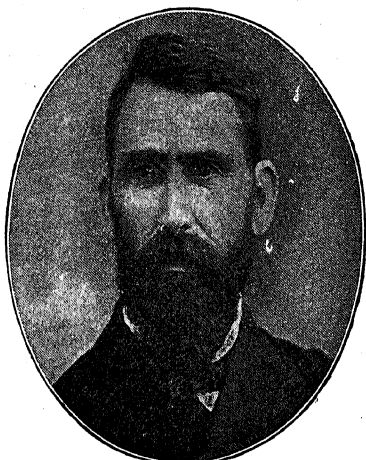
Robert Lowry,
Gov. of Miss.



Francis T. Nichols,
Gov. of La.

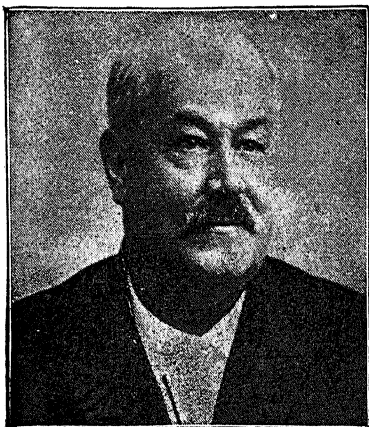


Francis P. Fleming,
Gov. of Fla.

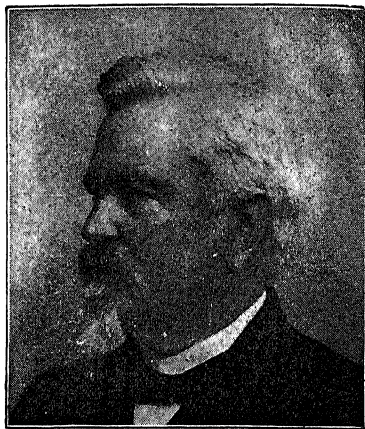


J. P. Eagle,
Gov. of Ark.

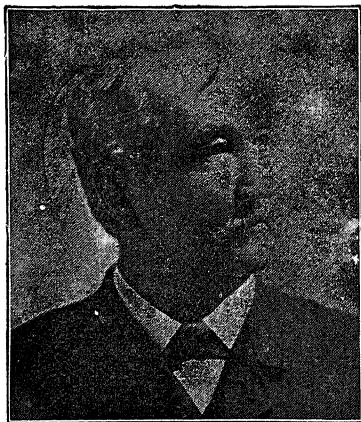
THE GOVERNORS WHO ATTENDED THE FUNERAL.
From recent photographs.



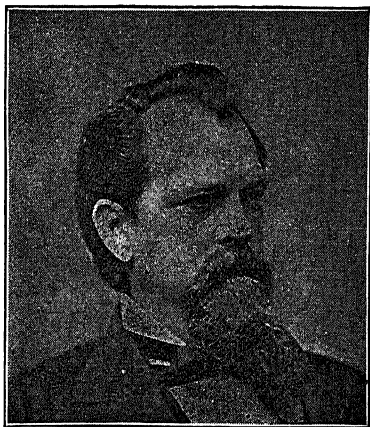
Daniel G. Fowle,
Gov. of N. C.



S. B. Buckner,
Gov. of Ky.



J. P. Richardson,
Gov. of S. C.



John B. Gordon,
Gov. of Ga.

THE GOVERNORS WHO ATTENDED THE FUNERAL
From recent photographs.

"The arrival of the Lake trains which reached the ground about 3:30 o'clock emptied into the cemetery their load of human freight, who pushed on decorously and becomingly to the scene of the approaching ceremonies.

"The richly attired lady and poorly clad woman, the cultured gentleman and the son of toil, fraternized together as though there were no such thing as socialties—all actuated by the same impulse, the desire to pay final homage to the cherished defender of the Confederacy.

"Every available point of vantage, every nook from which the ceremonies could be seen with unbroken view, was soon seized by the populace encircling the tomb at a distance of one hundred yards.

"At 3:30 o'clock the choristers, some thirty in number, arrived on the grounds and took a position on the left of the monument, near the spot selected for the press.

"Shortly after their arrival the funeral procession advanced down the main isle of the cemetery, followed by the military escort.

"The various commands entered on the south side and formed in several circles around the monuments which they faced.

"A mournful funeral dirge heralded the near approach of the funeral car, which was preceded by Bishops Galleher and Thompson and the clergy of the different attendant denominations in carriages.

"The clergy alighting, aligned themselves in single column in the aisle leading to the monument and immediately in front of a richly-covered bier placed there to receive the casket.

"The catafalque bearing the casket then entered the aisle encircling the monument at the west end, and passing through the cordon of troops, who were brought about face and ordered to present arms, proceeded to the beat of muffled drum to the aisle leading to the monument.

"The pall-bearers, following, took positions beside the clergy, of whom Bishops Galleher and Thompson had mounted the mound and stood on either side of the bier.

"The casket was then carefully taken up by a detachment of eight men from Battery B, Louisiana Field Artillery, who, preceded by Captain Beanham, slowly and solemnly marched up the aisle and deposited their precious burden upon the receptacle provided for it. The men formed in line beside the bier.

"Mrs. Jefferson Davis, attired in deep mourning and closely veiled, accompanied by Mr. Jacob U. Payne and Mrs. Hayes, daughter of Jefferson Davis, similarly dressed, in company with General Gordon, walked up the mound, the ladies taking seats on the mound at the head of the bier. The Fenner family and other lady friends in deep mourning joined in the procession.

"The scene at this juncture was a solemn and impressive one, and will live enduringly in the minds of those who witnessed it. The east and west points of the monument were thronged with a vast concourse of citizens,

reaching back some distance, in whose upturned faces was betrayed the eager and respectful attention which was subsequently given to the funeral rites.

"The ardent rays of the sun, at this time not a little uncomfortable though softened by a cool southern breeze, were endured uncomplainingly by the mass of humanity packed together with suffocating density. The shimmer of the soldiery in gay uniforms gave color to the picture, in the background of which hundreds of carriages were standing or moving to some eligible place.

"Bishop Hugh Miller Thompson, of Mississippi, standing at the head of the casket, read this portion of the office for the dead:

"'Man that is born of woman hath but a short time to live and is full of misery.'

"The choir then chanted: 'I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write: From henceforth blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: Even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labors.'

"The Lord's prayer was then recited by those present.

"Bishop Galleher, standing, said: 'In the name of God, Amen. We here consign to the ground the mortal body of Jefferson Davis, a servant of his State and country, and a soldier in their armies; sometime member of Congress and Senator from Mississippi, and Secretary of War of the United States: the first and only President of the Confederate States of America. Born in Kentucky, on June 3, 1808, he died on December 6, 1889, in the State of Louisiana, and is buried here by the reverent hands of his people.'

"Bishop Thompson then said the prayer.

"At the conclusion of the prayer the choir and people sang: 'Rock of Ages cleft for me.'

"The services closed with the bestowal of the benediction by Bishop Thompson:

"'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.'

"The casket was then again taken up by the Louisiana Field Artillery and conveyed to the receiving vault at the other end of the tomb, where all that was mortal of the ex-President of the Confederacy was placed at rest. The funeral ceremonies, though simple, were brought to an appropriate conclusion, after military methods, by the call of the bugle and the firing of three guns.

"Owing to the feebleness of Mr. Payne, Mr. Frederick A. Ober, first vice-president of the Army of Northern Virginia, in behalf of President Frederick Washington, one of the pall-bearers, took Mrs. Jefferson Davis down into the vault. She was followed by Mrs. Hays and the members of the Fenner family, as also by a delegation of the ladies of the Confederate Home Association. Mrs. Davis was conveyed back to her carriage by Mr. Ober.

THE PALL-BEARERS.

"President Clark, of the City Council, at 11:30 o'clock called the pall-bearers into the clerk's office and presented each, as an insignia of his official position, with a broad black sash reaching around the shoulder and falling amost to the ground, and a pair of black gloves.

HONORARY PALL-BEARERS.

"Gov. Francis T. Nicholls, of Louisiana; Gov. Robert Lowry, of Mississippi; Gov. S. B. Buckner, of Kentucky; Gov. John B. Gordon, of Georgia; Gov. J. P. Richardson, South Carolina; Gov. D. G. Fowle, of North Carolina; Gov. F. P. Fleming, of Florida; Gov. James P. Eagle, of Arkansas.

"These gentlemen represent the Southern States.

PALL-BEARERS.

Gen. George W. Jones, of Iowa; Hon. Charles E. Fenner, of Louisiana; Mr. Sawyer Hayward, of Mississippi; Hon. Thomas H. Watts, of Alabama, (a member of President Davis's Cabinet); Commodore W. W. Hunter, of Louisiana; Gen. Thos. F. Drayton, of North Carolina; Gen. Jubal A. Early, of Virginia; Gen. Albert G. Blanchard, of Louisiana; Gen. Stephen D. Lee, of Mississippi; Gen. Cadmus M. Wilcox, of Alabama; Gen. J. T. Holtzclaw, of Montgomery, Ala; Gen. T. T. Munford, of Virginia; Col. F. R. Lubbock, ex-Governor of Texas; Gen. Samuel W. Ferguson, of Mississippi; Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, of New Orleans; Capt. Robert E. Park, of Macon, Ga.; Hon. Ethel Barksdale, of Mississippi; Gen. A. E. O'Neil, ex-Governor Alabama; Col. J. Stoddard Johnston, of Frankfort, Ky.; Capt. Jack White, of Houston, Tex.; Rev. Dr. J. Wm. Jones, of Atlanta, Ga.; Hon. James McConnell, of New Orleans; Col. Henry J. Leovy, of New Orleans; Col. Thomas L. Bayne, of New Orleans; Dr. Joseph Jones, of New Orleans; S. H. Kennedy, Esq., of New Orleans; Capt. Thomas P. Leathers, of New Orleans; Ex-United States Senator B. F. Jonas, of New Orleans; James S. Richardson, Esq., of New Orleans; Col. D. M. Hollingsworth, of New Orleans; E. B. Kruttschnitt, Esq., nephew of the late Judah P. Benjamin, of New Orleans; Gen. William Miller Owen, of New Orleans; Col. Wright Schaumburg, of New Orleans; Major H. J. Hearsey, of New Orleans; Major Thomas E. Davis, of New Orleans; Mr. Page M. Baker, of New Orleans; Mr. John W. Fairfax, of New Orleans; Gen. A. S. Badger, deputy collector of the port; Capt. Jacob Grey, commander Department of the Gulf, Grand Army of the Republic; Col. A. J. Lewis, Army of Tennessee, New Orleans; Col. F. S. Washington, Army of Northern Virginia, New Orleans; Col. John B. Richardson, Washington Artillery, New Orleans; Major D. A. Given, Confed-

erate Cavalry, New Orleans; Capt. J. A. Chalaron, United Veterans, New Orleans; Hon. J. Numa Augustin, Sons and Daughters of Veterans, New Orleans; Hon. James G. Clark, president of the City Council, New Orleans; Col. William Preston Johnston, president of Tulane University, New Orleans; Gen. W. L. Cabell, of Texas; Major W. H. Morgan, of Mississippi; Gen. P. B. M. Young, of Georgia; Col. John C. Haskell, of South Carolina; Col. John Overton, of Tennessee.

SOME OF THE NOTABLE MEN WHO WERE IN THE PROCESSION.

"Hon. D. G. Fowle, Governor of North Carolina, and escort of honor, comprising Col. W. H. Williams, Col. John Cantwell, Major E. G. Harrell, Capt. William Grimes, Capt. W. T. Hallowell, Lieutenant T. H. Bain, Lieutenant J. R. Griffin, Sergeant W. T. Harrison, Sergeant Thompson and W. T. Dortch, Jr., rode in carriages in the line. The Governor was accompanied by his daughter, Miss Helen Fowle. The escort bore the flag of the First Regiment of the State Militia, and the company flag of the Goldsboro Rifles, of the Twenty-seventh Regiment of North Carolina Volunteers, in the Confederate service. This flag was captured near the close of the war by the Twenty-seventh Massachusetts Regiment and formed one of the trophies of the war which hung in the State House in Boston until four years ago, when it was returned, accompanied by a handsome stand of national colors and a hearty recognition of fraternity and good will. The escort made a very admirable appearance, their uniforms being rich in gray and gold, and their bearing essentially military.

"Among the notable men present yesterday, acting in the capacity of pall-bearer, was the life-long friend, and for many years the associate of Jefferson Davis in the United States Army, Gen. Thos. Drayton, of Charlotte, N. C. Gen. Drayton was in the same class with Mr. Davis at West Point, and yesterday related a number of anecdotes illustrative of the character of the man. He remembers a fact, which is not generally known, that Mr. Davis, during his stay at West Point, fell over a precipice and was caught in the branches of a tree growing from a cliff forty feet below the brow of the hill. Had it not been for this obstruction, he would have fallen the full distance of 150 feet and been killed instantly.

"Gen. Drayton was a gallant soldier from South Carolina, but for many years has resided in North Carolina. He is the only surviving member of the West Point class of 1828.

"Registered at the Continental Armory: The following visitors registered yesterday at the Continental Guards' Armory: Brig.-Gen. J. Q. Burbridge, Third Brigade (Florida Militia, Jacksonville, Fla.; Capt. T. P. Richardson. Gen. J. B. Gordon, United Confederate Veterans, Atlanta, Ga.; Lieut.-Col. James P. Eagle, Reynolds' Consolidated Brigade; Thomas W. Newton, of

Marmaduke's staff, Arkansas; John R. M. O. Reilly, Cowan's Battery, Vicksburg, Miss.; Lieut. W. P. Burks, Major V. M. Elmore, First Alabama Cavalry, Montgomery, Ala.; J. H. Higgins, Waddell's Battery, Montgomery, Ala.; C. Humphries, Darden's Battery, Copiah county, Mississippi; Col. T. B. Graham, Twentieth Mississippi Regiment, Scott county, Miss.; W. H. Gardner, Company G, Forty-sixth Mississippi Regiment, Scott county, Miss.; Col. C. L. Sayre, Adjutant-General, C. S. A., Montgomery, Ala.; Capt. R. B. Landry, Donaldsonville Artillery, Donaldsonville; Brig.-Gen. S. W. Ferguson, Confederate States Cavalry, Greenville, Miss.; S. B. Buckner, C. S. A., Hart county, Ky.; Brig.-Gen. Robert Lowry, C. S. A., Governor of Mississippi; Berkeley Green, Eighteenth Mississippi Regiment, Vicksburg, Miss.; J. Stoddard Johnston, chief of staff to Gen. J. C. Breckinridge; Private H Leavitt, Thirty-sixth Mississippi Regiment, MacComb City, Miss.; W. L. Hutchins, Company A, Louisiana Cavalry; Paul C. Wyeth, staff correspondent Vicksburg *Sunday Democrat*; C. Devery; J. J. O'Neil, Confederate Guards Response Battalion, Meridian, Miss.; E. Simonin, Fifty-sixth Alabama, New Orleans; George A. McDonell, M. D., surgeon Austin's Battalion Sharpshooters; Mark R. Marshall, First Tennessee Artillery, Bunkie, La.; James C. Tappan, H. G. Bunn, M. F. Locke, W. S. Dunlap, Thomas W. Hewton, C. D. Mixon, John T. Ginnochio, Arkansa; Col. W. L. Dolz, Fourteenth Mississippi Regiment, Jackson, Miss.; D. W. Frisby, Company A, Fourth Louisiana Battalion; J. V. Norten, Company E, Twenty-second Louisiana Battalion; J. W. Swann, Company D, Dallas Artillery, Fourth Texas Battalion, Dallas, Tex.; M. Gormes, Jr., John Valandingham, Vicksburg, Miss.; M. T. Baxter, Twentieth Regiment, Mississippi Volunteers; John V. Toulme, Third Mississippi Voluntern, Bay, St. Louis, Miss.; John T. Reiley, Sixteenth Mississippi Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia; Geo. Roden, Company H, First Mississippi Cavalry; A. W. Levy, Louisiana Guard Artillery; Capt. B. M. Milton, Company E, Sixth Mississippi Battalion; O. P. Smith, Second Louisiana Infantry, Army of Northern Virginia; John J. Wax, Company E, First Louisiana Volunteers; W. W. Garig, Eleventh Louisiana Infantry; H. J. Gachet, Forty-fifth Alabama Infantry; William H. Stroube, Fifth Louisiana Volunteers, Army of Northern Virginia; James A. Ramsey, Twenty-seventh Louisiana Volunteers, Army of Tennessee; Thos. Wax, Hubert Wax, Sons' and Daughters' Association, Army Northern Virginia; C McGregor, Fourth Company Washington Artillery; John Hassenger, Company H, Forty-eighth Mississippi Regiment; W. W. Bennett, Company I, Sixth Mississippi Regiment; Joseph D. Carter and H. H. Cabaniss, Georgia Confederate Veteran Association; T. B. Neal, Forrest's Cavalry, Atlanta, Ga.; M. A. Harden, Morgan's command, Atlanta, Ga.; E. P. Black, Fourth Georgia Regiment, Atlanta, Ga.; Wm. A. Wright, Wright's Brigade, Atlanta, Ga.; L. M. Park, First Georgia Reserves, Atlanta, Ga.; Major Jas. W. A. Wright, Thirty-sixth Alabama Infantry, Livingston, Ala;

R. J. Turner, assistant-surgeon Thirty-second and Forty-eighth Alabama Regiments; Thos. J. Butler, Second Georgia Cavalry.

"The delegation representing the Confederate Association of Kentucky was headed by Gov. Buckner, and was composed of Gen. Alpheus Baker, Col. Bennett H. Young, Col. J. Stoddart Johnston, a nephew of Albert Sidney Johnston; Col. Dick Wintersmith, Col. J. Cabell Breckinridge, son of Gen. John C. Breckinridge; Col. Reginald H. Thompson, Major Clinton McCarty, Capt. Randolph H. Blain, Capt. John H. Leathers, Sergeant-Major John W. Green and Messrs. E. Polk Johnson, Harry Weissinger, James S. Carpenter, Andrew Broadus, John A. Armstrong, Kinney Smith, Thomas P. Sattenwhite, H. P. McDonald, Allen Leathers, T. D. Osborne, of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Rev. J. P. Minnegerode.

"Gen. Basil Duke was to have been here, but was unavoidably detained. Rev. Mr. Minnegerode is the son of the reverend rector of the Episcopal Church of Richmond, of which Mr. Davis was a member and was in the church when, on the historic Sunday, Mr. Davis was called out and given General Lee's dispatch announcing the inevitable evacuation of Richmond. Afterward Mr. Minnegerode was one of the guard of the Confederate treasure, and at Danville was overtaken by the ambulance in which the President's family rode, and at Mrs. Davis's invitation he made one of the party. The elder Rev. Mr. Minnegerode is still living, though very aged and too feeble to undertake the journey to attend the obsequies of his former parishioner and cordial friend.

"The Louisville people came on a special sleeper, which served them for quarters while here, and will leave for home at 5 o'clock this afternoon by the Louisville and Nashville.

"Among the very large number of Georgians who came on especially to take part in the funeral the city of Atlanta was numerous and influentially represented. Col. W. W. Hulbert, superintendent of the Southern Express Company; Capt. E. B. Black, general agent of the State Railroad of Georgia; Gen. W. A. Wright, Comptroller of the State; M. A. Hardin, clerk of the House of Representatives; Rev. Dr. J. William Jones, a prominent Baptist clergyman and noted as a devoted chaplain during the war; Gen. P. M. B. Young, and Messrs. J. A. Gramling, H. H. Cabiniss, T. B. Neal, and James D. Carter were delegates from the Fulton County Confederate Association.

"The State at large was represented by Gov. Gordon, J. Carroll Payne, T. A. Hammond, L. M. Park, R. E. Park, Thomas Eggleston, W. E. Austin, L. B. Folsom, T. A. Robinson, of Tallula Falls, Col., Charles Handy, John S. King, of Rome, and J. B. McCrary. The press was represented by Messrs. E. C. Bruffy, of the Atlanta *Constitution*, and J. G. Taylor, business manager of the Rome *Tribune*.

"The capital of the Confederacy sent a small but distinguished delegation, consisting of Hon. J. Taylor Ellyson, mayor of the city; Gen. C. J. Anderson, Mr. George A. Smith, St. George Bryan and J. Peter Williams, repre-

sending the Richmond Howitzer Association, which is the 'Washington Artillery' of that city. Mr. Smith is a fine-looking, one-armed Confederate veteran. He was a member of President Davis's body-guard and speaks in most affectionate terms of his old leader.

"The following delegates, representing Frank Cheatham Bivouac No. 1, of Confederate Veterans, from Nashville, were present; John W. Childress, Isaac Litten, P. M. Griffin, S. A. Cunningham, C. C. Cantrell, W. L. Clarke, and W. S. Sawrie.

"The following appointees of Governor Taylor were present: Capt. J. T. Shipp, of Chattanooga; Frank A. Moses, of Knoxville; J. W. Gaines and E. A. Price, of Nashville. Other Tennesseans present: Tomlinson Fort, H. C. Jackson, L. D. Colyar, and Mr. Slaughter, of Chattanooga; E. W. Cormack, editor of the *Nashville American*; D. M. Smith, Col. John Overton and wife, of Nashville; W. A. Collier and Rev. Mr. Burford, of Memphis.

"The Cheatham Bivouac sent an elegant floral design, which was placed in the City Hall with other floral tributes. No two persons in Tennessee did more for the Confederate cause than Col. Overton and his wife. Possessed at that time of a large fortune, they contributed of its profusely, and Mrs. Overton devoted her whole time in nursing, caring, and providing for the soldiers. After the war she would not rest till she had raised the money and had erected the beautiful monument at Nashville which was unveiled in May last.

"Mr. R. M. Johnston, managing editor of the *Houston Post* and president of the Texas Press Association, participated in the ceremonies. Mr. Johnston has many friends here who were pleased to meet him again. Beside Mr. Johnston, Houston was represented by Dr. George McDowell, Col. R. Cocke, and Capt. Jack White.

"Alabama bore a conspicuous part in the grand and solemn pageant. Conspicuous among her representatives was the great war Governor of the State, Thomas H. Watts, and the only ex-Cabinet officer of the Confederacy present. While commanding the Seventeenth Alabama Regiment at Corinth he received the appointment from Mr. Davis of Attorney-General, and remained in that position until called by the people of his native State to the Governorship in 1863. He was one of the pall-bearers, and among the thousands taking part in the demonstration there was not one for whom Mr. Davis felt deeper affection nor one more loyal and devoted to the great chief.

"Gen. J. T. Holtzclaw, who commanded one of the best brigades in the service, was another of Alabama's representatives honored with a place among the pall-bearers.

"Col. W. L. Reese, ex-mayor of Montgomery, was one of the aids to the chief marshal. It was due largely to him that Mr. Davis consented to visit Montgomery in April, 1886, and assist in laying the corner-stone in the Capitol grounds of a monument to the honor and memory of the Confederate dead. On that monument, at the base, when completed, will be five

figures, and one of these, full life size, will be of Mr. Davis. This is the only city in the South that has already made arrangements to thus honor in bronze the immortal chieftain.

"Another historic character, representing Alabama by special appointment of Governor Seay, was Gen. James H. Lane, who won undying fame as commander of a brigade of North Carolina troops, though he was frequently at the head of much larger forces. His name and fame and his brave command form a conspicuous part of the history of the Army of Northern Virginia. He is now the professor of civil engineering in the Alabama A. and M. College, situated at Auburn.

"Alabama has every reason to be proud of the part borne by her soldiers. Her two regiments added greatly to the impressiveness of the occasion. One regiment, the First, of Mobile, was commanded by Lieut.-Col. Roper, Col. Price Williams, though present, not being well enough to assume command. The Second Regiment was in command of Col. Thomas G. Jones, of Montgomery, who was an officer of Gen. Gordon's staff during many of the perilous periods of that splendid officer's career. It was the only State sending two regiments.

"Governor Seay was prevented by sickness from being present, but his entire staff was here and had assignment in the line.

"The Montgomery Veterans' Association was composed as follows: Mayor E. A. Graham, Col. H. C. Tompkins, ex-Attorney-General of the State; Major V. M. Elmore, Major W. W. Screws, Major C. L. Sayre, Major W. P. Burks, E. P. Morrisett, J. H. Higgins, Capt. James Jackson, and C. A. Lanier. Accompanying the delegation were Mrs. David Clopton and Mrs. M. D. Bibb. The first named lady was formerly Mrs. C. C. Clay. She was a wife of a senator in the United States and Confederate Congresses, who for a while was confined with Mr. Davis at Fortress Monroe as a prisoner of war.

"Mrs. Bibb is president of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Montgomery, which is building the monument on Capitol Hill, in that city, on which is to be the life size figure of Mr. Davis. They bore from their association the beautiful floral tribute in the shape of a monument, composed of white flowers, which attracted such marked attention.

"In addition there were hundreds of citizens from every portion of Alabama who came to take part in the demonstration.

"Colonel William G. Vincent and Mr. A. H. May represented the State of Maryland on the authority of the following telegram:

"BALTIMORE, December 9, 1889.

"Judge A. B. Kelly, New Orleans:

"Will you, William G. Vincent, A. H. May, Joseph Bowling, and H. B. Stevens represent the Maryland Confederate societies at the obsequies of Jefferson Davis, as it will be too late to attend?

"BRADLEY T. JOHNSON."

"NEW ORLEANS, December, 10, 1889.

"Gen. Bradley T. Johnson:

"Judge Kelly sick. The rest of the committee will act as requested.

"W. G. VINCENT."

"Besides the four military companies over 1,000 citizens of the State of Mississippi and more than 200 ladies came to the city. Among the more prominent were: Gov. Lowry; Hon. Thomas H. Woods, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Hon. T. M. Miller, Attorney-General of the State; Col. Hemmingway, State Treasurer; Capt. W. W. Stone, State Auditor; Major G. M. Govan, Secretary of State; Hon. J. R. Preston, State Superintendent of Education; Major Sessions and Mr. Kyle, State Railroad Commissioners; Hon. George W. Carlisle, Commissioner of Emigration; Gen. Stephen D. Lee, president A. and M. College; Col. J. L. McCaskell, late United States consul at Dublin; Major Pat. Henry, Representative from Rankin county; Senator J. B. Boothe, of Sardis; Hon. William Barber and J. W. Persons, of Claiborne; Oliver Clifton, clerk of the Supreme Court; Col. R. H. Henry and Col. Power, of the *Clarion-Ledger*; Hon. Alfred Stubblefield, Col. Holden, Capt. Liddell, Senator Jones, of Wilkson county; Major Hill, of Canton; E. A. Thompson, of Aberdeen; E. T. Sykes, R. O. Reynold, Jr., Dr. J. M. Buchanan of Meridian, Dr. B. F. Ward, of Winona; Dr. T. J. Mitchell, of Jackson, superintendent of the State Insane Asylum; Dr. Sanford, of Corinth; Dr. Kittrell, of Black Hawk; Col. Doss, superintendent of the State Penitentiary at Jackson; Col. Morgan, of Mississippi City; Hon. M. M. Evans, Lieutenant-Governor-elect; J. J. Evans, of Aberdeen, State Treasurer-elect; Dr. McSwine, of Grenada; Senator Bloomfield, of Scranton; Mr. McCormick, of Heidelberg; Capt. Floweree, of Vicksburg; Capt. P. K. Mayers, of Scranton; Mr. Elmer, of Biloxi; D. M. Watkins, of Columbia; J. G. Bowers, of Bay, St. Louis; Hon. Samuel Terrill; District Attorney Neville, of De Kalb; Judge T. B. Graham, of Forrest; Mayor Pelham, of Pascagoula, and Senator Roderick Seal, of Bay St. Louis.

"Dr. J. M. Heard, Dr. O. C. Brothers, Capt. S. M. Roane, Col. John Henderson, editor of the *Forum*, were the representatives of West Point.

"[From Warren county there were two members of Jefferson Davis's First Mississippi Rifles, J. A. Herold and William Walker; the remnant of the regimental colors of the Ninth Mississippi Regiment, borne by its color bearer, Robert Paxton, who lost his right arm at the battle of Shiloh. He was a member of the Vicksburg Cadets, the first company that left for Pensacola, which was termed the "Boy Company," its eldest member being under twenty-one years of age.

"Florida was represented by Gov. F. P. Fleming, accompanied by Hon. W. W. Chipley, State Senator C. B. Parkhill, Capt. George Slocumb, Capt. W. F. Lee, Mr. Boykin Jones, Mr. A. C. Blount, Jr., Mr. W. L. Wittich,

Judge Frank Maura, of Pensacola, Fla.; Gen. J. Q. Burbridge, Mr. Dexter Hunter, Mr. B. H. Hopkins, of Jacksonville, Fla.; and Major D. Buddington, of Green Cove Springs, Fla.

"The South Carolina delegation arrived in the city with the Georgia and North Carolina delegations, and after registering at the headquarters of the Army of Northern Virginia, secured quarters at the St. Charles Hotel. The delegation consists of Governor John Peter Richardson, Colonel Isaac G. McKissick, Colonel John C. Haskell, Captain A. F. O'Brien, Captain R. R. Hemphill, Mr. Jere Smith and Mr. E. P. McKissick, of the *News and Courier* of Charleston. Both Colonel Haskell and Captain O'Brien are one-armed Confederate soldiers, and Colonel McKissick, who wears the badge of the A. N. V., presented to the late Captain F. W. Dawson, of the *News and Courier*, limps from the weight of minie balls.

"The delegation was taken in charge yesterday by Colonel Joseph C. Haskell, a South Carolinian, and now a resident of Louisiana, and introduced to all the prominent people at the City Hall.

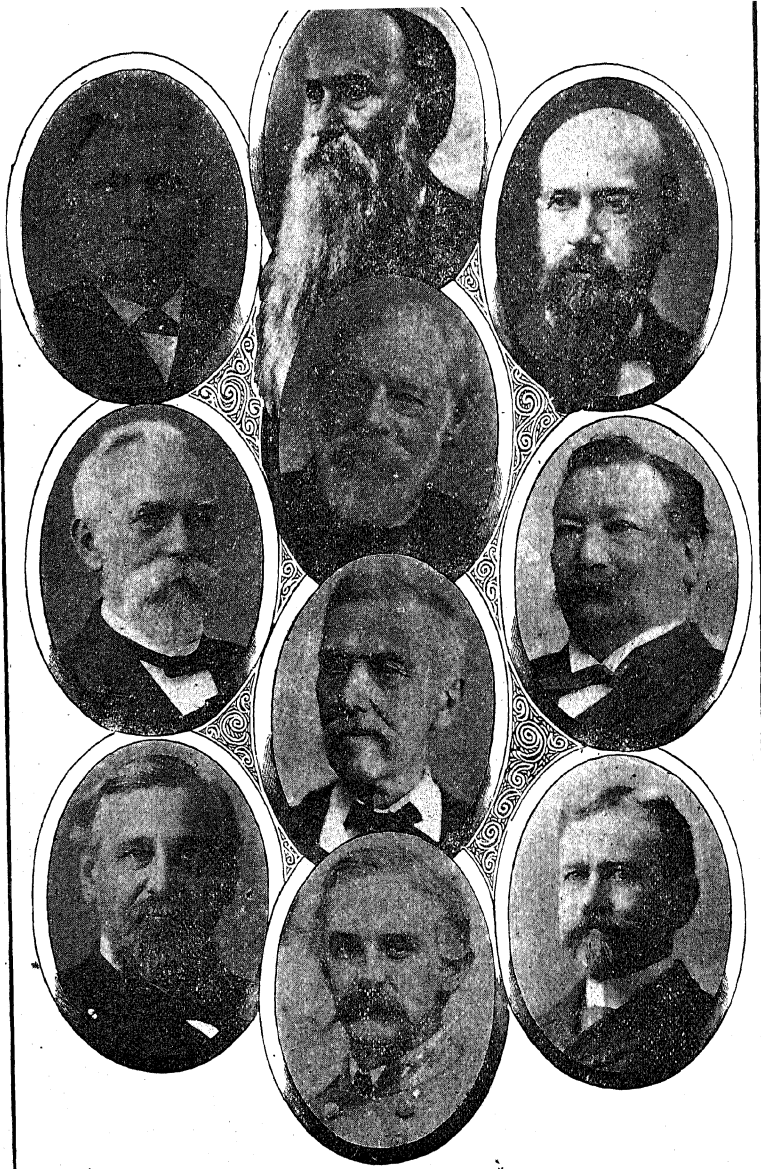
"On behalf of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Columbia, Mr. McKissick, of the *News and Courier*, presented a lovely sheaf of palmetto leaves, gathered by white and blue ribbon and crape, which was forwarded by the ladies by the delegation. It was an appropriate floral tribute from the devoted women of South Carolina.

"Texas had present a very large delegation, among whom were noted R. M. Johnson, editor *Houston Post*, and President of the Texas Press Association, and Captain Jack White, of Houston, General W. L. Cabell, ('Old Tige'), F. H. James, Messrs. Hevefood and Melton, and Dr. Houston and wife, of Dallas, Hon. Mr. Lightfoot and wife, of Paris, ex-Governor F. R. Lubbock, Captain John Orr, and Major Goree, of Austin, and many others from all over the State.

"General W. L. Tappan, of Helena, and ex-postmaster Newton, of Little Rock, accompanied Governor Eagle, of Arkansas.

THE FLORAL TRIBUTES.

"The flowers of all varieties sent from every portion of the country to do reverence to ex-President Davis, were arriving Friday morning until the last moment before the funeral. Those who believed that every possibility in the way of floral tributes had been realized the evening before, were filled with astonishment when they saw the accessions the morning brought. The atmosphere seemed vibrant with a concord of exquisite perfumes, making the air rich with the fragrance of oxoties, wild flowers, and pungent evergreens. Associations from a distance who trusted to having their offerings made in the city, were necessarily delayed by the press upon the local florists, consequently many pieces failed to arrive until a late hour. Every State and city were represented by costly tributes of affection woven in rare winter flowers.



PROMINENT CONFEDERATE GENERALS WHO ATTENDED THE FUNERAL.

W. L. Cabell.
F. R. Lubbock.
Stephen D. Lee.

J. A. Early.
Albert G. Blanchard.
Thos. F. Drayton.
Thos. T. Munford.

Jas. H. Lane.
J. T. Holtzclaw.
Wm. Miller Owen.

FLORAL TRIBUTES.

257

"Vicksburg sent a great square pillow of scarlet geraniums with her name outlined in violet immortelles upon a broad band of double white geraniums, the whole fringed with smilax.

"The Misses Stringfellow, 'with loving sympathy to our beloved President,' sent a rich pillow of violets and sheaf of wheat in a sickle of immortelles. Also from Montgomery's Ladies' Confederate Memorial Association, Mrs. M. D. Bibb, president, came a large vase of hyacinths and rose buds, from which sprung a superb column of yellow and white jonquils banded with dark purple violets, the whole some four feet in height. Mrs. G. Devereux sent a big pillow of roses and ivy and Mrs. Culbertson, librarian at the City Hall, handsome plaque of rose buds.

"Mobile was lavish in her offerings. The Lee Association of that city, of which Mr. Davis was an honorary member, sent a magnificent tribute, the design a vacant chair. Glorious camelias, white as snow, were mixed with fine mignonette, feathery ferns and Roman hyacinths to weave the tall back, with its white cross, the broad arms and royal crown above. This was one of the most splendid of the numerous handsome pieces in the Council Chamber. Later in the day Miss Burns and Miss Colver, who brought the chair, pinned on a broad band of white silk with the words, 'To our honored President,' and above a square of satin, on which was written :

"And leaving in battle no blot on his name,
Looks proudly to heaven from the deathbed of fame,
Their tears for the mighty dead, their hopes for his resurrection.

"Florida's tribute' was outlined on a wide scarf thrown across a great pillow of lilies, violets, camelias, and roses, with the initials 'J. D.' in immortelles. A Confederate flag made into a superb square of delicate flowers, with 'Our President' traced below, was sent with loving sympathy from the Ladies' Confederate Memorial Association of Memphis.

"The Richmond Howitzers, through two tried veterans, St. George Bryan and J. P. Williams, represented their gallant company with a magnificent shield of violet immortelles, having an arch of palm leaves above. On this dark purple background a tall, white lighthouse was raised, typifying the Constitution, and down the centre was written 'Jefferson Davis, a guide and light for his people.' Below were two crossed cannon in the artillery colors, yellow and blue, with a crimson sabre and bayonet and a scarf having the word 'Fame' outlined. The two widespread doors were the battle flag of the Confederacy and the regular Confederate flag in flowers. From the ladies of Beauvoir a tall cross of roses. Mrs. R. C. Wood a basket of jessamines and roses. Mr. and Mrs. John A. Morris a large harp, the strings of smilax and frame of costly flowers, surmounted by a dove with a scarf in its mouth.

"The Girls' High School sent another large plaque of roses; Mrs. Felix Lemongi, a cross of flowers; Messrs. Sawyer and Sam. Haywood, an anchor of roses.

"The Louisiana Rifles sent a magnificent cross four feet high of elegant design, admirably put up; the Goldsboro' Rifles, of North Carolina, a handsome bouquet; the Ladies' Confederate Association, of Kentucky, a pyramid of rare flowers with a tall, exquisite column of roses six feet in height. The word 'Kentucky' was written in red rosebuds on the white background. Mrs. Morris McGraw, a column and cross with dove at the base.

"From the Richland County (South Carolina) Fireman's Memorial Association came a palmetto branch tied with crape and red and white ribbons. A palmetto was sent by Mrs. Henry Cheeves.

"There were numberless other floral designs received yesterday morning with a line to say from whence they came: Mr. Charles Eble, a beautiful tribute from the Continental Guards, a snow-white crown, with a star of roses and dove; the children of McDonogh No. 11 sent a large cross, and the Montgomery Greys an anchor of roses; a beautiful sword and shield of white jessamine was anonymous; Typographical Union No. 17 sent a superb design in delicate natural flowers, a tall, finely-curved crescent, with the cross full five feet high, surmounted by a dove with outstretched wings."

THE SALUTES.

"When the procession started and the music of the many bands was playing funeral music, the tread of the soldiers, the roll of carriages was hushed at intervals by the regular boom of cannon, firing the last salutes appropriate to the burial of a military hero.

"The salutes were fired by details from Battery B, Louisiana Field Artillery.

"Detachment No. 1, stationed at Canal and Levee streets, Veteran Sergeant Emile Moses commanding, was composed of Veteran C. H. Nobles, Active Sergeant J. W. Jay, Corporal C. F. Dufour, Corporal S. P. Kidwell, Privates J. J. Murray and Thomas Keeffe. The detachment began firing at 11:30 A. M. three-minute guns, and fired twenty rounds.

"Gun detachment No. 2, at the corner of Canal and Claiborne streets, comprised Corporal P. P. Hanley, gunner; L. A. Livaudais, Jr., No. 1; F. R. Andrews, No. 2; J. L. Schallaire, No. 3; H. F. Lochte, Jr., No. 4; G. A. Henderson, No. 5. They fired from 1:30 P. M. until 2 P. M. every five minutes, and then every ten minutes till 3:45 P. M."

NOTES.

"Capt. John Orr, of Austin, Tex., was among the veteran visitors who paraded yesterday. Capt. Orr was adjutant of the Sixth Louisiana during the war, and at one time was prominent in newspaper circles here. He is one of the few soldiers who received a bayonet wound during the war. It happened during the battle of Winchester. The captain was attempting to capture the Union colors, which were being carried off the field by a soldier, when a Federal infantryman charged and seriously wounded him with a bayonet.

"Among other veterans who showed their zeal and loyalty to the dead chieftain was the one-armed ex-Confederate, R. E. Paxton, of Vicksburg, Miss. He carried the colors of the Ninth Mississippi Regiment (the same as he bore during the war) in Tucker's Brigade, Hindman's Division, Hood's Corps, Army of Tennessee.

"A mistake was made in failing to give the ladies of Dallas credit for the splendid floral Ship of State sent by them to honor the dead ex-President. It was a masterpiece in flowers, made entirely of Texas blossoms, woven by loving Texan fingers and brought to the bier of the chief by a distinguished delegation of veterans from the Lone Star State. The design was some five feet in length, with three tall masts and the rigging of delicate smilax vines. Confederate flags floated from the masts, and on one side was outlined, 'We mourn our dead,' and on the other, 'The Lost Cause.'

"Capt. Isaac D. Stamps, whose widow followed in the family cortege of Mr. Davis, was killed at Gettysburg in 1863. Owing to a battle-field order, his body could not be removed for some months afterward.

"It was in December, 1863, just twenty-six years ago, that his body was received in Richmond, was honored by military services conducted from Grace church, and thence conveyed by family and military escort to his last resting place in Woodville, Miss.

"Capt. Stamps was the son of Mr. Davis's elder sister, Mrs. Wm. Stamps, whose influence was so great in shaping the character of the great statesman.

"Mr. Davis, moved by the helplessness of the young wife and two orphaned daughters, pledged himself to be a father to them, a pledge which he faithfully kept through twenty-six struggling years.

"A very sad incident connected with the obsequies of Mr. Davis is the fact that Miss Jeannie Anderson, his grandniece, reached New Orleans too late yesterday morning to join the family in taking a last look at the face of Mr. Davis. Her mother was Miss Ellen Davis, a niece of ex-President Davis, who is now residing, for the benefit of her health, at Spring Hill, near Mobile. The news of his death caused such a prostration to Mrs. Anderson that the true-hearted little daughter did not know till the last minute of starting that she might come as a representative of her branch of the illustrious household. She came, however, in time to follow the honored bier of her uncle, and to weep with the multitude of sorrowing followers.

"Among the many notable characters who came to pay their last tribute to the memory of Jefferson Davis was Capt. Jack White, of Houston, Tex.

"Capt. White is now chief of police of Houston; and a braver man never lived. He was a member of the Davis Guards during the war, which was composed of forty-two brave Irish hearts, in command of Capt. Dick Dowling.

"The command was stationed at Sabine Pass, and did noble service in the cause they espoused.

"The lamented ex-President of the Confederacy, in his History of the War, refers to the many heroic deeds of this company, and especially their successful repulse of the Federal fleet at Sabine Pass. Their many valorous deeds and brave and unflinching feats have passed into history.

"This small company of soldiers had received orders to evacuate the pass, as Federal vessels were approaching in large numbers. They refused to evacuate, and calmly awaited the approach of the enemy. When the fleet came up, the garrison made a gallant defense, and succeeded in capturing one gunboat and blowing up another, and making prisoners of one hundred and fifty-five men, besides killing fifty or sixty of the enemy. They succeeded in repelling the Federal fleet, although it consisted of fifteen vessels.

"The brave handful of men had only two old twenty-four pounders.

"Only one man in the Davis Guards was injured, receiving a slight scratch under the arm from a piece of shell."

The very full and admirable report of the *Times-Democrat* has left us neither space nor occasion to add anything.

MASS MEETING OF THE UNITED CONFEDERATE VETERANS.

A fitting close of the great day of the funeral was a mass meeting held at the hall of the Washington Artillery—the largest in the city—at 8 o'clock under the auspices of the "*United Confederate Veterans*" of which the gallant General John B. Gordon, of Georgia, is commander.

It was thought that the opportunity for gathering together so large a number of *representative* Confederates coming from all of the States, and representing every army and every arm of the Confederate service should not be neglected; and although the call was issued too late for it to be seen by all, and many were broken down by the fatigues of the day, there assembled one of the largest *representative* meetings of Confederates held since the war.

It was one of the most, enthusiastic meetings we have ever attended, and all went away counting it a privilege to have been there.

At 8 o'clock President Fred. Washington, of the Army of Northern Virginia, called the meeting to order and briefly stated its object, speaking as follows:

"Companions and soldiers of the Confederacy.—You are called to attend this evening a special meeting under the name of Confederate Veterans, and I will now present to you the general commanding, Gen. John B. Gordon, of Georgia."

At the mention of Gen. Gordon's name the applause was deafening, and as the battle-scarred veteran took his seat on the rostrum, he was greeted with cheers long and loud.

Gen. Gordon spoke, in substance, as follows:

"Brother Soldiers:

"My sensibilities are deeply stirred by this greeting from old comrades, many of whom I now meet for the first time since our flag went down in defeat.

“Without any time for preparation, or one moment’s consecutive thought, you must allow me to speak as the spirit of the occasion may prompt.

“To me this is one of the saddest and yet sweetest and proudest occasions of all my life. Saddest, because we have carried to his last resting place the great chieftain whom we loved, followed, and honored. Sweetest, because we have laid him to rest after life’s fitful fever’ with all the honors we could bestow, embalmed in the esteem and boundless affections of great and grateful people. Proudest, because it was my fortune to participate in giving to that grand man, dead as he was, the tribute of my respect and love; and now the privilege of taking you all to my heart and saying as he would have said with the last lip of his tongue, God bless you, my fellow-sufferers

‘It was my fortune to know Mr. Davis well, although, as stated on another occasion, I saw him but twice in that eventful period from 1861 to the autumn of 1865. I saw him on the battle-field of Manassas, as he rode in triumph, with the stars and bars of the Confederacy floating in the white smoke of battle, and with the shouts of his victorious legions ringing in his ears.

“The next time I saw him was in prison at Fortress Monroe. It is no exaggeration to say that he rose to grander height as prisoner of State, as self-poised and unbending he bore his misfortunes and wore his shackles for all his people. I have followed his course and marked his career from that hour to this with an unfaltering faith that he would neither lower this high standard nor betray the holy trust which he carried in his person. I never doubted for one moment how he would live or how he would die, and I have not been disappointed.

“To us, whatever it may be to mankind, it is a glorious heritage that this Southland has produced so grand a vicarious sufferer. Here is a man upon whom the gaze of Christendom was concentrated, and upon whom criticism has expended all its arrows, and yet no blemish is found in his private character.

“It was fitting that around his bier and his body, sacred to us, should have been wrapped the flag that went down with his fall from power. But it was also fitting that above his dead body the stars and stripes of the republic, for the honor and glory of which his blood was shed, should also have floated.

“Could his cold lips speak his injunction would be to us be true to your Confederate memories; be true to the past, but be true to the future of the Union and the republic as well.

“The flag of the republic, which is our flag in all the ages to come, was made dearer because Jefferson Davis fought in its defense. It is a glorious thought to me, as doubtless to you, that there is not a star upon its blue field that has not been made brighter by Southern courage and Southern

patriotism. That there is not one of its red stripes that is not made deeper and richer by Southern blood. That there is not one of its white lines that has not been made purer, whiter and holier by Southern character in all public offices.

"Now, my countrymen, I come to the debt we owe the living. Mr. Davis is dead. The grief is ours full and sacred. His fame belongs not only to the South but to his country and to Christendom. Ours it is to cherish. Ours the still higher privilege of taking care of that memory by taking care of those who were impoverished in our cause. I have been told since I came to New Orleans that his widow, following his illustrious example, declines to accept such tributes as we may choose to offer.

"My brothers, the reply I make is, that we did not ask the consent of Jefferson Davis or of his family, when we put the burden upon him that led to the shackles for our sakes, nor will we consult any one now, when we choose to pay the tribute due to him and to his children, out of our pockets. If it be thought best to pay it in a particular channel, all right, but calling God to witness the purity of motive and consecration which we feel in this duty, we intend, because of our love for him as our representative; because of our love for those who have shared his fate; because of our love for our own honor, we intend to see to it that his wife and children do not suffer want.

"The outside world may not appreciate it, but, so far as you and I are concerned, we feel that not one dollar of property is ours so long as his wife and his children need our assistance. This we intend to render; because Southern manhood demands it as a tribute to the man who suffered for us. I shall not insult you by asking you if you are ready.

"Governor Gordon announced the following vice-presidents: General S. D. Lee, of Mississippi; Governor S. B. Buckner, of Kentucky; Governor Robert M. Lowry, of Mississippi; ex-Governor T. H. Watts, of Alabama; General C. M. Wilcox, of Alabama; General W. L. Cabell, of Texas; General Jubal Early, of Virginia; General Francis T. Nicholls, of Louisiana; General P. M. B. Young, of Georgia; Governor Eagle, of Arkansas; Governor Fleming, of Florida; ex-Governor Lubbock, of Texas; Governor Fowle, of North Carolina; General Ferguson; General Munford, of Virginia; Commodore Hunter, of Louisiana; Hon. J. T. Ellyson, mayor of Richmond, Va."

Lieutenant-General S. D. Lee, of Mississippi, presented the following resolutions:

"Having come from the tomb where we have deposited the cold clay of our grand old chief, where, for a time, Stonewall Jackson stands sentinel over his old commander, we, the united Confederates, deem it proper to put on record some expression of our feelings; therefore

"*Resolved*, 1. That we mourn the death of our leader as children for a father, and desire to say that we loved him living and revere him dead as

one of the bravest soldiers, ablest statesmen, most peerless orators, truest patriot and most stainless Christian gentleman that the world ever saw.

"2. That, leaving the question of the final resting place entirely to the widow and daughters, where it properly belongs, and not venturing even to make a suggestion on the subject, we hereby pledge ourselves that, whatever may be the place decided on, we will see to it that the grave is properly decorated and that there shall be reared a suitable monument to perpetuate the name and fame of the President of the Confederacy.

"3. That we tender to Mrs. Davis and her daughters our profound sympathies in this great bereavement; and, while we rejoice that she and her daughters are true to the principles of her noble husband, who always refused gratuities, yet we are glad of the opportunity of contributing to a scheme which shall relieve the estate and leave them in comfort, and we urge prompt action on the part of comrades everywhere.

"In offering the resolutions, General Lee spoke as follows:

"*Comrade President:*

"I do not deem it necessary to make any extended remarks in introducing these resolutions. The spontaneous uprising of the people in every city, town, and hamlet in our Southland to-day, to do honor to the memory of our cherished and beloved ex-President, speaks louder than anything I can say. The grand pageant we have witnessed in this city, where hundreds of thousands of our people, representing every State in the South, demonstrating such genuine sorrow, love, and affection, shows beyond doubt the fact, that Jefferson Davis was the true exponent of Southern feeling and thought.

"On this sad occasion, every true Confederate feels, that whatever of so-called or imputed odium may have attached to you, or me, or any of us, for participation in the four years' war against the Federal Government; that our beloved chieftain bore it all for us. Every shaft fell on his devoted and defenseless head, and nobly did he suffer for us all.

"I echo, comrade President, your statement, that we all owe true and loyal allegiance to the flag of our common country, and if need be, we would fight under its folds as bravely, as for four years, we fought under the flag of the Confederacy. Yet on this memorable occasion, filled with such supreme sadness, there is a feeling of satisfaction in my heart, and I know it finds a response in the heart of every brave Confederate, that we have been able to show to the world to-day, here and everywhere in the South, that while as true and good citizens, we have fully accepted the results of the war, we have never, for one moment, laid down our self-respect or genuine Southern manhood; that now is the appropriate time for ex-Confederate soldiers, to place on record their estimate of our grand leader, and to take the necessary steps to care for those he loved, who now are doubly dear to us; also to see that a suitable monument be placed over the final resting place of the President of the Confederate States.

"I recommend the passage of these resolutions."

Gen. Lee—of whom, by the way, Mr. Davis was accustomed to say, "Lee was one of the best soldiers I ever knew; I tried him in artillery, in cavalry, and in infantry, and I found him equally good in each of these arms of the service"—was greeted with loud applause, and was frequently applauded during his speech."

GEN. W. L. CABELL, OF TEXAS.

Major-General W. L. Cabell, of Dallas, Texas—"Old Tige," as he was affectionately called in the army—was the next speaker, and was warmly received and generously applauded. He said:

"Mr. President, My Old Comrades, and Friends:

"When I came here to meet my old Confederate friends I did not know what we met for, unless it was to meet each other and to hold a regular Confederate love-feast—a reunion of old and tried veterans of the Lost Cause, who came here with bowed heads to pay the last sad tribute of respect, love, and affection to their grand old chief, Jefferson Davis. But after hearing the able and soldierly speech of General John B. Gordon, the commander of the Confederate Veterans, and the resolutions presented by my old friend and comrade, Gen. S. D. Lee, I know that this meeting of brave old Confederates was called for the purpose of devising 'ways and means' of looking after the welfare of the wife and children of our grand old chieftain whose body we laid in the tomb to-day. Let me say to you, Mr. President, and to you, old Confederate soldiers, from every Southern State, that Texas will respond nobly and will do her part in doing honor to this glorious soldier—this glorious old statesman and the grandest man on the American continent. I am one of a committee of Confederate veterans from Texas who came with heads bowed down and with hearts full of sorrow to be present and to assist at the burial of the grandest man ever known in this country; to place, as a tribute of love and affection from the ladies of Dallas, a magnificent floral offering on his coffin—a beautiful 'flower ship' named the *Lost Cause*, made of Texas flowers by Texas women, the wives and daughters of Confederate soldiers. The Confederate flag was flying from every mast; the sails all wet, not from the spray of the stormy waves of the angry sea, but wet with tears of sorrow, love, and affection, shed by the broken-hearted wives and daughters of the great State of Texas. I am here also the representative of 'Camp Sterling Price' of ex-Confederate Veterans in the city of Dallas; also the 'Association of ex-Confederate Arkansas Veterans' living in Texas; also to represent the city and county of Dallas and the great West and Northwest Texas—to express their great sorrow and to say that when the proper time comes all would do their duty. Horace exclaimed before dying, '*Exegi monumentum aeri perennius*'—'I have reared

a monument more lasting than brass'—that neither the cold North winds or storms can ever efface. Yes, my old comrades, our grand old chief could have exclaimed in his dying moments, 'I have erected a monument in the hearts and affections of the Southern people more lasting than either brass or stone; that neither the cold and chilly winds of oppression nor the storms of passion, prejudice, or hate can ever efface.' Yes, his memory is enshrined in the hearts of a brave and a loving people. His heroism and the heroic deeds of the old Confederate soldier—the 'unpaid soldiery of immortal principle' whom we loved so well—will live forever. Poets and orators will never suffer this glorious theme to die as long as the fair women and brave men in our Southland loves and appreciates valor. Aye, the name of Jefferson Davis, and the fact that he was the President, and the only President, of the Southern Confederacy will be taught to the children in our Southland homes, and his name and fame will go 'sounding down the halls of time' thousands of years after his maligners and traducers have been forgotten, and until the 'Great Arch Angel,' with his golden trumpet, shall sound the last reveille.

"I therefore, Mr. President, heartily endorse these resolutions, and, in behalf of the committees present from every part of the State of Texas, I will pledge the State of Texas to do her part. For myself, I will state that I am willing to contribute every dollar I can spare, and will, if necessary, give up my time to make the contemplated monument a great success. Texas will do her duty. 'There is life in the old land yet.'

"I thank you, my old comrades, for your kind attention."

GOVERNOR LOWRY, OF MISSISSIPPI.

The "Soldier-Governor" of Mississippi was next called out, was cordially greeted, and spoke as follows:

"I was not aware until an hour ago that there would be a meeting here this evening, but when informed that Confederate veterans were to assemble, I felt that my place was with them.

"And if there had been no other reason, when it was stated that Georgia's distinguished soldier-statesman would address the assembled sorrowing veterans who came to pay the last sad rites to their beloved leader, I well knew that every comrade with notice would answer roll-call at this hall.

"As Mississippi is the daughter of the progressive State over which he presides as chief magistrate, and as an humble representative of the latter, the home of our great chief, for the eloquent words he has spoken, I would take Georgia's distinguished governor by the hand and say, 'God bless you, General Gordon.'

"The great Mississippian has fallen. To-day demonstrates the fact that no man has lived before him and none will live after him who will receive the same deserved tributes that he has received this day, the 11th of December, 1889.

"Not a town, village or hamlet in all the Southern States that does not to-day mourn our great leader.

"Throughout a long and eventful life, Mississippi was the home of Jefferson Davis.

"When he entered political life his commanding ability placed him at once in the front rank, and he became a trusted leader.

"When war was declared with Mexico, and Mississippians repaired to the field of strife, they went under command of Col. Jefferson Davis; and without detracting from any soldier who won fame in that conflict, history attests that the deeds of the gallant colonel of the First Mississippi Regiment marked him as a brilliant soldier and an accomplished commander. I said a moment ago that a higher tribute was paid our beloved chieftain to-day than will ever be paid another, because, comrades, there never was but one Confederate President, and he was that one.

"I can endorse all that was said by our distinguished chairman and freely concur in the declaration that if President Davis could speak this moment, he would say to every Confederate soldier in the land, 'Be true to yourself, true to your memories and let impartial history transmit to future generations that you made such a contest as was never before made in the world's history.

"He spoke for the civilization and manhood of Mississippi in the grandest body under the sun, the Senate of the United States.

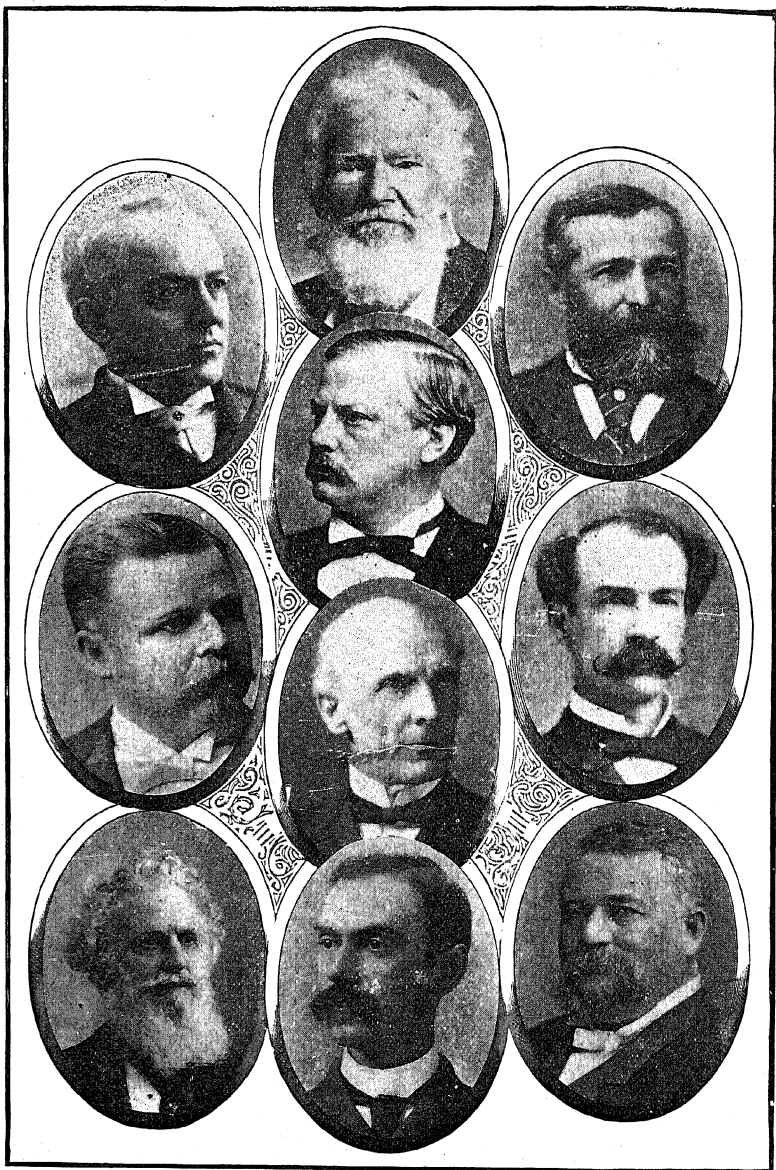
"He was the representative of Democrats and Whigs alike, for both political parties united in honoring the great man whom you honor to-day. When the people of the South determined that justice and honor demanded on their part the establishment of a separate nationality, and every effort was to be put forth to that end, when assembled to inaugurate a government without means or even time to do what would usually be necessary to accomplish so great a purpose it was well-known to Mr. Davis's friends that he did not desire the presidency of the Confederacy but a position in the field.

"A great soldier educated as a soldier, his friends were confident that he would add to that national reputation won upon the battle-fields of a foreign country.

"When assembled in the city of Montgomery, and the time arrived for selecting a president, one who should be the official head and bear the banner of the Confederate States, all eyes were turned on the resolute Mississippian, and with a united voice they said, 'Jefferson Davis shall be our leader.'

"When the Confederate flag went down his conduct and bearing challenged the admiration of the civilized world.

"I was commissioned, together with Colonel Giles M. Hillyer, by the governor of my State, Governor Benjamin G. Humphreys, to visit President Johnson, looking to the release of President Davis. After meeting Mr.



MAYORS OF CITIES AND OTHER PROMINENT MEN IN ATTENDANCE AT THE
FUNERAL.

Wm. C. Haskell.
Edw. A. Graham.
Geo. Wallace Jones.

Wm. Wallace Hunter.
Chas. E. Fenner.
Wm. P. Johnston.
J. Taylor Ellyson.

Frederick Stith Washington.
Alfred Joshua Lewis.
Wm. Dudley Chipley.

Charles O'Conner, of New York, and William B. Reed, of Philadelphia, who were counsel for Mr. Davis, we visited Fortress Monroe where I spent an entire day with him in his prison quarters. Although emancipated and broken in health he was the same grand man. His hair whitened by suffering, as I believe, yet proud and erect, he looked the embodiment of the feelings of the Southern people, and he would have died by inches rather than have asked anything at the hands of his persecutors.

"I must not, comrades, trespass further upon your time, for there are many veterans present whom we desire to hear, but I want to add, when I left the Capitol of Mississippi yesterday evening, Judge Wiley P. Harris, a great lawyer, one who stands among the great American lawyers of this age, and General T. J. Wharton, a distinguished jurist, had discussed at length in a public meeting the question now being considered by this large body of veterans.

"Comrades it is not possible that there is a Confederate soldier in all this land, who followed the stars and bars, who has not a lodgment in his bosom that everything necessary should be done for the family of our beloved chief.

"The citizens of Jackson, without a dissenting voice, have already passed resolutions recommending that the Legislature, soon to assemble, appropriate one hundred thousand dollars for purposes and kindred objects now being considered by the veterans here present.

"Comrades, I speak this evening as an humble representative of Mississippi, the home of President Davis, the people of his State loved him as they never loved man before, and in the presence of those who followed him, and the cause of which he was the official head, and about which no apologies will or can be made, they will do all that can be asked at their hands.

"I congratulate you, my brethren, that the opportunity was afforded the thousands of Confederate veterans now in the city, to look for the last time upon the face of our beloved chief, whose name will form a bright page on impartial history as long as the English language is spoken."

GOVERNOR FOWLE, OF NORTH CAROLINA,

Being pleasantly called out by Governor Gordon as representing the "Tar Heels," of whom he said "thar was a fight and they were thar when it occurred." Governor Fowle was cordially greeted, and enthusiastically applauded and cheered as he spoke as follows:

"Comrade President:

"Your expression of commendation are most flattering, but you have omitted the one thing in my history, which brings me the nearest to this people, as the representative of our dear old State, and that is, that I was born on the banks of the old Tar river.

"And I but voice the sentiment of our whole people, when I say of Jefferson Davis almost in the words of one of her able men, that he lived

belonging to no nation and died, reigning in the hearts of *twenty millions* of the people of our own beloved Southland.

"Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson loved him, and this could never have been, had he not been pure, brave, sincere and faithful.

"In the skies of the Southern hemisphere, there is a constellation which sends its dazzling beams throughout the silent night, across an admiring continent; it is known as the Southern Cross, but now in this Northern hemisphere, in our own Southern section, we have produced a constellation of heroes whose light irradiates the whole world, and makes men of all lands better and purer when they contemplate the virtues and heroism of our grand trio, Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis.

"Even in this glorious land of ours, which has produced so many heroes and statesmen, North Carolina believes that there was no other who could have so successfully guided the Confederacy as our great dead leader.

"Lee and Jackson are enshrined in the hearts of their admiring countrymen, but did you ever consider how their glory and renown were achieved? Did you ever reflect that they might have exercised all their powers and yet fame would have been to them a fleeing shadow, but for an effective factor, which realized in action their matured plans, and that factor was the bravery, heroism, and patriotism of the private soldier of the Confederacy. Take from our history his devotion and gallantry and few indeed would have been the laurels entwining the memories of any of our departed leaders. They gloried in the fame and renown of their immortal chieftains and with forgotten graves were themselves content. Animated alone by intense affection for their native soil and jealous alone of her good name and fame, the private soldier of the Confederacy was the sternest, justest critic ever known.

"Around your camp-fires, my countrymen, you have heard the criticisms from private lips upon well-known leaders. Why they approved or condemned they could not always tell, but their verdict was somehow rarely wrong. Now, no man ever heard anything but approbation for Jefferson Davis from the private soldier.

"Upon his emaciated limbs were forcibly placed the irons for what you and I had done, as well as he, but as the grating click was heard, throughout this Southland there went forth from the hearts of our people the tenderest, sweetest love for their martyr hero. Since then, with dignity and grace, suffering for a whole people, he has borne our burden, and now he has gone, leaving behind him a record for purity and sincerity as stainless as ever bequeathed by mortal man.

"Of him we can truly say that, 'having thus bestowed his life upon his country, he has achieved for himself a fame which will never decay, a sepulchre which will always be most illustrious, not that in which his bones will moulder, but that in which his fame is preserved, to be on every occasion in which honor is the employ of tongue or pen eternally remembered.'

"And now you ask what North Carolina will do to show her love and sympathy for the widow and child of our hero. I am not authorized to say; but this I know, that, though North Carolina may be slow, she always does her duty."

"Upon Governor Fowle's taking his seat, there was such long continued applause and cries for him to continue that Governor Gordon presented him again to the audience, whereupon, after acknowledging the compliment of the recall, Governor Fowle resumed:

"Let me say one word in regard to that flag which Mr. Secretary Proctor refused to raise at half-mast over his office when the greatest ex-Secretary of War which the United States ever had died. Did he not know, that when the United States was engaged in war with Mexico, and Zachary Taylor sat on his old white horse upon the battle-field of Buena Vista, and the battle seemed almost lost, when four thousand Mexicans were charging the battery with which Capt. Bragg were giving them a little more grape, and the Mississippi regiment was called upon to make the charge which has ever since been so famous, that the very flag which he refused to hoist at half-mast over the office of the Secretary of War flashed like a meteor across that field, and, in the blood of a defeated foe, was crowned with new glory by the hands of Jefferson Davis? Although at one time I differed from him, I found him as calm in defeat as George Washington was in victory; and I believe his name and fame will grow brighter with the coming years, and the time will come when our entire nation will render him honor.

"And to-night, my countrymen, I tell you that I love that flag, and I believe that Jefferson Davis had a fond feeling for it all the days of his life. He had reflected honor upon it. He loved it. Mr. Davis loved the Union, and was slow to go into the late war between the States, but when he went like North Carolina, he went to stay; and I thank him for his firmness, for he continued the war until all of us, who were his followers, saw and appreciated that the Union of the States was not to be dissolved.

"Knowing that his noble heart was filled to overflowing with love for this great country of ours, I believe that when he saw that the Confederacy could not be established, that he desired this country to become greater and more prosperous than it had ever been before. Here at his grave let us show that the hearts of the Southern people are in unison with the government of our fathers.

"And when the monument is raised to our nation's hero, Abraham Lincoln, piercing almost the very clouds, let us erect a monument equally as high, and upon its top let us emblazon in letters of gold the name of our hero, Jefferson Davis."

GOVERNOR F. T. NICHOLS.

The gallant "Soldier-Governor" of Louisiana, Gen. Nichols, who proved his devotion to the cause by losing both a leg and an arm and being

wounded several other times and still continuing in the service, and whom his people have honored by twice electing him governor, was loudly called for and enthusiastically received, but excused himself in a few remarks, in which he said that he was at home and wished to hear from the visitors, but expressed his hearty approval of the resolutions, and pledged Louisiana in doing her part towards carrying them into practical effect.

GOVERNOR S. B. BUCKNER, OF KENTUCKY.

Gen. Buckner, being called out, was loudly applauded, and made a brief speech, in which he said :

"There is no necessity of asking a citizen of a State that claims the honor of giving birth to Jefferson Davis to contribute to a fund for Mrs. Davis. Kentucky did not secede from the Union, but she contributed many men to the cause, which we believed then to be just and which we know now to be right.

"The Confederates to-night who revere the cause for which they fought have a duty to perform, and I feel confident in pledging ourselves and saying that we will do our part. I therefore advocate the adoption of the resolution."

GOVERNOR F. P. FLEMING, OF FLORIDA.

Governor Gordon introduced Governor Fleming as another "Soldier-Governor," and being received with loud applause, he spoke as follows :

"*Mr. President and brother soldiers :*

"I was neither a colonel nor a general during the late war, but carried my musket as a private soldier on the fields of Virginia.

"The distinguished soldier who presides over this meeting, and whom you have so wisely chosen to be the commander of the United Confederate Veteran Association, impressed upon us in his address to-night the virtues of true manhood as illustrated by the character of our beloved chief whom we have just laid to rest ; and this carries me back to an occasion at an early period of the war, when in the ranks of the Second Florida at Yorktown, I first saw General Gordon, who was then colonel of the Sixth Alabama, at a time when under peculiar circumstances his own manhood was conspicuously displayed, as throughout the war were his great abilities as a soldier.

"No day of my life passes without the realization that I have abundant cause for thankfulness to Almighty God for his many mercies and blessings ; but, my comrades, I feel that I have cause for thankfulness to-day above all others that I was permitted to participate in that grand demonstration of the sorrow and affection of an afflicted people at the bier of our lamented chief, and that it was my privilege to follow his remains to the tomb.

"The name of Jefferson Davis will occupy a place among the grandest figures of history. A distinguished soldier, an eminent statesman, a profound scholar, a true patriot, and a Christian gentleman, his life was as

pure as the whitest flower which loving hands have placed upon his bier. He served his country with fidelity and zeal and suffered for his people without complaint. We should never cease to thank God that his life was spared to contribute to history that masterly production of his great mind, the "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," which gives to the world such a faithful, logical and able exposition of the Southern cause. It should be read not only by every Southern man and woman, but by every one who seeks after historic truth, and would learn the great underlying principles which animated the people of the South in their struggle to maintain the right of self-government.

"Florida has never failed to respond to the calls of duty, and Florida's blood was shed on every battle-field in which the Army of Northern Virginia or the Army of Tennessee was engaged. She will not be behind her Southern sisters now that we may hope to have the privilege, in some manner, of extending aid to the family of him who suffered so much because of the burdens we placed upon him. I can promise for my State that she will do her full duty."

GOVERNOR F. P. EAGLE, OF ARKANSAS,

Being introduced as still another "Soldier-Governor," and being warmly received, was loudly applauded as he spoke as follows:

"Mr. President and ex-Confederate Soldiers:

"This is a sad hour, and yet we have reasons for rejoicing. Sad because we are just from the funeral of one of the purest and greatest men this country has ever produced. One who lead the fortunes of the Southern Confederacy from its rise to its fall. We would have hearts of steel if after a four years' struggle together in one common cause with that great man at our head, who entered into the deepest sympathy with us in all of our sufferings and privations on the battle-field and around the camp fires, could we witness the solemn ceremonies of to-day and not feel sad.

"In the midst of our mourning we are rejoiced to know that while the eyes of the world have been turned in on him with magnified force, during a long active life as a citizen, a soldier, and a statesman, nowhere in all of his eventful career can there be found one act in which there was the least semblance of dishonesty or the want of fidelity. Profound ability, noted courage and purity of character marked his every act, from his youth to the day of his death. He has been scrutinized and criticised as no other man has ever been in this country, and he comes out of the crucible as true as gold.

"The Southern people did not favor secession because they wanted to dissolve the union, but seeing the determined purpose on the part of the North to disregard the principles upon which the union of the States rested, as we understood them, the South resorted to the extremity of exercising her State sovereignty by withdrawing from the Union. After four years of the

bloodiest conflict known in modern times the battle went against us. The right of secession was settled when the star of the Southern Confederacy which had shone with so much brilliancy for a time went down. The Southern States returned to their places in the Union. To-day the people of the South are as loyal to the United States government as are the people of the North. It is our country. It is our government.

"I have never believed that it was right for Mr. Davis to be made to suffer for what the whole people of the South did. He was only one of us; we took the step with our eyes open. Secession was the act of the people. It was the spotless character, the undaunted courage, and the unquestioned statesmanship of Mr. Davis that placed him at the head of the Confederate government, and not because he specially desired the place.

"If he was guilty of treason we were all guilty. We were all in the same boat.

"I feel safe in saying that Arkansas will come up to the full measure of her duty to Mrs. Davis and her daughter, on whatever plan may be adopted, and will take pleasure in doing so.

"We will also assist in furnishing means with which to erect a monument to the memory of our great leader, which should be equal to anything of the kind in this or any other country.

"I am indeed glad to meet so many Confederate veterans as are assembled in this hall to-night, by whose side I stood on many battle-fields. Comrades, soon we too will be gathered to our Fathers. Let us be ready."

EX-GOVERNOR F. R. LUBBOCK, OF TEXAS.

Col. Lubbock, being called out and introduced as first "War Governor of Texas" and then aid to President Davis, was cordially received and heartily applauded as he spoke as follows:

"Honorable Commander:

"What can I add to the beautiful and patriotic speeches that have been made to-night by the distinguished veterans assembled to do honor to the memory of our illustrious chieftain and to provide for his devoted wife and daughter?

"I must venture, however, to utter a few words to give relief to my aching heart. Standing in the rotunda of the grand Capitol at Austin, Texas, when the news was announced that Jefferson Davis had passed over the river, from the fullness of my heart I said, 'Jefferson Davis dead! then the light of the greatest and best man of the century has been extinguished; Jefferson Davis, the embodiment of patriotism, the true soldier, the intelligent statesman, the ripe scholar, the refined gentleman, and, above all, the earnest follower of Christ.' Sir, it was my good fortune to be most intimately connected with the great and noble man. Just after I left the office of governor, for the Confederate army, Jefferson Davis, without the slightest knowledge on my part of his intention to do so, honored me by nominating

me as colonel of cavalry and aid-de-camp to himself. I reported to him as soon as horse and rail could take me to Richmond, and I served with him in his military family to the bitter end.

"I had previously known Mr. Davis, and to know him was to admire the many qualities that marked him as a great man.

"From close contact I soon learned to love him for his noble manhood—his devotion to his country, his earnestness in the discharge of the great trusts committed to his hands by a devoted and admiring people, and for his tender care of those connected with him; his suavity to his inferiors in rank, his fair dealings in all things with all men. I loved him for his great heart. I took pleasure in being near him and listening to his conversation, so full of intelligence, so chaste, so elegant, and there was soul in it all.

"My comrades, he was a grand man; the greatest, all in all, this country has produced.

"They say he is dead, comrades; he is beyond our sight, but he is not dead; he lives in the spirit land. He lives with Lee and Stonewall Jackson, and Albert Sidney Johnston, and others of our great and pure men; as the distinguished Bishop said to-day, 'When the roll call is made in heaven Jefferson Davis answers, Here.' Yes, we all know such as he make up the kingdom of heaven.

"He is not dead; he lives a higher life above. He is not dead, though we have laid him in the tomb, for he lives in our hearts, and he will ever live in the hearts of our children.

"Commander, comrades, I approve and endorse the resolutions offered by our distinguished comrade, Gen. Stephen D. Lee, and I will do all in my power to aid in carrying them into effect."

HON. J. TAYLOR ELLYSON, MAYOR OF RICHMOND, VA.

Dr. J. Wm. Jones arose and, being loudly applauded, said: "No! my comrades, I did not rise to speak, but only to say just this: We have heard with deepest interest and pleasure from our 'Soldier-Governors.' [By the way, these Southern States seem to have fallen into the good habit of making governors out of old Confederate soldiers.]

"There is general regret that the soldier-governor of Virginia—our gallant Fitz. Lee—is not here to speak for his State. We know that, 'though absent in body, he is present in spirit.'

"But we have, fortunately, with us the soldier-mayor of the old capital of the Confederacy, and I am sure that we would all be glad to hear from Hon. J. Taylor Ellyson, of Richmond.'

Amidst loud calls and enthusiastic applause, Mr. Ellyson took the stand and spoke as follows, his speech being frequently punctuated with applause:

"*Mr. President:*

"I am here as the representative of Richmond, about whose seven hills cluster some of the most precious and hallowed memories of Confederate

days. I have come, in the name of my people, to do honor to the memory of him who was the chosen and illustrious chief of the Southern Confederacy; and as I stood to-day by the bier of Jefferson Davis, I felt that I was looking upon the mortal remains of a man who had been as loyal to the principles of free government as any American that ever lived.

"Whatever advanced age, accumulated public honors, spotless integrity, and a firm religious faith could do for any man was done for Jefferson Davis.

"What a grand incentive to a noble action is found in such a life. A brave soldier, a wise senator, a judicious cabinet officer, a grand leader of a great people. What a lofty inspiration the study of his life affords the youth of our land. And yet I sometimes fear we may suffer the fate of Carthage in having the history of our struggle for independence written by an alien pen. I do not know how better we could honor the memory of Jefferson Davis than by teaching the children of the South a knowledge of the righteousness of the cause for which he contended. I have, for my part, determined that the youth of the capital city of the Old Dominion shall learn to revere the memories of such heroes as Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Albert Sidney Johnston and Jefferson Davis; and so, when I heard of the death of our revered President, I determined that I would honor his memory by offering a gold medal to the pupil of our High School who should write during the present session the best essay on the life and character of Jefferson Davis. In this way I hope to cultivate in the hearts of the children love for the study of Confederate history and to give them some knowledge of the men and principles of that fateful period in the annals of the Southern people.

"There is no danger that we who fought under the stars and bars shall ever be forgetful of the memories of those four stormy years, or prove false to the generous motives that then animated our lives; but there is danger, and real danger, that our children may be taught that the cause for which we fought was treason, and we but traitors. From such a fate may a kind Providence spare us! Then let us see that histories are written which shall contain the true story of Southern valor, and which shall teach our children that the soldiers of the Southern Confederacy were not rebels, but were Americans who loved Constitutional liberty as something dearer than life itself.

"Let us be certain that our children know that the war between the States was not a contest for the preservation of slavery, as some would have them believe, but that it was a great struggle for the maintainance of Constitutional rights, and that the men who fought

"Were warriors tried and true,
Who bore the flag of a Nation's trust,
And fell in a cause, though lost, still just,
And died for me and you.'"

In response to calls, earnest speeches were made by Dr. J. William Jones, of Atlanta; General Harrison, of Montgomery; and Colonel M. H. Cliff, of Tennessee, and the resolutions were unanimously and enthusiastically adopted.

Rev. Dr. T. R. Markham, in a few eloquent words, called attention to the causes of gratitude to God we had in the circumstances of the death and burial of our great chief, and Governor Gordon called on him to close the meeting with prayer, which he did in an earnest and appropriate thanksgiving, to which every heart seemed to say 'Amen!'

We have reported this meeting thus fully because of its *representative* character. It was, in truth, the tribute of all of the States to our dead—yet living—chief.

We have given the account of the obsequies, and of the meeting of Confederate veterans in New Orleans very fully, not only because of their inherent interest, but because they are really *the Southland's tribute to our dead President*, since every State was represented.

We will only add that the day after the funeral the eight governors called, as a body, to pay their respects to Mrs. Davis and her daughter, Mrs. Hayes (Miss Winnie was in Paris, on a trip for her health and was not able, of course, to be with her father during his illness, or to attend the funeral), and numbers of other friends called and were received with characteristic grace and dignity by these accomplished and noble women.

Crowds also visited the tomb for many succeeding days, and as long as the precious dust remains there it will be a Mecca for Confederate pilgrims.

It had been our purpose to give in full the *World's tribute to his memory*—the telegrams, resolutions, editorials, speeches, sermons, &c., grouping the tributes of each State—and we have in hand the fullest material for the purpose.

Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that the memorial meetings held were so numerous, the tributes to his memory so general, and the grief of our Southland at the loss of our grand old chief so universal, that we have enough of this material to make a volume of 1,000 or 1,500 pages, and would under any circumstances be compelled to omit a large part of it.

But we are especially annoyed to find that the first part of our book (already printed, so that we cannot cut out any part of that) has so far exceeded our proposed limits that we are now compelled to omit many of the speeches, resolutions, editorials, &c., which we had particularly desired to insert, and some of which, at our request, the authors had troubled themselves to send us.

There is, however, nothing left us but to condense many things and to leave out altogether others which we had purposed publishing in full.

This explanation is due alike to those who have so kindly furnished us the material, and to ourselves.

VIRGINIA'S TRIBUTE.

The tribute of the old Commonwealth was general, loving, tender and full; RICHMOND, the capital of the State and the old capital of the Confederacy, led the way and all of the towns and villages—aye! all of the homes and all of the people of the old State followed in paying appropriate respect and honor to him who was their defender, leader, friend, in the dark days of war.

The *Dispatch*, the *Times*, the *State*, the *Religious Herald*, the *Central Presbyterian*, the *Christian Advocate*, the *Southern Churchman* and other papers published in Richmond, all had appropriate editorial notices of his death; while the daily papers had full biographical sketches and full reports of everything pertaining to the life, sickness, death, and funeral of the great Southerner. But this is true equally with all of the papers of the State and, indeed, of the South generally.

The Governor of the State—General Fitzhugh Lee—who had been one of the most gallant and skilful soldiers whom President Davis ever commissioned, and who was always his warm, personal friend, issued the following proclamation:

“To the people of Virginia:

“Jefferson Davis is dead. The hearts of our people are heavy with sorrow. Our grief is natural and proper. Our mourning unreserved and sincere.

“When certain States of the American Union, some of which had much to do with the formation of the republic, declared that the Government which the States themselves had created was destructive of their rights and attempted ‘to assume among the powers of the earth’ a separate and equal station, they selected this illustrious statesman as their Chief Magistrate. In the estimation of many of his fellow-citizens in other sections he was a traitor; in the opinion of the same people we, too, are regarded as guilty of treason, and with him should equally share all responsibilities attaching to such action.

“When he was our ruler we gave him our dutiful obedience; when he was in prison and in irons, our profound compassion; when in the retirement of private life, our respect and reverence. And now that he is ‘sleeping his last sleep,’ we would be recreant to the elevated traits of human nature if we failed in a proper manner to do honor to his memory.

“We are again citizens of the United States. Once more Virginia is equally interested with the other States in promoting the glory of a common country; but such citizenship does not require us to treat as unknown the records of the past.

“Having been informed officially by the mayor of the city of New Orleans that the funeral services of this eminent citizen will take place in that city at noon on Wednesday next, the 11th instant, and in order that there may

be unanimous action on the part of those of our people who desire to testify in a befitting manner their respect for his services and character, I have the honor to recommend that upon that day, at the hour named, memorial services be held in the churches throughout the Commonwealth.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of Virginia to be affixed. Done at the capitol, in Richmond, this 7th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine, and the 114th year of the Commonwealth.

"FITZHUGH LEE,

Governor of Virginia.

"By the Governor:

"H. W. FLOURNOY,

Secretary of the Commonwealth."

In speaking to a reporter, Governor Lee said:

"Jefferson Davis was, in my opinion, in many respects, one of the greatest men this republic has ever produced. He was able, bold, true, manly, conscientious, clear in thought, admirable in expression, cultured in address, and stood steady in his firm belief in the construction and doctrines of this government, though the very 'lightning scorched the ground beneath his feet.' The Southern people loved him because he suffered for them. They are prepared to protect and guard his memory from the fierce future winds of prejudice in saying to all those who hated him, and whose hearts are consumed at this hour by sectional animosities, 'If this be treason, make the most of it.'"

The soldier-mayor of Richmond issued the following proclamation:

"MAYOR'S OFFICE,

"RICHMOND, VA., December 9, 1889.

"To the People of Richmond:

"The shadow of a great sorrow has fallen upon our city. Jefferson Davis is dead. The people of Richmond need no exhortation to do honor to his memory. His virtues and his patriotism have forever enshrined him in their hearts. I would, however, recommend that, in furtherance of the suggestion contained in the proclamation of the governor, and in compliance with the resolution of the City Council, that all business be suspended on next Wednesday, the day of the funeral, and that our citizens repair to their respective places of worship and unite in such memorial services as may be most expressive of their grief at the loss of our distinguished President, the four most eventful years of whose illustrious life were spent within our borders.

"I would, as a further mark of respect, order that all the municipal offices be closed on the above day.

"J. TAYLOR ELLYSON, *Mayor.*"

The City Council, Chamber of Commerce, R. E. Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans, Pickett Camp, and other organizations passed feeling and appropriate resolutions.

We could fill many pages with expressions from distinguished Virginians, but can find space for only the following from two gallant and accomplished soldiers:

General D. H. Maury, a long-time friend of Mr. Davis, wrote to the *Dispatch*:

"Dauntless courage was the foundation of that great character which so long guided our struggles for nationality. In a long and stormy life it never failed friend nor foe, and met good and evil fortune with equal front. When riding along his victorious lines at Manassas, when manacled in his cell, and when confronting his accusers and executioners, Jefferson Davis was ever the same calm, lofty leader of a great cause and a great people. Calm in battle as Joe Johnson, generous as M. C. Butler, gentle and tender as R. E. Lee, a born leader of men, his heart and his hand were ever open to every touch of tenderness or sympathy, and great and daring as he was in war and in council, he was greater in his home.

"DABNEY H. MAURY."

Gen. William H. Payne, of Warrenton, in enclosing check for \$100 for the monument, to the Richmond *State*, wrote:

"Richmond, where he ruled as king, is the only place to bury our king.

"It was the place chosen by the whole Confederacy as its head and heart, and it is the place where its highest heroes should sleep.

"Men seem to forget that Richmond was the real theatre whereon Mr. Davis acted his noblest part. It seems sacrilege to bury him elsewhere.

"Let the Legislature and the City Council send messengers to Mrs. Davis entreating her to give us dead what we so much honored when living.

"No defeated leader ever lived so noble a life.

"Let all the South weep for her honored son, but let Virginia hold his remains.

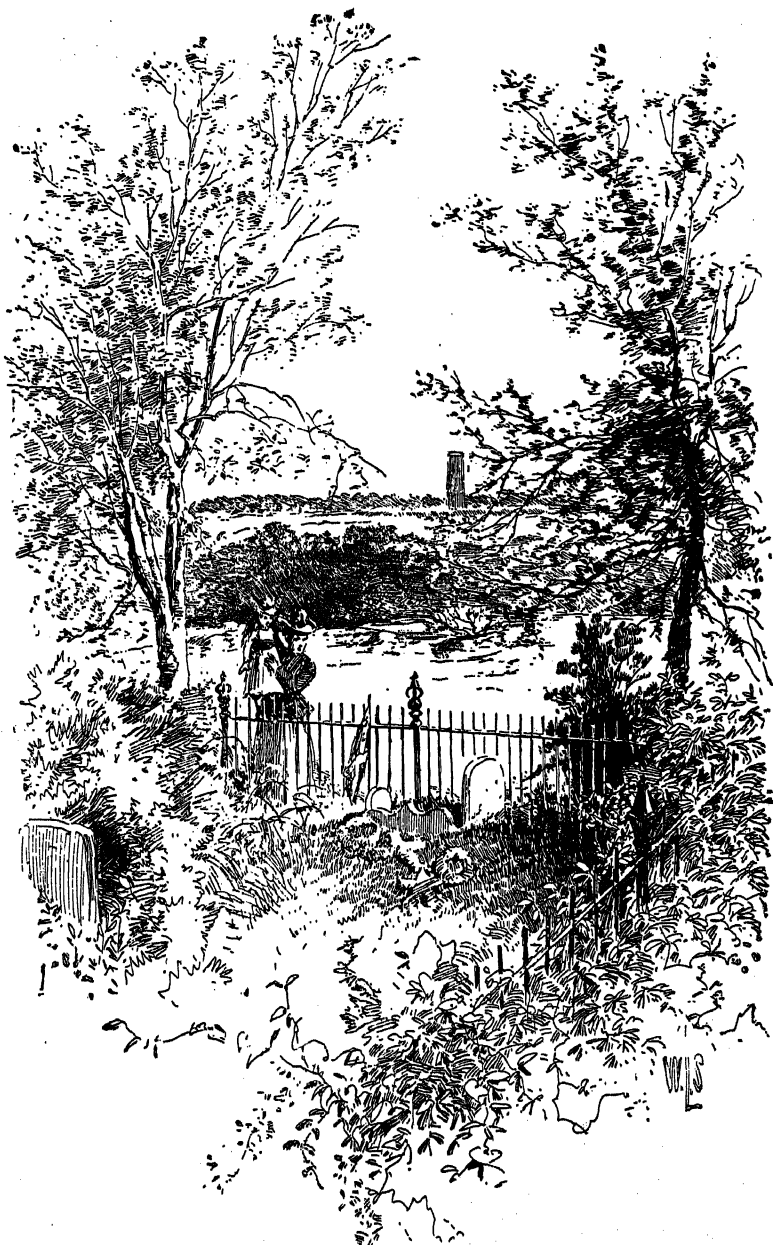
"W. H. PAYNE."

The vestry of St. Paul's Church adopted suitable resolutions, and set apart two windows of the church for memorial windows "to R. E. Lee and Jefferson Davis—*par nobile fratrum*."

"*Memorial Day*," December 11, 1889, was very generally observed in Richmond.

The State and city offices, the railroad depots, the banks, and business houses generally were closed; many of the houses were draped, and immense crowds of people attended the memorial services.

At *St. Paul's Church* the venerable Dr. Charles Minnigerode delivered the eloquent and touching address which we have already given in full.



LITTLE JOE DAVIS'S GRAVE IN HOLLYWOOD CEMETERY, RICHMOND, VA.

Monumental (Episcopal) Church was packed to its utmost capacity. Rev. Dr. Lewis William Burton, of St. John's Church, Rev. Preston Nash, of St. James, and Rev. James R. Funsten, of Christ Church, all took part in the services, and the rector, Rev. Dr. J. B. Newton, delivered an eloquent and appropriate address, which he closed by saying:

"Grateful for all these noble qualities of mind and heart for his God-given genius and spotless name, as we stand to-day beneath the shadows of the grave we are more grateful still that Jefferson Davis, the hero of Buena Vista, the great statesman, the faithful leader of his people, at the moment of his highest human glory bowed his head and confessed himself openly before the world a lowly follower of Jesus Christ."

At *Moore Memorial Episcopal Church*, Rev. Dr. Sprigg, the Rector, delivered an impressive address to a full house.

At the *Broad Street Methodist Church* the congregation was very large. The pastor, Rev. Dr. J. S. Lambeth introduced the services by saying:

"The booming of the guns, the tolling of the bells, the half-masted flags, and the mourning badges that surround us tell us that the mortal remains of a peerless gentleman, the great leader, are about to be committed to mother earth. I thank God that he ever gave to the world such a man as Jefferson Davis."

Rev. Dr. Sturgis, Rev. Dr. Bledsoe, Rev. Dr. W. E. Judkins, Rev. J. C. Martin, Rev. C. C. Wertenbaker, Rev. J. A. Jefferson, Rev. J. P. Woodward, Dr. J. L. Buchanan and others participated in the services.

Rev. Dr. J. Wiley Bledsoe, Rev. Dr. W. E. Judkins, Major W. T. Sutherlin of Danville, and Rev. Dr. Atkins, president of Emory and Henry college, made feeling and appropriate tributes to the "Grandest of American Statesmen"—as Dr. Atkins pronounced him.

Major Sutherlin feelingly and eloquently recalled reminiscences of President Davis's stay at his house, in Danville, after the evacuation of Richmond.

Dr. Lambeth, an old chaplain in the Army of Northern Virginia, closed the services by saying:

"Jefferson Davis—the soldier, the statesman, and peerless gentleman—is no more. He deserves the grandest monument that can be erected to his memory; but the best monument is that which has this day been erected in the hearts of the Southern people."

At the *Second Baptist Church*, at 11:30 every seat was occupied, and the hundreds who came afterwards were turned away. The Baptist pastors of Richmond and Manchester were on the platform. Dr. Hatcher presided. Dr. Whitfield led in prayer, and Drs. Cooper and Frost and Revs. S. C. Clifton and L. R. Thornhill took part in the services.

The faculty and students of Richmond College and of the Richmond Female Institute, and Pickett Camp Confederate Veterans, attended the meeting, and the deepest solemnity and tenderest feeling pervaded the vast crowd.

After a brief but appropriate introductory address by Dr. Hatcher, Rev. Dr. S. A. Goodwin, of Grove Avenue Baptist Church, made an address of rare eloquence, in which he spoke of Mr. Davis as patriot, statesman, soldier, and Christian. Dr. Goodwin was himself a gallant Confederate soldier.

Rev. Dr. W. W. Landrum, pastor of the Second Baptist Church (who is bound to the Davis family by the tender tie that his brother and Jefferson Davis, Jr., both died of yellow fever in Memphis about the same time and their fathers and mothers mingled their sympathies and tears), made an eloquent and appropriate address on "*The lessons of the hour.*"

At the *Seventh Street Christian Church* Elder L. A. Cutler addressed the large and deeply interested crowd in an eloquent and impressive manner.

Lee Camp Confederate Veterans attended the Second Presbyterian church, having invited the pastor, Rev. Dr. M. D. Hoge, one of their honorary members, to address them. The spacious house was crowded long before the appointed hour, and many went away unable to find even standing room. Rev. Drs. C. H. Reed; W. T. Richardson, Hoge, Campbell, and Fair, and Rev. Messrs. Stewart, Gammon, and Turnbull participated in the services.

Rev. Dr. M. D. Hoge, who has been pastor of this same church for forty-five years, who had close relations with Mr. Davis during the war, who is widely known as one of the finest pulpit orators in the country, and who made the great oration at the unveiling of the statue of Stonewall Jackson in Richmond, fully sustained his high reputation and met the expectations of the vast crowd by an address which the *Dispatch* pronounced "faultless."

The *Virginia Legislature* was in session at the time, but adjourned to attend the services at the churches, and held their own memorial meeting after these had adjourned.

The following joint resolutions were unanimously adopted after eloquent and appropriate addresses in the Senate by Hon. J. N. Stubbs, of Gloucester; Hon. H. G. Peters, of Henry, and Senator Moore, of Fairfax; and in the House by Hon. R. C. Kent, of Wythe, Judge Bolen, of Carroll; Hon. Greenlee Letcher, of Rockbridge (son of the "War-Governor" of Virginia), and Clerk of the House John Bell Bigger:

"1. *Resolved*, That the people of this Commonwealth have heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. Jefferson Davis, the ex-President of the Confederate States of America. We recognize in the death of Mr. Davis the loss of a distinguished soldier, statesman, and patriot. In every position of life, whether on the field of battle, in the councils of the nation, or as chief of the Southern Confederacy, Mr. Davis was distinguished for his fidelity to principle, lofty patriotism, and loyalty to the trusts imposed upon him. The people of the Southern States, of whom he was the chosen chief magistrate, are honored in his pure record and stainless life. His name is inseparably connected with the history of our country, and the historian of the future, when passion and strife have cleared, will assign to this hero of the "Lost Cause" a place among the wise and good men of all the ages.

"2. The General Assembly respectfully tenders its sympathy to his family in their bereavement.

"3. That these resolutions be spread upon the Journal of each house, and be communicated to the Governor with the request that he impart them to the family of the deceased.

"4. As a further mark of respect to his memory, upon the passage of these resolutions the General Assembly will adjourn for this day."

The *Richmond Howitzers*, whose guns were heard on every battle-field in Virginia from Big Bethel to Appomattox, fired "minute guns," beginning at 7 A. M., and the tribute of the capital of the Confederacy to "our dead President" was very warm and appropriate in all of its features.

A pleasing incident may be added. When the venerable Dr. J. V. Hobson and his good wife—who for some years have assumed the "labor of love" of caring for the grave of little Joe Davis over which the children of Richmond erected a monument—went on the afternoon of memorial day to carry their offering of flowers, they found that other loving hands had been before them, and that the little grave was covered with the most beautiful flowers to be found. But Richmond's tribute did not cease with memorial day.

On Saturday night, December 21st, the spacious Academy of Music was filled with the elite of the city, assembled to honor Mr. Davis and beseech his body for interment in the old capitol of the Confederacy.

Hon. J. Taylor Ellyson, Mayor of the city, called the meeting to order, and after a fervent and appropriate prayer by Rev. Dr. M. D. Hoge, made a brief but very appropriate address and called on Governor Fitzhugh Lee to preside over the meeting.

In taking the chair Governor Lee made an earnest and eloquent address which was heartily applauded.

He concluded by saying:

"Such is the man, ladies and gentlemen, the capitol city of the Confederacy remembers this evening. For four years he was a familiar figure on our streets, in his executive office, and on horseback as he rode around the lines of fire then encircling the city.

"When the ship of the new republic was launched he was called to the command and was with her 'rocked in the cradle of the deep.' Storms of war burst upon her deck before her machinery was even put in motion; but through the thunder's roar, when the cordage was rent, when the breakers were dashing against her, when despair was visible upon the faces of some of the crew, and when she began to settle and sink amid the lurid flashing of the lightning, the captain was seen standing calm, heroic, resolute, grand in all the glory of a man, grasping with a firm hand the helm as she sank down, down in the sea of eternity.

"Here let the soldier sleep, whose sword flashes no longer in the forefront of battle.

"Here let the orator be buried, upon whose lips audiences were once suspended magically as if by golden chains.

"Here let the statesman rest, watched over and guarded by the city that ever received his loving attention.

"Here let the chieftain be brought and buried in May, when a monument is to be unveiled to one of his army commanders, when Nature spreads her carpet of green, when in the aisles of the orchard the blossoms are drifting and 'the tulip's pale stalk in the garden is lifting a goblet of gems to the sun.' And here too let us erect a monument that will stand in lofty and lasting attestation to tell our children's children of our love for the memory of Jefferson Davis."

Major Charles S. Stringfellow was the next speaker on the programme and pronounced an eloquent, chaste, and appropriate eulogy on the "good, pure, able and brave" leader, and made a powerful plea for Richmond as the proper place for his grave and monument. He was frequently interrupted with rapturous applause.

The Committee on resolutions—consisting of General Peyton Wise, Messrs. Thomas Nelson Page, and Page McCarty, Colonel Richard F. Beirne, and Colonel Archer Anderson—made their report through General Wise, who prefaced with a few eloquent remarks, the following resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. J. Bell Bigger in a few earnest remarks, and unanimously adopted:

"Like a ripe oak in the stillness of the forest, a great man has fallen. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi—laurelled officer in the army, Secretary of War, Senator of the United States, and late President of the Confederate States—having added the crowning grace of a Christian life to the sturdy strength of his natural manhood, has been gathered to his fathers.

"He had not merely been the representative of the cause of the Southern people; he not only when this failed took our burdens upon him and suffered in our stead, but he was the type of whatever is best and truest in the Southern character, of its undying love of liberty, its unswerving devotion to law and order, its uncompromising adherence to principle, its gentleness and gallantry, its simplicity and good faith, and its chivalrous defence of women and children and of whatever is weak against whatever is strong.

"We, citizens of Richmond, in mass-meeting assembled, come, therefore, to-night lovingly and earnestly, not to bury, but to praise him; not simply to mourn him, but to make memorials of him and to rejoice that God gave him to us for an example and an inspiration forever. And we come, too, without apology, but without defiance, with affectionate regards for our fellow-citizens, everywhere, but with special love for him, to commend his character to all America as one to be reverentially pondered, and which in the special respect of stern fidelity to honest convictions is altogether admirable and glorious.

"With these sentiments, and proud and grateful to have them in us, we resolve:

"1. That as Richmond was the capitol of the Confederate States and the place where his high manhood and statesmanship, his stainless probity and glad self-sacrifice for the Southern people were most conspicuously illustrated, Richmond, on behalf of all the Southern people, should be the spot where his remains shall be tenderly guarded, and where a statue (now gladly pledged) rising above them shall teach to Southern youth that not worldly success but duty done at every hazard upon every field, and the being every inch a man in evil report as in good report, through all suffering of the body and the mind, are the real goals of the Christian gentleman. And we humbly pray the beloved widow of our great Chief to give those remains to us for such a disposal of them.

"2. That the Governor of Virginia, who is the chairman of this meeting, be requested to convey our action to Mrs. Jefferson Davis."

The regular programme being over, there were loud calls for Hon. J. L. M. Curry, who had known Mr. Davis in the old United States Congress, and when a member of the Confederate Congress, and in response he made a brief address of rare beauty, pathos, and eloquence.

Dr. J. William Jones responded to loud calls and made a ten minutes' speech, which he closed by saying:

"We are loyal citizens of the United States now, and we would not revive bitter memories of a stormy past. But we must see to it that our children and our children's children are taught that their fathers were not 'rebels' and 'traitors,' but as true patriots as the world ever saw, and that that cause could not be 'treason' for which Albert Sidney Johnston, and Stonewall Jackson, and Robert E. Lee, and Jefferson Davis, and the barefooted and ragged heroes who followed them to an immortality of fame, gave their stainless, noble lives."

This sentiment was greeted with vociferous applause and cheers.

Richmond had yet another immense meeting on the evening of the 25th of January, 1890, when Senator John W. Daniel delivered before the Legislature the great speech which we have already published in full.

In introducing Senator Daniel on that occasion, the Speaker of the House of Delegates, Hon. R. H. Cardwell, of Hanover, said:

"It is the pleasing part of my duties to welcome you on this occasion—especially pleasing because the presence of this magnificent audience demonstrates that when the present General Assembly of Virginia invited one of her favorite sons and her most gifted orator to deliver in this, the capitol city of the late Confederate States of America, an oration on the life and character of the lamented Jefferson Davis, they but voiced the wishes of the people whom they have the honor to represent. In 1865, near the close of the Confederacy's short life, the General Assembly of Virginia addressed an open letter to President Davis, in which it declared 'its desire in this critical period of affairs, by such suggestions as occur to them and by the

dedication, if need be, of the entire resources of the Commonwealth to the common cause, to strengthen our hands and to give success to our struggle for liberty and independence.'

"In reply President Davis said: 'Your assurance is to me a source of the highest gratification; and while conveying to you my thanks for the expression of the confidence of the General Assembly in my sincere devotion to my country and its sacred cause, I must beg permission in return to bear witness to the uncalculating, unhesitating spirit with which Virginia has, from the moment when she first drew the sword, consecrated the blood of her children and all her material resources to the achievement of the object of our struggle.'

"Our 'sacred cause' was lost, and after long years of vicarious suffering, through all of which he was true to us and to our dead, our chieftain has passed away; but the love for the principles for which we contended, and the memory of him who contributed so much to make our record in that struggle glorious, will live forever in the hearts of all true men and women throughout our Southland. It is our purpose on this occasion to review the brilliant life and spotless character of Mr. Davis, and in selecting as the orator that fearless son of Virginia whose eloquent words as enduring as marble, have held up for review by coming generations the life and character of other of our great leaders who have 'crossed over the river,' we again have your approval, and his name is so indelibly written in our affections that your reception of him here to-night will further demonstrate that it is a needless task for me more formally to introduce to a Virginia audience John W. Daniel."

But, as we have said, the tributes of other cities and towns of Virginia were as warm and hearty as those of Richmond.

In *Norfolk and Portsmouth*, the Pickett-Buchanan Camp of Confederate Veterans, and Stonewall Camp of Portsmouth led the way in passing suitable resolutions and preparing for the observance of Memorial Day, and the people generally heartily united.

The Academy of Music was packed to its utmost capacity on the 12th, and an "overflow" meeting was held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall. Confederate veterans, Mexican veterans, and the local military took prominent part in the meeting.

Rev. B. D. Tucker, of the Episcopal church; Rev. Dr. Geo. D. Armstrong, of the Presbyterian church; Rev. Dr. J. I. Burrows, of the Free-Mason-Street Baptist church; Rev. J. F. Hunter, and Rev. Father Dougherty, of St. Mary's Catholic church, participated in the religious services.

Capt. Richard F. Walke read the very graceful and appropriate resolutions, which were adopted, and made a brief but eloquent speech, as did Col. Walter H. Taylor (Gen. Lee's old A. A. G.) in seconding them.

The orator of the day was Major Baker P. Lee, of Hampton, one of the most polished orators in the State, and he well sustained his high reputation in a splendid tribute to his old chief.

Rev. Dr. Barten, who had visited and ministered to Mr. Davis when in prison at Fortress Monroe, made a touching address, in which he recalled deeply interesting incidents of that period.

In the meeting at Y. M. C. A. Hall Rev. Dr. Robert Gatewood, Rev. Dr. T. G. Jones, Rev. Mr. Minnick and Rev. Dr. Tudor participated in the religious exercises, and Rev. Dr. W. G. Starr and Judge Theo. S. Garnett were the eloquent speakers.

In *Portsmouth* business generally was suspended, and a large crowd assembled at the Monumental M. E. church, under the auspices of "Stonewall" Camp, Confederate Veterans.

In the pulpit of the church were Rev. Mr. Reed, presiding elder; Rev. Dr. W. E. Edwards, Rev. Dr. A. E. Owen, Revs. F. F. Reese, G. W. Wray, R. L. McMurren, J. D. Powell, Judge A. S. Watts, Judge L. R. Watts, O. V. Smith, Major J. F. Crocker, Captain James H. Toomer, Revs. George E. Truett, D. P. Willis, Captain W. H. Murdaugh, and others.

Rev. Dr. W. E. Edwards preached the memorial sermon, which the paper said was "able and eloquent," Col. K. R. Griffin offered appropriate resolutions, and Judge L. R. Watts made the address. "He reviewed the life of President Davis, and paid a glowing tribute to his superb valor as a soldier, his worth as a citizen, and his wisdom as a statesman and chief magistrate. He spoke of his loyalty to the South and constitutional liberty, his splendid courage in the eventful four years' struggle, and his sublime fortitude in defeat and adversity. In concluding, he alluded eloquently to the lofty Christian character of President Davis amid the painful imprisonment and suffering that followed for two years after the war."

In *Petersburg*—battle-scarred, historic, old Petersburg—"Memorial Day" was observed by the general suspension of all business, the parade of A. P. Hill Camp of Confederate Veterans and the military, and a monster mass-meeting at the Opera House, presided over by Mayor Collier.

After a fervent and appropriate prayer by Rev. J. M. Pilcher, chaplain of A. P. Hill Camp, Capt. W. Gordon McCabe prefaced the reading of the following resolutions with a brief speech, which was singularly chaste, appropriate and eloquent. It is evident, also, that the resolutions were drawn by his graceful pen and soldier's ardor.

"Whereas the A. P. Hill Camp, Confederate Veterans, of Petersburg, Virginia, has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, late President of the Confederate States of America, therefore, be it

"Resolved, *First*, That in the death of this illustrious man, the whole South mourns the loss of a dauntless leader, whose fame must be forever associated with the heroic achievements of a people battling for hearth and home and country—a man, who, in victory and disaster alike, bore himself with such noble equanimity, such serene constancy, such single minded devotion to duty, as will forever enshrine his name among the great champions of freedom.

"For more than a quarter of a century every calumny that brutal malignity could invent and envenomed passion proclaim, has been hurled against him; yet steadfast in the consciousness of exalted principle, upheld by an unwavering conviction of the righteousness of the cause, to which he dedicated both heart and brain, and which to the last, was to him and to millions of his countrymen, 'strong with the strength of truth and immortal with the immortality of right,' he met with quiet dignity and intrepid front the storm of obloquy, with which sectional hate and coarse fanaticism vainly sought to beat down and crush the 'dauntless temper of his mind.' It was his lot to be tried in great events, and in the many grave trusts confided to his wisdom, skill and valor, he was equal to the trial. In council, in debate, on field of battle, he ever 'stood four-square to all the winds that blew,' and when this generation shall have passed away, and the motives and convictions of men shall be apprehended without passion, when a true perspective of the great struggle in which he was our chosen leader shall be attained, there shall shine out in the broad light of that heroic time no nobler figure than that of Jefferson Davis.

"For the people whom he loved, he suffered cruel torments, yet he even counted it a glory and no shame, and the vigor of his soul, disdaining the weakness of his body, bore him triumphant through the ignominies that were heaped upon him.

"*Resolved, Second,* That we honor his memory as that of a man, who in private life ever 'bore without reproach the grand old name of gentleman'; that we revere him as a statesman, 'who never sold the truth to serve the hour'; as a soldier, who even counted life itself a worthless thing when freedom was at stake, as a patriot,

"Whose eighty winters freeze with one rebuke,
All great self-seekers trampling on the Right."

"Our love for him is, in truth, rooted in proud memories, of which neither we nor our children after us need ever be ashamed.

"*Resolved Third,* That in token of our profound respect for his memory, our merchants and others are hereby asked to close their places of business during the hour of the funeral, and that the pastors of our city be requested to cause the bells of their respective churches to be tolled 81 times, one stroke for each year of the dead hero's life.

"*Resolved Fourth,* That this Camp attend in a body the memorial services on that day to be held in the Academy of Music.

"*Resolved Fifth,* That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Camp, and that a copy be forwarded to the widow and children.

"*Resolved, Sixth,* That we respectfully request the family to allow his remains to be buried in Richmond, the capitol of the late Confederacy.

"W. GORDON McCABE, *Chairman.*

"JOHN HERBERT CLAIBORNE,

"CHARLES F. COLLIER."

Then followed addresses of rare appropriateness, earnestness, and feeling, by Rev. Dr. J. W. Roseboro, of the Tabb-street Presbyterian Church; Rev. J. W. Goodwin, of St. John's Episcopal Church; Rev. R. R. Acree, of the First Baptist Church, and Rev. J. F. Twitty, of the Methodist Church. The exercises were interspersed with appropriate hymns and prayers, and it is a fact worth mentioning that all of these memorial services have been pervaded by a deeply devotional spirit.

As the towns of Virginia generally have united in asking Mrs. Davis to allow Richmond to receive and care for the precious dust, it may be well for us to give here the following letter from Mrs. Davis to the Mayor of Richmond:

"If gratitude for the manner in which the people of Richmond sustained him during the war, his affection for her citizens and pride in the calm fortitude of her men and women, under crushing defeat, were to be the moving cause only, I might lay him there unquestioned; but the State of his birth, Kentucky; the State of his adoption, which showered every honor upon him within her gift, Mississippi; the State where the Confederacy first unfurled her flag, Alabama; the State in which his parents spent their early life and where his father was born, and where my husband has received many honors, Georgia; the State in which we found friends and home, and where our dead repose, Tennessee; and last, but not least, the State which now gives him sepulture, amidst the tears and plaudits of her people, Louisiana—all these have put forth claims so strong that I cannot choose among them, and have decided to wait, perhaps, a year before making a selection. To rest in the same soil with your immortal heroes, General Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, is a privilege fully appreciated, and I would be the last to undervalue the honor, but when the final decision must be made I cannot be unmindful of the rights of those who have done me the honor to claim the custody of my dead, and beg you to have patience with me for a season."

In *Lexington* the exercises were of very peculiar interest. The exercises at the Virginia Military Institute and Washington and Lee University were suspended, business houses were closed, and the people who have the high privilege and honor of guarding the dust of Lee and Jackson came together *en masse* to honor their great chief, whom *they*, when living, so delighted to honor.

Hon. J. Randolph Tucker was the orator of the occasion, and made a speech of great ability and power which we regret that we cannot give in full.

He closed as follows:

"Our Confederacy sank in sorrow, but not in shame. Dark and gloomy clouds gathered in heavy folds around its sitting, but they did not—they could not—blacken it! It lit them into effulgence with its own transcendent glory.

"Jefferson Davis deserves our reverence because he has stood for a quarter of a century in our place. He endured a cruel captivity for two years, and for the residue of that time has been the vicarious victim of obloquy and reproach due to us all, and heaped upon him alone by the press and people of the North. His fortitude and devotion to truth never failed. He endured not in silence, but with a protest which history has recorded, and will preserve as an emphatic vindication of the Confederacy which had perished, from malign aspersions on the motives of its friends, on the origin and causes of its formation, and on the purposes of justice and liberty, which inspired those who died in its defence, or who survived to illustrate its principles in doing the duties public and private which God in his providence assigned them to perform. He died a citizen of Mississippi and of the United States, and under disability to hold office under the government of the United States. He desired no place; why should he? He had filled his place in the temple of fame and in the domain of history. In personal dignity, and in the peace of God he lived and died. What artificial disability could taint his real nature? Why seek to remove it? He had made an heroic and honest effort to give freedom and independence to the South and had failed. God's will be done! He chose the sacred retirement of home, its charms of family and friends, of calm and philosophical reflection and study, and waited with firm reliance on divine goodness for the last summons, which comes to him who has humbly, but bravely, conscientiously, and with undaunted courage and patience done his duty, as he saw it, to truth, to his country, and to God!

'Whether on cross uplifted high,
Or in the battle's van;
The fittest place for man to die,
It where he dies for man'

"Virginia! Rockbridge! Lexington! ever keeping guard over the holy dust of Lee and Jackson, turn aside to-day with millions of your countrymen, with mournful reverence and tender hearts, to twine a wreath of martial glory and weave a chaplet of civic fame to rest upon the tomb of Jefferson Davis! In a peculiar sense, the fate of our Confederacy is recalled to-day. On its grave—finally closed this hour—will be inscribed in imperishable characters the immortal name of the martial civilian who was its first, its only President. We plant flowers about it and water them with our tears, not hoping for, or as emblems of its anticipated resurrection, but to embalm it in our fragrant memories and in our most precious affections. And then, turning from the ashes of our dead past to the active duty dictated by the example and counsels of our departed leaders, Albert Sidney Johnston, Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, we will labor with a fidelity wrought by the stern but noble discipline of our past experience, for the maintenance of the constitutional liberty they imperilled their lives to save, and for the promotion of the true prosperity, progress and glory of our common country."

In Danville "Cabell-Graves Camp" Confederate Veterans, the authorities, the ministers of all denominations, and the citizens generally of Danville and North Danville united in a crowded mass-meeting at the Academy of Music, where there were earnest, appropriate and effective speeches by Rev. Dr. P. A. Peterson, of the Methodist Church; Col. E. B. Withers, Judge Berryman Green, Hon. George C. Cabell, and Rev. T. B. Thames, of the First Baptist Church.

But if we continue even these brief details, we will fill the volume with Virginia's tribute, and leave no room for the loving offerings of other States. We can, therefore, barely mention other points.

At *Fredericksburg Maury Camp* and the citizens generally fittingly observed the day.

At historic old *Williamsburg* there were appropriate services and addresses by Rev. Dr. L. B. Wharton, C. P. Armistead, Esq., and Hon. Lyon G. Tyler (son of the late President John Tyler), the president of old William and Mary College.

At *Franklin* there were united services, a large crowd, and addresses by Rev. M. L. Hurley, Capt. L. H. Webb, and others.

At *Leesburg* and at *Suffolk* there was proper observance of the day.

In *Charlottesville* the Confederate Veterans and local military joined the citizens generally in a meeting, at which Rev. Dr. L. Hanckle, rector of the Episcopal Church, made a notable address, which we regret that we cannot print in full.

We condense the following from special telegrams to the *Richmond Dispatch*. At all the points named the ceremonies were solemn, impressive, and appropriate:

At the *Pulaski* meeting eloquent addresses were delivered by Judge R. M. Brown, Hon. J. Early Moore, and William M. Boykin, and resolutions offered by R. L. Gardner were passed. Prayer by the Rev. G. G. Snead, of the Episcopal Church.

The *Abingdon* services were held in the Methodist church, all the ministers of the place participating. Addresses were made and the bells of the town tolled.

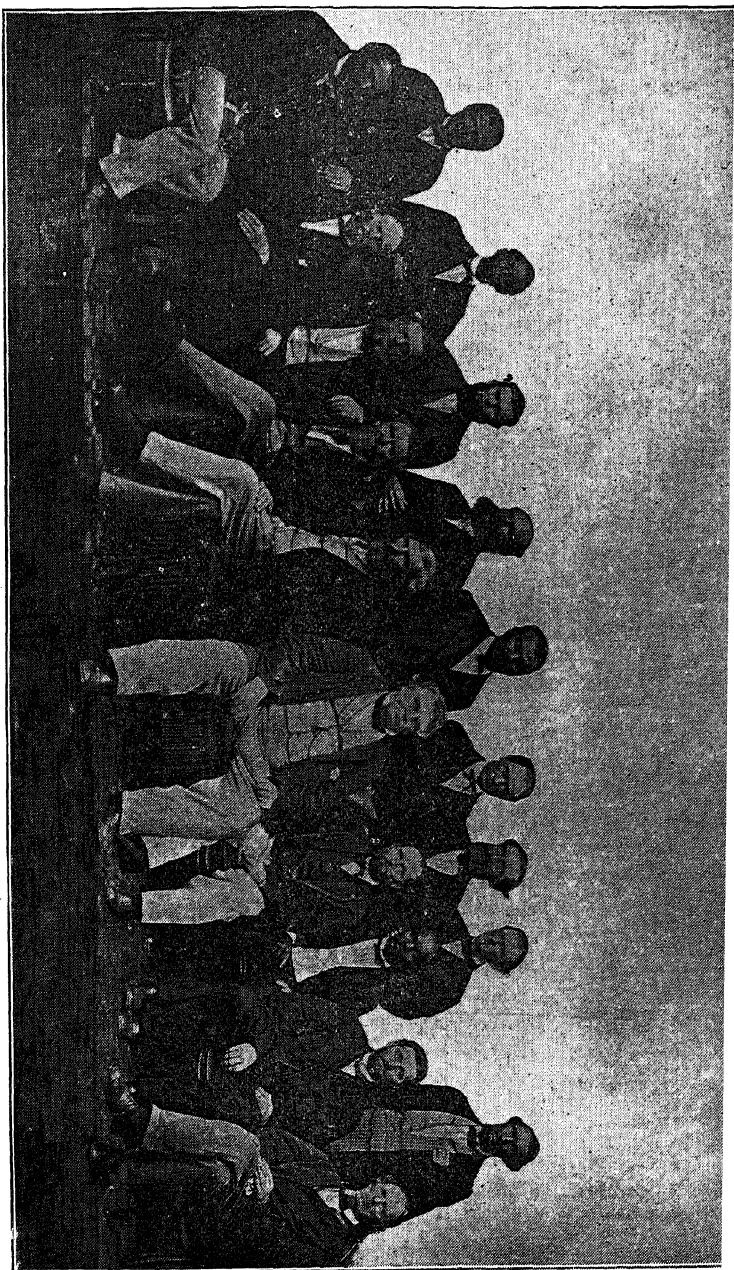
The day was observed at *Blackstone* by the military firing a salute and by services.

Onancock fitly honored the dead hero by services in the churches and addresses.

Memorial services at *Harrisonburg* were held at night. Rev. Dr. Cox and Rev. Mr. Johnston were the principal speakers.

At *Culpeper* the services were held in the Episcopal Church. The military attended in a body, and afterwards fired a salute on the church green. There were other features, including addresses.

Touching addresses were delivered at *Eastville* by Dr. William A. Thomas, late surgeon in the Confederate army, and Rev. George W. Scott, who was a chaplain in the Confederate army. Business was suspended.



THE GRAND JURY.

This is the Grand Jury that indicted Mr. Davis, and was the first mixed jury ever impaneled in this country.

One of the most eloquent addresses of the occasion was delivered at Farmville by Rev. W. E. Evans, of the Methodist Church. The meeting—an immense one—was held in the Baptist church.

Lynchburg's service was at night and in the Opera-House, Dr. John E. Edwards being the principal speaker. The veterans of the "Lost Cause" and the military of the city were in attendance with colors draped in mourning. At noon the bells were tolled for an hour.



House in which the First Confederate Cabinet was held.

ORANGE.—Memorial services were held here to-day at St. Thomas Episcopal Church. The bells were tolled at the churches and all the business houses closed from 11 to 3 o'clock.

At Alexandria among the speakers were Gen. W. H. F. Lee, Senator John W. Daniel, and Senator John H. Reagan.

Berryville, Warrenton, Abingdon, Winchester, Staunton, University of Virginia, Randolph-Macon College, Hampden-Sidney College, Heathsville, Westmoreland, Richmond, Lancaster, New Kent, and other counties—in fact, the whole State, from Alleghany to Chesapeake, from the Potomac to the North Carolina line—paid appropriate tributes to the great leader, whom the people honored and loved.

ALABAMA'S TRIBUTE.

No State was more devoted to Mr. Davis than the one which had the first capital of the Confederacy, and nowhere have the tributes to his memory been warmer or more sincere.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* of December 7th thus speaks of the mourning of the old capital of the Confederacy when the news came of the death of one who had come among them first as President of the new-born Confederacy, and whom they had received in 1886 with demonstrations such as the proudest conqueror might have envied:

"Montgomery was in mourning yesterday for the dead chieftain of the Lost Cause.

"The announcement of the death of ex-President Jefferson Davis brought a great weight of sorrow to the hearts of the people, and words of sadness and expressions of deepest grief fell from every lip.

"The news of late with regard to Mr. Davis's condition had been rather encouraging, and the people had been led to think and hope that he might weather the storm and regain his wonted health and strength. Still, the fact that his health had been quite feeble for several years, and bore the burden of more than eighty years, forced upon the minds of his most ardent admirers and devoted friends the painful conclusion that he was passing into the valley of the shadow of death; and the news of his death, fraught with sadness though it was, did not come as a surprise to the public.

"The State house was draped in mourning, and the flag on the dome placed at half mast yesterday morning, and all the departments at the Capitol were closed for the day. The flag on the city building was also placed at half mast by order of the Mayor. A number of stores were draped with the sable emblems of mourning. The State house was still and deserted, and stood like a monument to the memory of the statesman who had twice stood under its stately columns and received the plaudits of his people—where he was chosen chief of the young old nation, whose fate was sealed in the death throes of Appomattox, and where he stood after a lapse of twenty-five years and said: 'Your demonstration now exceeds that which welcomed me then. I felt that I was coming home—coming to the land where liberty dies not and heroic sentiments will live forever. It takes a great people to do this.'

"Again the beloved name of Jefferson Davis was passed from tongue to tongue, until the people talked of little else. They talked of his life with his family when they resided in Montgomery during the early period of the war, and of his triumphal visit to this city in the spring of 1886, when he came to participate in the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of the Confederate monument on Capitol Hill. He came with all the pomp and ceremony of a conqueror to enter the gates of a great city and the hearts of a great people. He came at the earnest solicitude and frequent requests of friends who desired that the people should have an opportunity of demonstrating to him and the world the great love and respect and reverence they felt for him. He came and was received with open arms and enthusiasm, and greeted with the greatest demonstration of popular devotion ever accorded to mortal man on Southern soil."

Governor Seay issued his proclamation, and the telegrams were sent which we have already published; the Confederate Veterans held a meeting, at which there were appropriate resolutions and speeches by ex-Governor Thomas H. Watts and others, and arrangements were made for the large attendance at the funeral from Alabama which we noted in our account of the funeral obsequies.

Rev. Dr M. B. Wharton, pastor First Baptist Church voiced the general feeling in the following poem :

THE DEATH OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By M. B. Wharton.

Our mighty chieftain breathes no more,
 His noble form now cold and still,
 Has fallen at last, life's conflict o'er,
 Obedient to his Maker's will.
 As die the brave and true, he dies;
 He rests upon a stainless shield,
 The Great Commander of the skies
 Alone could call him from the field.

He's gone to that blest world on high,
 Where slanders never vex the soul,
 And fitting 'tis his bones should lie,
 Far, far removed from prowling ghoul;
 Among his friends should be his tomb,
 Upon old ocean's southmost verge,
 Where beauteous flowers perennial bloom
 And wild waves chant his funeral dirge.

And he will live on history's page,
 While cycling years shall onward move,
 As victim once of senseless rage,
 Now idol of his peoples love;
 When hate is buried in the dust,
 When party strife shall break its spear,
 When truth is free, and men are just,
 Then will his epitaph appear.

Mayor Graham issued the following proclamation:

"MAYOR'S OFFICE,

"MONTGOMERY, ALA., December 7, 1889.

"The illustrious Southerner has passed away. Here he was called and consecrated to the service of the Southern people, and here was the birthplace of the Confederate States. It is peculiarly fitting, therefore, that the people of this city, who honored and cherished and sustained him to the last, should pay appropriate honor to his memory.

"Now, therefore, I, Edward A. Graham, mayor of the city of Montgomery, earnestly recommend the people to close their respective places of business during the hour appointed for the funeral of ex-President Davis, and that the pastors of the several churches cause their bells to be tolled at that hour, and that memorial exercises be held at the Courthouse at that time.

"EDWARD A. GRAHAM, Mayor."

Francis B. Lloyd ("Rufus Sanders"), in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, said :

"He was the highest and purest type of Southern manhood—'the noblest Roman of them all.' He was a soldier and a statesman, a patriot and a gentleman. On the battle-field, in the halls of Congress, and as the leader of the brave young nation that rose from the cradle at Montgomery and found a grave at Appomattox—the chosen chieftain of the best and bravest army that ever raised a lance or met the shock of arms on God's green earth—he was gentle as he was brave, and bore himself that the opposed might well beware of him.

"He had been tried by the fires of three wars, and never found wanting. Through all the years of strife, and tumult, and struggle he was true to his high sense of duty, to honor and the right, as the needle to the pole. It had been given to him many times to stand face to face with death and still live. Winter was on his head with the weight of many years and many griefs for a crown of glory, and in his heart was the burden of many wrongs and many sorrows. But never from his lips had a weak word fallen, nor in his eye stood a childish tear."

Memorial Day was suitably observed in Montgomery by the closing of places of business, the draping of the houses, firing of minute guns, tolling of bells, and services in the churches.

But as the city had sent to New Orleans her officials, her military, and many of her distinguished citizens, the great memorial meeting was postponed until the night of December 19th.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* had the following editorial in its issue of December 12th :

"When the mortal remains of Jefferson Davis were consigned to the dreamless couch of the dead at New Orleans on yesterday, the curtain went down on the scene that removes from the stage of life one of the strongest and loftiest characters of modern times.

"It was a Southern funeral, and over the bier of the dead great man the people of the South mingled their prayers and tears in universal homage to the memory of their old chieftain. Public dignitaries and distinguished representatives and plain, private citizens were there from every Southern State to look for the last time upon the calm, brave features of the dead soldier, patriot and statesman, and follow the still but knightly form to the silent halls of death.

"It is indeed peculiarly gratifying to all loyal and right thinking people to know that the people of the South have had the manliness, the honor

and the courage to show to all the world that they have not sought to lay all the burden of wrongs and sorrows on the big, brave heart of the chieftain of the Lost Cause, but gladly and proudly shared the brunt and burden with him, and loved him and honored him through all and to the last. The men and women of the South can afford to scorn and forget the cruel and bitter things that have been written and said of him by those who are craven and cowardly enough to stab the dead and desecrate the grave. His life and character and career belong to history. His deeds of honor and courage and devotion to his people are 'not engraved on tablets of stone; but on the fleshly tablets of the heart.'"

On the evening of December 19th a very large audience assembled at the Theatre. The meeting was presided over by Gen. J. T. Holtzclaw, and appropriate resolutions were adopted, the concluding one of which reads:

"That the people of Alabama respectfully, but most earnestly, request and insist that his mortal remains be buried beneath the monument erected to the memory of Alabama's Confederate heroes—the corner-stone of which he laid—on Capitol Hill, forever memorable as the birthplace of the Confederate States of America."

Excellent speeches were made by Gen. Holtzclaw, Gov. T. H. Watts, Gen. John W. A. Sanders, Gen. George P. Harrison, of Opelika, and Capt. B. H. Screws.

As Attorney-General of the Confederacy for eighteen months, and an intimate friend of Mr. Davis, the speech of Governor Watts was one of especial interest, and we regret that we cannot fulfill our purpose of giving it in full.

Referring to his relations to Mr. Davis, Governor Watts said:

"Before I entered his Cabinet I knew and admired him as a statesman and hero. When I left his Cabinet I loved him as a man."

He then gave an interesting epitome of Mr. Davis's life, and an able and unanswerable argument to show that he was not a "traitor." He recalled several interesting anecdotes and personal reminiscences, and then said:

"Mr. Davis was a man of strong convictions, and clear judgment, deliberate in the formation of his conclusions, and those convictions, when formed, were rarely changed. He was ardent in his attachments, and ardent in his opposition to all he believed to be wrong. He was a *positive*. There was no double-dealings or insincerity about him. He was a *man* amongst men. He was not the cruel and hard-hearted man his enemies paint him. He was as brave as a lion, yet as gentle, as kind-hearted and tender as a woman.

"One incident will illustrate his high sense of justice and his kindness of heart. While I was a member of his Cabinet, McNeil (I believe that was his name), a commander of the United States forces in Missouri, took on one occasion nine prisoners from the Confederates, and with brutal disregard of the laws of civilized warfare, hung them until they were dead—dead—dead. The newspapers and public speakers in the South became clamorous for *retaliation in kind*. So pressing became the clamor that Mr. Davis called a

meeting of his Cabinet to consider what should be done. Several members of his Cabinet favored retaliation in kind, and that prisoners of war then in Libby prison should be taken out and hanged. I never shall forget the language of Mr. Davis—'If I could get McNeil, I would hang him as high as Haman; but I have not the heart to take these innocent soldiers, taken prisoners in honorable warfare, and hang them like convicted criminals. I will settle this matter, gentlemen of the Cabinet, by leaving it to the commanders in the army. If they say hang—they are likely to suffer most by the policy—I will forego my individual views.' This was the last of retaliating by hanging prisoners of war.

"Mr. Davis was not only a man of great qualities as a statesman and a soldier, but he was an orator of consummate skill, and of wonderful power over men. I have heard Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Henry A. Wise and William L. Yancey, and I say that I never heard any man, whose gallant personal presence, resonant voice, and earnest and eloquent utterances wielded more magnetic power over legislative assemblies and people, than Jefferson Davis.

"It is said by speakers and the press of the North, that he never acquiesced in the results of the war—that he lived and died with venom on his tongue towards the Northern people. *There never was a greater mistake.* He felt, it is true, that he had done nothing for which to ask pardon of the United States. He stood by his convictions and by his devotion to the South until his dying hour. But he left no spot on his character as a Southern Christian gentleman. When he felt that the cause of the Confederacy had become hopelessly defeated, he advised the people of the Southern States to bow to the inevitable—give obedience to the 'powers that be'—make good citizens, and preserve, as best they could within the Union, the great landmarks of liberty embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

"About three years since, while addressing his fellow-citizens at Meriden, Miss., some one in the audience asked, if the South would ever again attempt to secede? He at once replied, 'No! No! No! Every Southern State has in its Constitution a declaration that the right to secede has been settled against the South by the arbitrament of the sword. Let the South build up the South. Be obedient and good citizens. And, if *Secession* ever comes again, let it come from the North.'

"I heard him on Capitol Hill in April, 1886, when he laid the foundation stone of our Confederate monument. He there uttered not a word to which any honest man North or South could have objected. *Then*, if he ever desired to utter a sentiment objectionable to the most ultra-partisan of the North, he had the opportunity. The whole heart of Alabama, and the whole Southern people in their sympathies, came out to meet him. The grandest ovation ever paid to living man was then, here in this city, paid to Jefferson Davis.

"I heard him at Macon, Ga., in October, 1887, utter a sentiment, in response to an address by the leader of a company composed of the sons of Confederate soldiers, who presented him with a badge, which showed his pride in the progress and development of the South since the end of the war. He said: 'My young friends, I am glad to hear you say there is no *New South*. There is no *New South*! No, it is the *Old South* rehabilitated and revived by the energy and virtues of Southern men.'"

He then gave a very vivid description of the funeral obsequies in New Orleans, closing his speech, which elicited frequent applause, as follows:

"As the funeral cortege passed along the crowded streets of New Orleans, from the City Hall, by the statue of Robert E. Lee, to Metairie Cemetery, two hundred thousand people, with sorrowful faces, witnessed its slow and solemn movement. Every public building, and, it seemed to me, every private house in the city, was draped in the habiliments of the deepest sorrow. The procession was three miles long, and as it marched minute guns were fired and martial music lent its mournful strains to solemnify the grand occasion.

"Without undertaking to describe further the solemn scene—my powers are wholly inadequate to do it justice—there were two things which impressed me above all others. As the procession passed the equestrian statue of Albert Sydney Johnston every beholder was struck with its appearance. It was draped in mourning from the top to the bottom. I could not repress the emotion which swelled my heart. I felt that the spirit of the dead hero had left its mansion in the skies and had come down to earth to pay sorrowful homage to its dead friend.

"Just as the casket was about to be placed in the vault under the statue of Stonewall Jackson—after all the ceremonies were concluded—and just as the rays of the setting sun were gilding the solemn scene with their mellow lustre, twenty-four young choristers of the Episcopal Church, clad in uniform, led by the clarionet's melodious tones, sang the old familiar song, 'Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me.' The whole concourse of people, with tears trickling down each face, joined in the song.

"As I stood there, with the houses of the dead like a city of marble palaces, I felt proud of Alabama; I felt proud of the South; I felt proud of the United States. I felt proud that I was an Alabamian; proud that I was a Southern man; proud that I was a citizen of the United States; and, if possible, I felt prouder still that I was the friend of Jefferson Davis and a humble follower of the 'Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me,' and for all mankind."

And now we can only mention that appropriate and feeling memorial services were held, with resolutions, speeches, &c., all over the State.

Mobile, Birmingham, Eufaula, Selma, Marion, Greenville, Brewton, Tuscaloosa, Ozark, Troy, Tuskegee, Union Springs, Auburn, Anniston, Talladega, Sheffield, Camden, Sumter county, Russell county, Batesville, Bibb county, and many other places vied with each other in paying loving tribute to our dead President, and Alabama showed that she honored him now, as she had bravely followed him in the "days which tried men's souls."

GEORGIA'S TRIBUTE.

The first announcement of the death of Mr. Davis made to Atlanta and Georgia, was the following editorial in the *Constitution*, which was written at 2:30 o'clock in the morning by the gifted and lamented Henry W. Grady, who rose from his bed in order that his graceful pen might thus record the promptings of his loving heart:

"At 12:45 o'clock this morning a great heart ceased to beat—a stainless life was closed!

"Jefferson Davis, first and last President of the Southern Confederacy, is dead! As we write these words, a thousand miles away, the body of the puissant chieftain, from which the breath has scarcely parted, lies mute and motionless beneath the touch of reverential hands, while in the regions of the blest the great soul, weary of the fretting hindrances of the flesh, greets friends and comrades gone before!

"And now has passed away the last of the mighty leaders of the Lost Cause! Cobb, Stephens, the kingly Toombs, and the steadfast Hill; Yancy, the impetuous gentleman; Lee, the paladin of battle, and Jackson, who ruled its storm—gone—all gone! Gone to the great tribunal before which all things are judged, and to Him who searcheth all hearts and measureth to victor and beaten in infinite mercy and infinite justice. Closed the drama amid which they fought or plead as heroes—sheathed the sword, furlled the banner, sealed the record—and their dear names and fame, but a memory and a heritage to their people! With Him who doeth all things well they rest at last!

"Jefferson Davis will be mourned in millions of hearts this day. Government will not render to him the pomp and circumstance of a great death; but his people will give to him a tribute of love and tears surpassing all that government could do, and honoring his memory as earthly parade could not do! He is our dead! And from Maryland to Texas, wherever in other States or in other lands his people may have wandered—wherever dauntless courage is or stainless honor has made friends—wherever they who have suffered are loved, and superb fortitude may touch the heart or dim the eye—there Jefferson Davis—God bless his name as we write it—will be honored and mourned to-day! If amid the winds of the new morning into which his soul has entered the grief of this world may come, he will be content to know that his people love him, and loving, mourn! Greater honor than is his this people hath given, and can give no more!"

Another gifted writer on the *Constitution* staff wrote, at the same hour, the following:

"'Davis is dead!' the message read;
The night was waning fast;
On lightning wings the sentence sped;
A storm of pent-up tears unshed
Came gushing forth at last!

"Davis is dead!' the message read;
We thought of days gone by,
And him whose dauntless courage fed
The Altar fires when hope had fled,
And darkness veiled the sky!

"Davis is dead!' the message read ·
God keep his noble name!
The deeds of those who fought and bled
For Dixie are eternal wed
With his undying fame!

"Davis is dead!' the message read;
Last of a princely train;
Though lowly lies his crownless head,
His memory lives, and in his stead
No other king shall reign!

—Montgomery M. Folsom.

"2:30 A. M., December 6."

Governor John B. Gordon issued the following proclamation:

"STATE OF GEORGIA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

"ATLANTA, GA., December 6, 1889.

"By J. B. Gordon, Governor:

"Jefferson Davis is dead! He will be buried on Wednesday, the 11th instant, at noon. The South mourns her hero. His memory will be enshrined in the hearts of her children, and the spotless record of his long and eventful career will be cherished by them to the remotest generation, as their most valued heritage and noblest inspiration. His compatriots who loved and honored him as the vicarious sufferer for the action of his people, will confidently confide his character and career to the judgment of impartial history.

"To mark our respect for the illustrious dead, and to furnish occasion for an expression of our admiration and love, I, J. B. Gordon, governor of Georgia, do issue this my proclamation, inviting the people of the different communities of this State to assemble together at the hour of Mr. Davis's funeral at 12 M., Wednesday, the 11th instant, and unite in suitable and solemn memorial services.

"Given under my hand and the seal of the executive department, at Atlanta, this 6th day of December, 1889.

"J. B. GORDON, Governor."

Governor Gordon also telegraphed to the other governors of the old Confederate States, suggesting that they also issue proclamations, arranging for memorial services the day of the funeral, and as commander of the United Confederate Veterans, he issued an order for them to provide for collections for the benefit of the family, at all of the memorial services.

Mayor Glenn issued the following:

"MAYOR'S OFFICE,
"December 6, 1889.

"In respect to the memory of Jefferson Davis, the first and only President of the Confederate States, and who carries to the grave the esteem and love to the Southern people, it is ordered that the public buildings of the city be draped in mourning for thirty days, and that the city offices be closed from eleven o'clock on the day of his funeral.

"JOHN T. GLENN, *Mayor.*"

The Confederate Veterans packed their hall on the night of December 6th, in response to the following call:

"HEADQUARTERS CONFEDERATE VETERANS' ASSOCIATION, FULTON COUNTY,
"ATLANTA, Ga., *December 6, 1889.*

"The president of the confederacy, the knightliest and most chivalric, the truest and most faithful and amid the suffering of an unexampled oppression, the most patient son of the South, and an honorary member of this association, has gently and peacefully passed away to that better and brighter world where 'war shall be no more;' neither sorrow, nor tears, nor death. It is fitting that proper action should be taken in relation to this, the saddest event in our history, and I therefore, call a meeting of the association at 7:30 o'clock this evening, at Confederate hall, to provide therefor and in compliance with the order of John B. Gordon, general commanding the United Confederate Veterans, to arrange for suitable memorial exercises and raise a fund for the widow and daughter of Mr. Davis, at the hour to be appointed for his funeral.

"W. L. CALHOUN,
"*President and Commander.*"

Judge Calhoun, in calling the meeting to order, paid a brief but eloquent tribute to our great commander.

The committee presented the following resolutions which were adopted by a unanimous and enthusiastic vote—after earnest and enthusiastically applauded speeches by Dr. J. William Jones, Capt. Evan P. Howell, and Hon. A. H. Cox.

"Whereas we have heard with profound sorrow of the death in New Orleans, at 12:45 this morning, of President Jefferson Davis—our grand old chief, our peerless leader—and deem it proper to put on record some expression of our feelings, some poor tribute to his worth; therefore,

"Resolved by the Fulton County Confederate Veterans, 1. That, with grateful hearts to Almighty God, we acknowledge His goodness in sparing to us so long this grand old man that he might prove that human virtue can be equal to human calamity—that he might show himself even grander in peace than in war—and that he might illustrate in the evening of his life those beauties of character which adorn the Christian gentleman.

"2. That while we bow with humble submission to this decree of a loving Father, who has called His servant to 'come up higher' and recognize the good Providence by which the toiling workman has 'ceased from his labors' and 'entered into his rest,' and the soldier, after his weary march, has gone into bivouac, we deem it not wrong to mourn that our leader, father, friend, will appear among us no more on earth, and to mingle our tears with loved ones who weep that the happy circle in the home beside the gulf has been thus rudely broken.

"3. That leaving to others his appropriate and fitting eulogy, we desire here merely to put on record a brief expression of the honor in which his old soldiers held Jefferson Davis—the high estimate they had of him as statesman, soldier, patriot, and gentleman, and the love they cherished for him as their old commander.

"4. That while we would not revive at this time 'bitter memories of a stormy past,' or uncover buried issues—while we would, on the contrary, 'gathering around this royal corpse, proclaim perpetual truce to battle'—yet we would proudly point to his brave, patient life, his unswerving devotion to truth and duty, and his self-sacrificing patriotism, as the most conclusive refutation of the slanders uttered against him—and we would reply to the charge of 'Treason' by looking the world squarely in the face and proclaiming that that cause for which such stainless gentlemen, such incorruptible patriots as Sidney Johnston, and Stonewall Jackson, and Robert E. Lee, and Jefferson Davis lived and died cannot be treason, and their followers cannot be traitors.

"5. That we tender Mrs. Davis, the noble woman who was worthy to share the home of this great and good man, and her daughters our profoundest sympathies.

"6. That we heartily approve and will bear our full share in any effort to provide for the widow and daughter.

"7. That a committee be appointed by our president to attend the funeral.

"J. William Jones, Evan P. Howell, W. W. Hulburt, George Hillyer, P. M. B. Young, W. L. Calhoun."

There was read to the meeting, and received with loud applause, the following poem, which Mrs. Davis made special request should be published in the "Memorial Volume," and concerning which we have received the same request from a number of friends in different States:

OUR DEAD CHIEF.

Come brothers of our Southern land—
Members of that historic band
Who grandly "wore the gray"—
Come let us mourn our fallen Chief;
Let us in sackcloth and grief,
In sorrow, weep to-day.

A man of wonderous gifts is gone,
A man with kingly graces born
A warrior, statesman—dead
“Our President” through bloody wars—
A martyr to a glorious cause—
For us his heart has bled.

He grandly lived a silent life
Since turning from all whirl and strife,
And bore a breaking heart.
The target of a hundred pens,
A flame with hate their arrow sends
Full may a poisoned dart.

There meets my gaze on yonder wall
A pictured group in public hall
In days when hearts were tried—
A brilliant galaxy they be,
Hill, Jackson, Stuart, knightly Lee,
Virginia’s sons—her pride.

Our honored Chief’s among the band—
He sits, the others round him stand,
A nobler conclave never.
All have been called, yes, one by one,
Leaving the grand old man alone.
Now he has crossed the river.

Come, brothers, gather round his bier,
And touch it with the falling tear
Which wells from streaming eyes;
No fitter tribute can we bring
Than loyal hearts, and souls whence spring
Love, reaching to the skies.

Mrs. J. William Jones.

Santa, Ga., December 6th, 1889.

This meeting of Confederate Veterans appointed committees to raise funds for the family, and in a few days a very handsome sum was secured.

A meeting of citizens was held at the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce the next day (the 7th) to promote the same object, and also to raise a fund for a monument. These objects were pushed very vigorously by Mr. Henry W. Grady, among others, and a considerable sum was raised for each within a few days.

The following telegraphic correspondence explains itself:

Col. John A. Cockrell, editor New York *World*, sent the following:

"NEW YORK, December 6, 1889.

"*Henry W. Grady, Constitution:*

"Is there any likelihood of anybody in the South proposing to raise a fund for the benefit of the family of the late Jefferson Davis? Would the *Constitution* be likely to take the matter up, and if so what do you think of the propriety of having the *World* co-operate here in the North?

"JOHN A. COCKRELL."

To this telegram the following reply was sent:

"*John A. Cockrell, care World, New York, N. Y.:*

"I thank you heartily for your dispatch. Three or four times in the past ten years, touched by Mr. Davis's known poverty, we have started to make a fund for him, and once had a considerable amount subscribed without his knowledge; each time he gratefully but firmly declined, saying that so many widows and orphans of our soldiers, and so many disabled veterans themselves, were poor and in need of the necessities of life that all generous offerings had best be directed to them and to their betterments. He has grown steadily poorer, and, I fear, leaves his family nothing. I am now in communication with the friends of his family, and if permitted to raise a fund the people of the South will spontaneously give all that is needed and more. But we shall advise you promptly, and any voluntary offerings from the North would honor those who gave and be accepted in the South as evidence that the hostility of the North to a man who deserved no more of censure than his associates, but who went to the grave carrying the whole burden of responsibility, is at last allayed.

"HENRY W. GRADY."

The noble matron who entered into the spirit of her illustrious husband—who persistently refused all gratuities—would not consent that a penny should be raised for her benefit except for the purchase of her lands, and Henry Grady threw himself into the "Davis Land Fund" scheme with an enthusiasm which would have greatly promoted its success. But alas! the silver-tongued orator was soon silenced, the graceful pen of the great editor was laid aside, and the brave, noble, spirit of this incomparable young man was called to join the great Chieftain whom he loved and delighted to honor in that bright land where monuments are not needed.

"Memorial Day" was generally observed in Atlanta, and, indeed, all over Georgia, in the closing of the public buildings (city and State), the suspension of business, an immense procession headed by the Confederate Veterans, and a mass-meeting at the State Capitol. An immense crowd assembled at the new and beautiful Capitol, where Judge W. L. Calhoun presided and the venerable Rev. Dr. John Jones opened the meeting with a fervent and appropriate prayer.

The speakers were Judge W. L. Calhoun, Mayor Glenn, Rev. Dr. G. B. Strickler, Hon. A. H. Cox, and Judge Howard Van Epps—all of whose speeches were received with rapturous applause, and were so appropriate, in such tone and spirit that we had proposed publishing them in full until our printers warned us of our narrow space.

Mr. Grady and his friends were on their way to Boston, where he electrified the country with his great speech on the negro problem and his eloquent plea for justice to the South. They sent the following telegram, which was read to the meeting:

“NEW YORK, *December 11, 1889.*

“*Judge W. L. Calhoun:*

“The Georgians in New York en route for Boston send you greeting to-day. Our hearts are with you as you do honor to the memory of our illustrious dead, and he will be mourned nowhere to-day more sincerely than by those of us who journey amid a people who were his enemies, but who seem to have lost their hostility in the presence of death.

“Evan P. Howell, John A. Fitten, Henry W. Grady, George Hillyer, R. D. Spalding, S. M. Inman, T. D. Meador, W. A. Hemphill, W. B. Lowe, J. W. Rankin, J. R. Holliday.”

Atlanta gave to the “uncrowned king of his people” a grand ovation when he was here in 1886. She gave to the “crowned king of our Southland”—our dead President—the tribute of warm and loving hearts.

But the same was true of the cities and towns generally—indeed, of all of the people—of Georgia.

In *Augusta* the Confederate Survivors' Association, under their able and accomplished president (Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr.), led the way in paying warm and appropriate tribute to the memory of their loved and honored chief.

They promptly sent Mrs. Davis the telegram we have already quoted and adopted the following resolutions, written by the facile pen of Col. Jones:

“HEADQUARTERS CONFEDERATE SURVIVORS' ASSOCIATION,

“*AUGUSTA, GA., December 7, 1889.*

“Whereas we have learned with the deepest regret of the demise of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, ex-President of the Southern Confederacy—

“*Resolved*, That in his death this Association mourns the departure of the first and most illustrious Confederate enrolled upon its list of honorary members.

“*Resolved*, That in the demise of Mr. Davis this nation has been deprived of the living presence of one who, although debarred the full privileges of citizenship, occupied in the esteem of all brave men a position transcending that which may be fairly claimed by any of his traducers, and second to none within the gift or contemplation of this American Confederation,

"Resolved, That during a long and arduous career he illustrated in a wonderful manner the highest qualities of the citizen, the statesman, the soldier, the ruler, and the patriot.

"Resolved, That as an officer of the United States Army, as a senator in Congress, as Secretary of War, as President of the Southern Confederacy, as a chained but undaunted captive in the casemate of Fortress Monroe, as an honored guest of the great and the noble beyond the seas, or as a gentleman enjoying the dignified repose of his refined home at Beauvoir, in every station he preserved inviolate the exalted attributes of courage, of integrity, of intellectual and moral pre-eminence, of hospitality, of courtesy, and of fidelity to trust reposed.

"Resolved, That his conduct since the conclusion of the war between the States, his manly defense of the aspirations and the acts of the South during the Confederate struggle for independence, his tender regard for the traditions and the honor of his people, and his unsubdued devotion to the most enlightened conceptions of right and duty, have challenged and will ever receive our admiration and gratitude.

"Resolved, That his memory as a man, as a soldier, as a statesman, as the commander-in-chief of the Confederate army and navy, and as a Southern gentleman, is precious to us all, and will remain unclouded as the years roll on.

"Resolved, That we regard with peculiar satisfaction the fact that our Confederate President was permitted by a kind Providence to attain unto the fullest measure of human life, to spend the evening of his days in dignified retirement beneath the protecting shadows of Southern oaks, within sound of gently moving Southern waters, and amid the loves of Southern hearts; and, at the last, to render back his brave spirit to the God who gave it, surrounded by devoted friends and amid the comforts of the great metropolis of the South.

"Resolved, That no token of affection can be too profuse, no mark of respect too emphatic, no rendition of honor too conspicuous, no funeral tribute too imposing for this uncrowned king of Southern hearts.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by our secretary to the widow of the illustrious dead with every assurance of our profound and most respectful sympathy."

On Memorial day business was suspended, the houses were draped, minute guns were fired, there was a large procession, and an immense meeting at which Bishop Weed read the funeral service, and Rev. (General) C. A. Evans made an appropriate and fervent prayer.

The orator of the occasion was Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., whose graceful pen and eloquent voice has done so much to vindicate the truth of Confederate history and the name and fame of our leaders and people. The oration was worthy of the orator and the theme, and we regret that we can find room for only brief extracts.

He begun by saying:

"Ladies and gentlemen:

"In yielding to the solicitation of my brethren of the Confederate Survivors' Association to address you on this memorial occasion, I was appalled at the shortness of the period allotted for preparation, and at the magnitude of the theme suggested for our contemplation. I am painfully aware that under the most favorable circumstances in any attempt to remind you of the virtues and the services of the illustrious dead in whose honor we are assembled, everything I could say would be anticipated by your thoughts, and I would suffer the reproach of falling far below them. Nevertheless, answering the call of an association whose lightest request is to me a command, with all the traditions of a consecrated past thrilling through my veins, and cherishing an admiration most profound for the character and acts of him who but yesterday was the noblest living embodiment of Confederate manhood, I respond, as best I may, to the needs of this occasion, craving your generous indulgence if I fulfill not the expectation of the hour.

"When Wilkie was in the Escorial studying those famous pictures which have so long attracted the notice of all lovers of art, an old Jeronymite said to him "I have sat daily in sight of those paintings for nearly four score years. During that time all who were more aged than myself have passed away. My contemporaries are gone. Many younger than myself are in their graves; and still the figures upon those canvasses remain unchanged. I look at them until I sometimes think they are the realities and we but the shadows.'

"The battle scenes which the heroes of the South have painted; the memories which Confederate valor, loyalty and endurance have bequeathed; the blessed recollections which the pious labors, the saintly ministrations, and the more than Spartan inspiration of the women of the Revolution have embalmed, these will dignify for all time the annals of the civilized world; but the actors in that memorable crisis, they—the shadows—will pass away. Johnston, the Bayard of the South; Jackson, our military meteor, streaming upward and onward in an unbroken track of light and ascending to the skies in the zenith of his fame; Lee, the most stainless of earthly commanders, and, except in fortune, the greatest, and multitudes of their companion in arms have already gone

"To where beyond these voices there is peace.'

"But yesterday Jefferson Davis, the commander of them all, the most distinguished representative of a cause which electrified the civilized world by the grandeur of its sacrifices, the dignity and rectitude of its aims, the nobility of its pursuit, and the magnitude and brilliancy of the deeds performed in its support, entered into rest. The President of the dead Confederacy lies in state in the metropolis of the South and every Southern common-

wealth is clothed in the habiliments of mourning. At this moment, throughout the wide borders of this Southern land, there is not a village or a hamlet which bears not the tokens of sorrow. By common consent the entire region consecrates this hour to the observance of funeral ceremonies in honor of our departed chief. General and heartfelt grief pervades the whole territory once claimed by the Confederacy. Was sorrow so spontaneous, so genuine, so unselfish, so universal, ever known in the history of community and nation—sorrow at the departure of one who long ago refrained from a participation in public affairs, who had no pecuniary or political legacies to bequeath, and whose supreme blessings were utterly devoid of utilitarian advantage? This spectacle, grand, pathetic and unique, is not incapable of explanation or devoid of special significance.

“Within that coffin in New Orleans, in silent majesty, reposes all that was mortal of him whom impartial history will designate as one of the most remarkable men of the nineteenth century. Around his bier, in profound respect and loving veneration, are assembled the trustworthy representatives of the South. Encircling that venerable and uncrowned head are memories of valor, of knightly courtesy, of intellectual, moral and political pre-eminence, of high endeavor and of heroic martyrdom. In that dignified form—so calm, so cold in the embrace of death—we recognized the highest type of the Southern gentleman. In his person, carriage, cultivated address and superior endowments, we hail the culmination of our patriarchal civilization. In him was personified all that was highest, truest, grandest, alike in the hour of triumph and in the day of defeat. He was the chosen head and the prime exponent of the aspirations and the heroism of the Southern Confederacy. As such his people looked up to and rallied around him in the period of proud endeavor, and as such they still saluted him amid the gloom of disappointment. As we approach that revered form and render signal tribute at the grave of our dead President, every recollection of a glorious past is revived, and our souls are filled with memories over which the ‘iniquity of oblivion’ should never be allowed blindly to ‘scatter her poppy.’ It is a great privilege, my friends, to render honor to this illustrious man. Ours be the mission to guard well his memory, accepting it in the present and commending it to the future as redolent of manhood most exalted, of virtues varied and most admirable.”

He then gave a very vivid sketch of the life and a faithful portrayal of the character of Mr. Davis, ably defending him from the charge of “treason,” and concluded by saying:

“In his quiet home at Beauvoir, ennobled by the presence of the live-oak—that monarch of the Southern forest—beautified by the queenly magnolia-grandiflora, redolent of the perfumes of a semi-tropical region, fanned by the soft breezes from the Gulf, and cheered by exhibitions of respect, affection, and veneration most sincere, President Davis passed the evening

of his eventful life. Since the hush of that great storm which convulsed this land, he has borne himself with a dignity and a composure, with a fidelity to Confederate traditions, with a just observance of the proprieties of the situation, and with an exalted manhood worthy of all admiration.

"Conspicuous for his gallantry and ability as a military leader—prominent as a Federal Secretary of War—as a senator and statesman renowned in the political annals of these United States—illustrious for all time as the President of a nation which, although maintaining its existence for only a brief space, bequeathed glorious names, notable events, and proud memories which will survive the flood of years—most active, intelligent, and successful in vindicating the aims, the impulses, the rights and the conduct of the Southern people during their phenomenal struggle for independence—his reputation abides unclouded by defeat, unimpaired by the mutations of fortune and the shadows of disappointment.

"Surely no token of affection can be too profuse—no mark of respect too emphatic—no rendition of honor too conspicuous—no funeral tribute too imposing for this dead chieftain of the South. Dead, did I say?

‘To live in hearts we leave behind,
Is not to die.’

"Even now his name is upon every Southern lip, and his memory enshrined in every Southern heart.

"Even now, all through this brave Southland funeral bells are tolling his requiem. The bravest and the knightliest are reverently bearing his precious body to the tomb. Benedictions, invoked by lips touched with a live coal from off the altar, are descending like the dew of Hermon. Pious drops bedew the cheeks of noble women, and the heads of stalwart men are bowed in grief. The hour is holy, and the occasion most privileged.

"In bidding farewell to our President, we rejoice, that by a kind Providence, it was granted unto him to spend in our midst

“His twelve long hours
Bright to the edge of darkness; then the calm
Repose of twilight—and a crown of stars.”

"We rejoice that he was permitted to render back his great spirit into the hands of the God who gave it, surrounded by devoted friends, accompanied by the loves of Southern hearts, and amid the comforts of the metropolis of the South. We rejoice that having attained unto the full measure of human life and enjoyed the highest honors which Southern hands could offer—all mundane cares overpast—he has, as we confidently believe, serenely entered into that Upper Realm where there are ‘trees of unfading loveliness, pavements of emerald, canopies of brightest radiance, gardens of deep and tranquil security, palaces of proud and stately decoration, and a city of lofty pinnacles through which there unceasingly flows the river of gladness, and where jubilee is ever rung with the concord of seraphic voices.’"

Macon, where he had last appeared in public, and had received so enthusiastic an ovation, brought loving tribute to his memory. The Confederate Veterans, the city authorities, the citizens generally, united in honoring him.

Memorial Day an immense meeting was held in the Academy of Music, where appropriate and eloquent speeches were made by Capt. John C. Rutherford, Hon. N. E. Harris, Hon. Dupont Guerri, and Mr. F. H. Richardson. We have already quoted the telegram sent by Capt. R. E. Park, offering a place of burial, and may add that the whole people united in this offer, as well as in a very liberal contribution to the "Davis Fund."

The visit of Mr. Davis to *Macon* two years ago gave the people of that city a peculiar personal interest in him, and no where were there more loving tributes to his memory. The *Macon Telegraph* thus begun its beautiful editorial announcement of his death :

"In the opening hour of yesterday, at New Orleans, closed the career of one of the most notable men born on this continent—a man loved and hated as few have been. Of this love and hate it can be truthfully said that the first was the fitting reward of the great qualities of mind and character which were illustrated in Mr. Davis's whole life. His people loved him for his faithfulness, his unbending courage, his flawless integrity, his unselfish devotion to their interests, his unswerving loyalty to truth and honor. They were proud of the man whose powers of mind made him foremost in the councils of the nation and of the accomplished soldier whose high qualities reflected glory on the whole people from the battle-fields of Mexico; but they were prouder still of the citizen who during his fourscore years filled all the varied stations of public employment the American citizen can occupy, surrounded always by the bitterest enemies, yet never was the integrity of his character or the purity of his motives questioned. He was loved and honored because he was entirely worthy of the admiration of his fellowmen, and because he served millions of them."

The Confederate Veterans, here, as elsewhere, led in loving tribute to their great commander, and at a meeting of which Commander C. M. Wiley was chairman, and Captain R. E. Park secretary, passed appropriate and feeling resolutions, after stirring speeches by Commander Wiley, Major John B. Cobb, Mr. Ben. C. Smith and Captain R. E. Park.

The resolutions earnestly begged Mrs. Davis to select *Macon* as the place of interment, and Captain Park sent the telegram we have already quoted.

At the churches generally in *Macon* appropriate allusion was made on the Sunday after his death to our dead President.

Memorial Day was observed by suspension of business, draping of houses, firing of minute guns, the tolling of bel's, and a monster mass-meeting at the Academy of Music, which was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. E. W. Warren, and where there were appropriate and stirring speeches by Hon.

Clifford Anderson, Captain J. C. Rutherford, Hon. N. E. Harris, Hon. Dupont Gurrey, and Colonel F. H. Richardson. Macon contributed over four thousand dollars to the "Davis Fund."

The *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, published at Macon, said of him in an elaborate editorial:

"A soldier of renown, a great statesman, a pure patriot, and the chosen head of a cause dear to every Southern heart, he was much admired and loved while living, and now that he is dead is mourned by millions of Southern people, and by men of great minds everywhere."

Savannah was not behind her sister cities in her tender, loving tribute to one to whom she gave so enthusiastic an ovation when he visited her in 1886. The Confederate veterans and the citizens generally, united in making "Memorial Day" memorable in the history of Savannah.

In the Lutheran Church Rev. Dr. W. S. Bowman, Rev. Dr. I. S. K. Axson, Rev. R. Q. Way, Rev. Dr. J. E. L. Holmes, Rev. W. S. Royal, Rev. J. W. Gilmore and Rev. Richard Webb participated in the conduct of the services. Dr. J. E. L. Holmes, of the First Baptist Church, recalled some deeply interesting reminiscences of Mr. Davis as he knew him during the war, and Dr. W. S. Bowman, of the Lutheran Church, made an appropriate address.

Eloquent eulogies were delivered at St. John's Church by Rev. Mr. Strong, and at Christ Church by Rev. Rob. White.

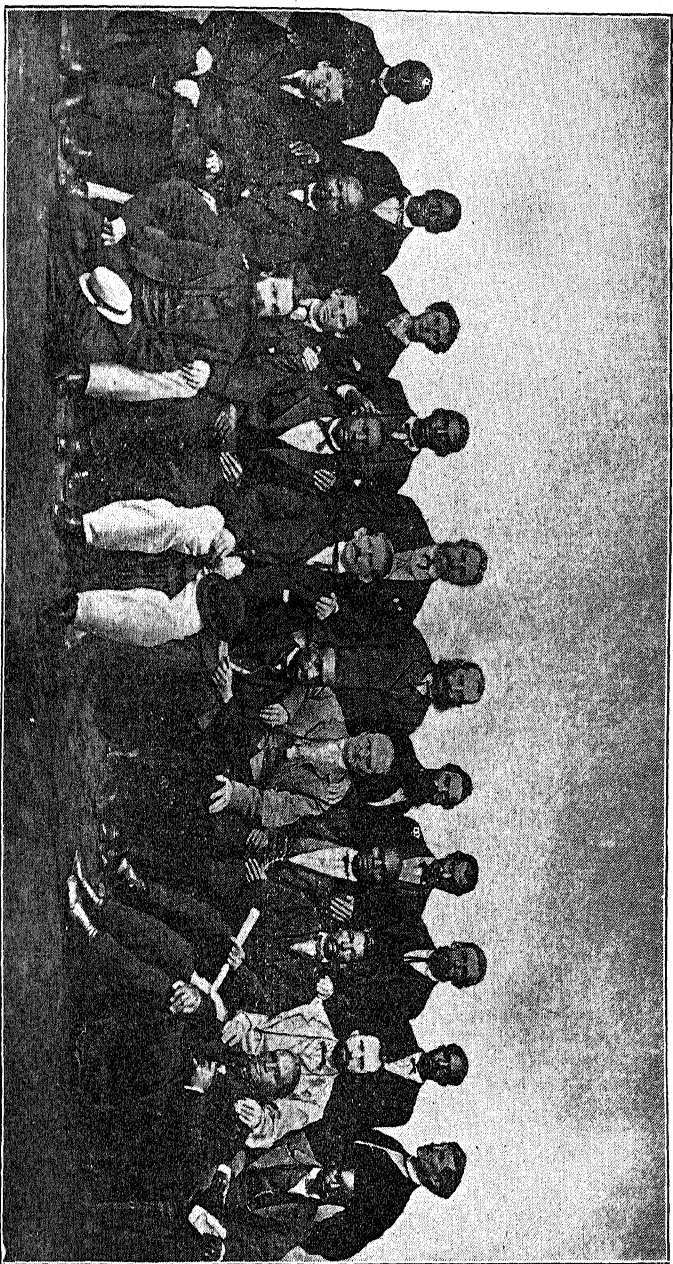
The Confederate Veterans met in the hall of the Chatham Artillery, and were called to order by Gen. McLaws, who stated the object of the meeting in a few words fitly chosen.

General Henry R. Jackson then addressed the meeting and offered the resolutions. His remarks were frequently interrupted with applause.

"*Mr. Chairman:*

"Before reading the resolutions which the committee submit to the meeting, I cannot withhold a brief utterance.

"The *London Times*, called by some the *Tiers Etat*, and by others the *Thunderer* of England, because of its world-wide journalistic supremacy, announced to its readers that the message of the Provisional President to the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America was the ablest State paper that had ever emanated from the Western Hemisphere. In expression strong and chaste—how few the tongues or pens that have ever used the English language with happier effect than did that of Jefferson Davis? Clear and simple, brief but exhaustive, embracing, as the acorn embraces the oak, all the principles of life which must infallibly grow in the governmental civilization of this entire continent, behold the Master's work which the mighty organ of British intellect commended to the applause of mankind! Thanks be to the providence of God, the statesman's brain, which knew how thus to present cardinal truths, was coupled with the hero's soul which did not know how to surrender, or to qualify, or



PETIT JURY.
This is the Petit Jury impaneled to try Mr. Davis, and is the second mixed jury, or the first mixed Petit Jury ever impaneled in the United States.



Mr. Davis's Residence in Montgomery.

to ignore them. This combination, in startling contrast with the times in which he lived, surviving, as he did, all other great representative men, out-speaking these vivifying truths, came to make him their one breathing embodiment. Then was exhibited to the world, and for all its coming generations, a grand spectacle, which had no precedent in all its past history. In the lapse of the dull, degenerate days which followed, when the buzz of the insect tribes monopolized the tainted air, as the physical man grew thinner and weaker, the moral man was ever growing stronger, broader, taller, until, at the close, he stood in a lofty solitude, as absolute in appearance, as, in reality, it was sublime. 'Like some tall cliff,' planted in granite, solid, pure, unadulterated, he did indeed 'swell from the vale'; indeed, indeed, he midway left the rolling cloud, the darkness and the storm; indeed, indeed, indeed, 'eternal sunshine' will 'settle on his head.' For this, the lofty part of him, thanks again be paid to the providence of God! cannot die. There still it stands—there shall it stand forever—a beacon, snowy white, to guide the struggling patriot of this entire hemisphere of America, South as well as North, even as Orizaba, the loneliest and the loveliest of all he snow-capt mountains when the sunlight streams through the rack of scudding clouds, guides the storm-tost mariner on her domestic sea."

The following resolutions were unanimously and enthusiastically adopted

"The death of Jefferson Davis is an event of solemn import.

"For long years—embracing a period of unexampled turmoil and strife, of gigantic effort and patriotic endeavor, of bright hope and unavailing despair, of glorious victory and bitter defeat—he was the exponent of this Southern land and of its proud people. And when the end came—when failure settled upon the banners of the Confederacy and its brave armies retired from the field—still was he our representative—in suffering.

"In the discharge of the duties of his exalted station, who will deny that he brought every power with which the Almighty had endowed him—the clear intellect, the indomitable will, the inflexible purpose to lead so long as there was one to follow, the loving heart whose passionate attachment to the land of his birth, ceased only with its last pulsation?

"It was this that gave him his great hold upon the Southern people—he loved us. And so as heart responds to heart, we loved him; and now that the venerable form is forever still, now that the 'good gray head' is laid upon its final pillow, his memory shall be fragrant to us and to our children after us.

"One by one the links that bind us to the eventful past are being broken. One by one the comrades who stood by our sides in those stormy days have gone to rest. Again and again we have closed our ranks to fill the gaps, as in the heat of battle. But now!—the summons comes to the chief, and it is as though a great curtain had fallen between us and the days that are gone."

"It is meet at such a juncture that the Confederate Veterans' Association of Savannah should give expression to the feelings evoked by the occasion; therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That in the death of Jefferson Davis, ex-President of the Confederate States of America, there is a sense of personal bereavement to each member of this Association.

"*Resolved*, That the memory of his patriotic services to the Southern people, and of the high virtues that marked his private character, shall ever be cherished by us as an incentive to unselfishness in action and purity of life.

"*Resolved*, That we extend to the widow of President Davis and to all the members of his family the affectionate sympathy of honest hearts. May the father of all mercies comfort and sustain them in this hour of bereavement and anguish

"*Resolved*, That it will ever be a source of grateful thanksgiving to every Southern heart that the declining years of our venerable chief were passed in the peaceful quiet of his Mississippi home; that he outlived the pain of failure, and that it was his happy privilege to learn from actual demonstration that the people for whom he had done so much, loved and honored him to the last.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to Mrs. Davis, and also that they be published in the journals of the city."

Then followed an immense procession of veterans, military, and citizens generally to the Confederate monument where General A. R. Lawton (the gallant soldier and able Quartermaster-General of the Confederacy) called the vast assemblage to order by saying:

"*Fellow Citizens*,

"I respectfully ask your silent attention. At this solemn hour, and in the shadow of this monument—the burial hour of our beloved Confederate Chief, and the monument erected to the Confederate dead—our thoughts, my friends and comrades, are instinctively turned to prayer—the subject and the scene are to us so touching that nothing can so solace as the voice of prayer."

Rev. Mr. Strong led in a fervent and appropriate prayer, and pronounced the benediction, and the vast assemblage dispersed.

We cannot give more space to *Georgia's* tribute, and can only say that appropriate memorial exercises were held at Thomasville, Talbotton, Dublin, Calhoun, Cartersville, Albany, Newnan, Eatonton, Decatur, Douglasville, Rome, (where the soldier-preacher, Rev. Dr. R. B. Headden, made an eloquent address) Waycross, Quitman, Washington, Milledgeville, Americus, Athens, Harlem, Griffin, Madison, Tennille, Elberton, Covington, West Point, (where Rev. J. Howard Carpenter composed an ode to be sung on the occasion and made a stirring speech), Carrollton, Saundersville, Sparta, Lawrenceville, Fort Valley, Darien, Amoskeag, Jonesboro', McDonough, Gainesville, Perry, La Grange, Clinton, Columbus, Dalton, Fort Gaines, Cordele, Hawkinsville, and well nigh every other town and hamlet in the State. And at all of these points contributions were made for the Davis fund.

KENTUCKY'S TRIBUTE.

It was to be expected that the grand old State which gave birth to Jefferson Davis would not be behind in paying tribute to his memory, and in this there was no disappointment.

We have already given the proclamation of Kentucky's Soldier-Governor, and have spoken of her delegation at the funeral in New Orleans.

At a meeting held in Louisville Rev. Dr. John A. Broadus, President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, presented the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That among the eminent public men of the world in the generation just closing, Jefferson Davis must always hold a conspicuous place as the chosen leader of a great people in one of the mightiest wars known to history, and as a man of great and varied abilities, of deep-rooted and ever unshaken convictions, of lofty patriotism in accordance with these convictions, of vast political knowledge and diversified experience, and of unimpeachable integrity and honor.

"Resolved, That, while the leader in a great and unsuccessful struggle is sure to be severely criticised, we to-day look back upon the life-long career and high character of the Confederate President with hearty admiration, and we trust that among all surviving Confederates the brotherhood based on great memories will be universal and perpetual.

"Resolved, That we delight to observe how fast the animosities of the war have been fading away, and we are persuaded that it cannot be long before the great civil and military leaders on both sides will be contemplated with something of common pride as illustrious Americans.

"Resolved, That Kentucky recognizes in Jefferson Davis one of that long list of men born on her soil who have made a distinguished career in other States, and wishes to stand with Mississippi among the chief mourners at his grave.

"Resolved, That we regard Mr. Davis's State papers and his work on the 'Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government' as admirable for their political insight and their consummate excellence of style, and as full of historical instruction even to those who differ most widely from his characteristic opinions.

"Resolved, That we think with pathetic interest of his declining years, with their quiet friendships and gentle courtesies and Christian consolations, and of his calm and peaceful end."

Judge H. W. Bruce, who was a member of the Confederate Congress and a friend of Mr. Davis, being called out, made an admirable speech, in which, after alluding to his relations to Mr. Davis and the circumstances of his inauguration in Richmond, February 22, 1862, he said:

"I spent most of the time during the war in Richmond, not alone while Congress was in session, but during the vacations also. I was a frequent

visitor at President Davis's house, and, as were all others, a welcome visitor. He was the most accessible and approachable of men; in Western phrase, the latch-string of his home always hung out. He was the most democratic of Presidents. No citizen who once called on him ever hesitated to repeat the visit. No farmer in Kentucky has simpler manners than Jefferson Davis had; and, at the same time, no man in any station of life ever had manners more graceful and refined. I never met a more affable man nor a more interesting talker. A man of thorough scholarship, of fullness of knowledge, of vast and varied experience, he was thoroughly at home, and conversed entertainingly and instructively on any subject. His patriotism was pure and intense. He had before the war rendered valuable and distinguished services to the United States both in military and civil capacities. He had fought for his country in two wars; he had legislated for it in both houses of Congress, and had counseled it in Cabinet at the head of the War Department. He brought to the discharge of his duties as President of the Confederate States unusual native ability, thorough scholarship, vast and varied experience in affairs, unimpeachable integrity, the purest and most elevated patriotism, and a courage that knew no fear. Failure was not his fault. He had implicit confidence in the people. He believed the people of each State should rule its own affairs; in other words, he believed in the people of each State governing themselves without dictation or even interference from the people of other States or countries. It was the violation of this principle, you know, that brought on the war. The Southern States refused to yield to such dictation and interference with their domestic affairs. War was waged against them in consequence. They resisted. The world, not understanding the issue, sided against them, and they were defeated. States' rights seemed to go down in this defeat. But our great leader said the cause was not lost. It will rise again. The people of this great country cannot afford to surrender the rights of the States, and will not do so permanently. The assertion of those rights hereafter, however, will not be impeded by the incubus of slavery as it was in 1860-'5, and the principle for which our hero and chief led the hosts of the Confederacy will ultimately prevail.

"Small men of sectional prejudices and bitter partisanship, narrow men who are not blessed with a spirit sufficiently catholic to consider and love their whole country, will not acknowledge the patriotism and greatness, and some will attempt to sully the fame of Jefferson Davis. But impartial history, if not to-day, hereafter will do him justice; and when impartial history shall have been written Confederates will not be ashamed of their President.

"I was in St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Sunday morning, that sad 2d day of April, 1865, and saw the messenger go to President Davis's pew, and saw him get up and withdraw from the worshipping congregation. I felt instantly

that something was wrong. I also withdrew, and soon after leaving the church learned the sad determination that Richmond must be evacuated. I went out that night with the Government. The last point at which I saw the President was at Greensboro', N. C. I have seldom seen him since the war. The last time was at the Galt House, in this city, only three or four years since, when he was as erect in person, and mentally as bright and clear, it seemed to me, as when I first met him more than twenty years before. On that occasion he described with the clearness and accuracy of the able lawyer a great argument he had heard his old friend and Cabinet counsellor, Judah P. Benjamin, make in an English court on an abstruse question of maritime law. I then expected, notwithstanding his advanced age, that he would remain with us many years longer. But his day has come, and at a ripe old age he has left us; and this Southland and the enlightened and unprejudiced portions of the civilized world mourn the loss of a brave soldier, an able commander, a wise statesman, a pure Christian, and a colossal figure of this age."

Appropriate and eloquent speeches were also made by Col. J. Stoddard Johnston, Major E. H. McDonald, Gen. Thomas H. Taylor, and Col. B. H. Young, and the Confederate Association voted to raise at least \$100,000, of which it pledged itself for \$10,000, for the "Davis Fund," and sent the telegram we have already quoted.

Col. J. Stoddard Johnston (a nephew of the lamented Albert Sidney Johnston) closed his speech by saying:

"The bugbear of alarm which was manifested for a long time after the war whenever Mr. Davis would give expression to his faith that the cause was not lost, was for a long time sought to be made a pretext for a belief that he meant that in some other form the struggle for the establishment of the Southern Confederacy would be renewed. But no man ever was further from such an idea. He believed that the blood spilled in behalf of this great cause had not been spilled in vain, and that while success had not crowned the efforts of those who, against such great odds, had dared to make the issue, yet the world would in time come to eliminate prejudice from reason and awake to a realization of the true idea lying at the foundation of a struggle which evoked so much of heroism and self-sacrifice. And so it was that he came to see that under the New Union, as it is, the spirit of liberty, as he idealized it, has had its triumph, and that his great cause finds in the firmer tenacity with which the States maintain their right of self-government, and the greater assurances that they will remain free from unconstitutional encroachment by the Federal Government. And so it is that I cherish the conviction that, disfranchised though he was, his great mind took in the grandeur of the future of this great country, which, united by the common sorrows of a war that the political conditions could not long have averted, is insured a lasting peace by the greater forbearance and

respect which after such experiences each section will show the other. Nay, with his far-reaching eye, he must have seen wherein the people of every nation, as well as our own, would have their love of liberty quickened and their faith in republics strengthened when they come to understand the true stake for which the South, with him as its chosen leader, endured the hardships of a four-years' war.

"It was in such a light that I held Jefferson Davis during the years that his conduct, his thoughts, and his connections were subject to my personal scrutiny, and it is as such a man, pure in morals, lofty in his love for liberty, uncompromising in his convictions of right; such a man as heroes and martyrs are made of, yet gentle and alive to all the duties of a Christian gentleman, that I shall revere in memory to my latest hour of life, and point for imitation to my children and the children of his countrymen.

"Noble friend! whose name I have cherished for so many years for all the virtues I have named, and in gratitude for the sublime friendship and confidence he exhibited at a critical moment to Albert Sidney Johnston, may a grateful people show to his memory that homage which in his life was denied them, and in their love may those dear to him who survive find the succor and sympathy which is theirs by a just inheritance!"

The *Courier-Journal* said editorially:

"The funeral of Mr. Davis yesterday in New Orleans fitly expressed a people's sorrow and faithfully represented a sentiment of affection for the dead chief of the Confederacy.

"In the long procession which slowly moved through the streets of New Orleans were soldiers from every battle-field of the East and West, who came to pay their last tribute to one who, above all others, represented the cause for which they had sacrificed so much. These men turned away from the fields of strife long ago, and have made other places for themselves among their fellow-citizens. New ties have been formed, new obligations have been accepted, but the past has memories of its own, and imposes obligations of its own, and in obedience to these sentiments common to all mankind, the old Confederates followed to the grave him who had been through four long years the guiding star of a new nation.

"Mr. Davis dies at a ripe old age, living long enough to see the animosities of the war die out and to have that respect which a generous people will always pay to one who, for his convictions, will put at risk all a man holds dear. We cannot well anticipate the verdict of common generations on a man or on any cause, successful or disastrous, but on high personal character on those traits which dignify manhood, not even the bitterest personal malice can divide public opinion. Mr. Davis has won the respect even of his opponents; he has borne himself in a manner to bring no discredit on the cause he represented, and by his open grave stand many who, with no thought of the past, seek to pay respect to the worth of the man, saying:

" 'This earth that bears the dead,
Bears not alive a truer gentleman.' "

The *Western Recorder*, edited by Rev. Dr. T. T. Eaton (who, as a boy, gallantly rode with Bedford Forrest, the great "Wizard of the Saddle"), said in its editorial:

"The death of the Hon. Jefferson Davis removes from earth one of the most prominent figures of this century. Perhaps no man of his time has made a wider or deeper mark upon the age than he. His biography would be a history of the country for more than a generation past. * * * *

"Mr. Davis was a statesman of the old school, firmly and consistently adhering to the articles of his political faith and accepting fearlessly all the consequences. He was no trickster nor time-server. He never hesitated to maintain what he believed to be right because it was unpopular. He was a man of great ability, and he never failed to make himself strongly felt along every line in which he took an interest.

"In his personal character Mr. Davis was above reproach. He was simple in his tastes and manners, and readily won those with whom he came in contact. His friendships were true and sincere. He was loving and devoted in his home, and, above all, he was a devout Christian."

All over Kentucky memorial meetings were held, and the warmest tributes paid to the memory of our chief, but we cannot here find space even to mention them. We have given the proclamation of the Soldier-Governor of Kentucky (General S. B. Buckner), and have made appropriate mention of the Kentucky delegation sent to New Orleans.

At *Paris* the Confederate Veterans and citizens generally had a meeting at which appropriate resolutions were passed, and eloquent speeches made by Captain J. M. Jones, and Colonel W. E. Sims.

At *Lexington* two meetings were held, one in the Courthouse and one in the Opera House. At the latter the venerable Rev. Dr. R. Ryland, formerly President of Richmond College, gave some touching reminiscences of Mr. Davis's life in Richmond during the war, which we should like to quote in full, and Captain R. H. Fitzhugh read the following characteristic and significant letter:

"BEAUVOIR, MISS August 12th, 1890.

"Captain R. H. Fitzhugh,

"DEAR SIR:

"Your cordial letter was duly received and be assured that the delay in its acknowledgment was not the result of want of appreciation. Please accept my thanks for your expressed desire to draw near to me in the evening of our life.

"With the earnest hope that when our pilgrimage is over, we may meet in a happier state of existence.

(Signed)

"Very truly yours,

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

At *Stanford* Rev. Dr. George Hunt made one of the best memorial addresses that we have seen, and we had purposed publishing it in full.

At Russellville, at Florence, at Owensboro', at Fairview, at Fulton, at Winchester, at Henderson, and at nearly all of the towns and villages of the State there were meetings, speeches, resolutions, &c., to swell the warm tribute of Kentucky to her great son.

The Bethel Baptist Church at Fairview passed appropriate resolutions, and tendered a burial place on the spot of his birth, being a part of the lot he had given to the church as a site for a house of worship.

MISSISSIPPI'S TRIBUTE.

In the account of the funeral obsequies we have already given the proclamation of the Soldier-Governor (General Lowry), his speech at the great meeting of Confederate Veterans, and other items which show how warmly the great heart of Mississippi throbbed in unison with the general grief for the death of her most illustrious son.

Meetings were held, eloquent and appropriate speeches were made, and resolutions adopted throughout the State.

The following were sent Mrs. Davis from the University of Mississippi:

"*Resolved*, That earnestly desiring to attest our love and admiration for the memory of Jefferson Davis, and to manifest the high estimate in which we hold his eminent public services, his unselfish private life and his exalted patriotism, we, the business men of Oxford, the faculty and students of the University of Mississippi, do now suspend our daily avocations and pursuits that the countrymen of Jefferson Davis here present may pay fitting tribute to the memory of the distinguished dead.

"*Resolved*, That in the death of Jefferson Davis Mississippi has lost her greatest son, the Southern people their most devoted friend, and the country at large one of the greatest, noblest and truest men, and one whose name, we believe, will take rank in history with those of the most exalted patriots of his time.

"*Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Oxford and members of the State University, do extend to the bereaved family our tenderest sympathies and our assurance that although their loss in the lamented dead is unutterably great, yet shall we never permit such loss to cause our affectionate interest in them to fall away."

She also received copies of resolutions adopted in meetings held at the following points: Holly Springs, Ladies' Confederate Monument Association at Jackson, Montgomery County Farmers' Alliance, Centreville, Shuqualak, Natchez, Canton, Corinth, Vicksburg, Grenada, Meridian, Columbus, West Point, and other places.

But the Legislature of the State set apart January 22, 1890, as a "Memorial Day," and had proceedings, which were reported as follows in the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*:

"Wednesday being set apart as Memorial Day, there was no regular session of either house. During the day lovely ladies with sturdy assistants

had been busy in decorating the hall suitable for the memorable occasion. In front of the Speaker's stand was a large table with a satin cover; hanging from the stand was the Confederate coat of arms, draped with black satin, with streamers of red, white, and blue; back of the Speaker's stand was a life-size portrait of Mr. Davis, heavily draped; on one side of the stand hung a Confederate flag at half mast, furled and draped; on the other side was seen the flag of Mississippi; by the side of the Confederate flag was pendent the sword Mr. Davis had worn through the Mexican war; by the flag of Mississippi a large pen; United States flags were hung in different parts of the hall. Many of the decorations were from the home of Mr. Davis.

"The House was called to order at 7 o'clock, when the roll was called.

"Mr. Barber, chairman of the House committee appointed to wait upon Mrs. Davis and invite her to attend the memorial exercises, made the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

"*Mr. Speaker:*

"Your committee appointed to visit Mrs. Varina Howell Davis and invite her to be present at the memorial services to be held by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi on Wednesday, the 22d of January, 1890, in honor of Hon. Jefferson Davis, beg leave to report—

"That in compliance with your concurrent resolution they visited Mrs. Varina Davis at her home, in Beauvoir, Miss., and that they invited her and family to be present with us on that occasion, and that she was deeply touched with this mark of your regard for her deceased husband, and begged us to assure you of her love and esteem for the State that honored her husband in life, which State he loved so well, but that physical inability would prevent her from complying with your request.

"Respectfully submitted.—E. M. Barber, J. M. Pelham, R. F. Abbay, W. G. Evans, Jr., committee on part of House.

"The Speaker appointed Messrs. Gunn, Vardeman and Gillespie a committee to invite the Senate to meet with the House in joint session.

"The committee reported, and in a few moments the Senate appeared; Lieutenant-Governor Evans presiding.

"The band rendered a dirge.

"The Governor, and staff, and committee and escort, orators of the evening, and Judges of the Supreme Court came in.

"Then thirteen young ladies representing the thirteen States of the Confederacy, entered the hall bearing a pyramid of flowers on a silver litter, the thirteenth lady walking behind, bearing the bonny Blue Flag, in the following order:

"Mississippi, Miss Lilla Chiles; Florida, Miss Ola Mason; North Carolina, Miss Virgie Cameron; South Carolina, Miss Nannic Calhoun; Kentucky, Miss Elise Govan; Tennessee, Miss Annie Stone; Louisiana, Miss Kate



REAYVOIR.



Chambers; Georgia, Miss Mary Evans; Texas, Miss Lula Harrington; Alabama, Miss Willie Atkinson; Maryland, Miss Alexander; Missouri, Miss Ida Mitchell; Virginia, Miss Kate Power.

"Bishop Hugh Miller Thompson then read 3rd chapter, 1-10 verses of the Wisdom of Solomon, followed by an earnest prayer.

"Miss Lilla Chiles recited the 'Conquered Banner' in a highly dramatic manner, bringing tears to the eyes of many of the audience.

"The 'Bonny Blue Flag' by the band was received by loud applause.

"Senator Cameron read the following resolutions, which had been adopted by the Memorial Committee:

"The Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi assembled in joint Convention in memory of Jefferson Davis, her most illustrious citizen and public servant resolve to record of him:

"That he gave to the public service the greater part of a life made brilliant and memorable by the display of high endowments of mind and spirit, and was never tempted by popularity or success to deviate from the line of duty.

"That in the several promotions through which he reached the highest grade of public employment he regarded each added honor not as a personal reward, but as a demand by his country for greater zeal and greater effort to meet greater responsibilities.

"That as a soldier and commander he gave renown to the State troops, and in the civil service of the State and the United States his achievements reflected honor upon Mississippi and imparted lustre and influence to her position.

"That he loved his State, and gave to her behests absolute obedience.

"That the confidence, admiration and affection given to him in such full measure by the people of the South did not arise out of any mistake or misconception of character, but were founded upon positive knowledge of his excellence, as shown both in public and private life, during periods of common peril and temptations, and throughout a long, varied, and illustrious career.

"That his patriotism, courage, constancy, and fidelity were of that high class of public virtues which makes the true glory of States and nations, and commends his name to future generations as an example of all that is elevated in human conduct.

"Mr. Barbour moved that the resolutions be spread upon the journals of both houses, which was seconded by Mr. Abbay and adopted.

"Dirge by the band.

"Mr. Watson moved to amend the resolutions by suitably enrolling and sending to the family of Mrs. Davis a copy of the same.

"Hon. G. A. Wilson was introduced as the orator representing the Senate, and delivered a most interesting and able address on the life and character of Mr. Davis, commencing with birth and following him through all the vicissitudes of life down to the shades of death.

"Hon. L. W. Magruder, as orator on the part of the House, followed in one of his characteristically beautiful orations, each phrase being a jewel and each word a gem. He referred to the public career of Mr. Davis and held him up as one of the grandest characters known in history.

"Judge J. A. P. Campbell was then introduced, and delivered one of the most forcible, learned, and eloquent addresses ever heard in the Capitol. From first to last he had the wrapt attention of the audience, and his grand flights and beautiful, patriotic sentiments were loudly cheered. He felt every word he spoke, and did great credit to the noble man whose memory he so fondly cherishes and deeply reveres. As an orator Judge Campbell has few equals in this country, and he, above all men, was the proper person to do homage to the deeds of glory and valor of the great Mississippian.

"At the conclusion of Judge Campbell's address Bishop Thompson invoked the divine blessing, and the joint convention was adjourned."

No State ever loved a son more ardently or honored him more joyfully than Mississippi did Jefferson Davis, and no son ever loved his State with more filial devotion than did Jefferson Davis love Mississippi.

ARKANSAS'S TRIBUTE.

The proclamation of Governor J. P. Eagle, the "Soldier-Governor of Arkansas," and his speech at the grand soldiers' meeting in New Orleans have already been given.

The State followed the lead of her Governor, and at almost every town and hamlet within her borders suitable memorial meetings were held and appropriate action taken.

At *Little Rock* on Memorial Day there was a monster mass meeting in the State Capitol, at which there were beautiful and appropriate funeral decorations, and a solemn and deeply moved crowd.

The oration delivered on the occasion by Judge U. M. Rose was one of the best we have seen, and we regret that we can only find room for the following extract from his conclusion :

"The events of a man's life may be regarded as the outward trappings and habiliments with which he has been invested by a more or less implacable destiny ; and after all categories are exhausted we do not see the man himself, nor perceive the indefinable and subtle elements that go to make up a distinct personality. I think that to most men Mr. Davis would appear, in imagination, like Wolsey.

"Lofty and sour, to them that loved him not ;
But, to those men that sought him, as sweet as summer."

"Of course, his position during many years must have given him an appearance of isolation ; but it is certain that to those who were intimately acquainted with him he gave the impression of kindness of heart, of geniality of disposition, and of a cheerful demeanor. He had peculiarly strong hold on the friends that he made, and he made friends during every period

of his life. The long devotion of his former slaves to him, ending only with death, is a conclusive testimony of the humane tenor of his feelings. Persons whom he had met in his campaigns in the Black-Hawk War, when he was reputed to be the handsomest, the most free-hearted and companionable of all the young officers in the service, remembered him after very many years with the warmest affection, which was not effaced by the hostilities that divided them in interests and in hopes. Some of these visited him in his latest years, and evinced all the tenderness of friendship which time and war could not destroy. As a husband, a father, a neighbor, he displayed the kindest and most affectionate disposition.

"A stormy life was followed by a quiet old age, which he devoted largely to a vindication, less of himself than of the people who had entrusted their fortunes to his keeping. If in the early period of his retirement he sometimes grieved his friends by public expressions that recalled too vividly the bitterness of the past, the feelings of which these were the evidence find no trace in the book in which he recorded his mature judgment of the decisive events in which he played such a prominent part. Reconciled with the irrevocable past, he was able to perceive that our great civil war had worked out many beneficial results, and that the future might open up to the united American people such an immense field of usefulness and prosperity as would dim even the brightness of their own past. For that work we owe him a debt of gratitude; for having been much read abroad, it has had the effect to greatly mitigate the harshness with which our people have often been judged.

"Born on the very day when Napoleon had reached the zenith of his power, and in the very month in which it began to decay, and dying in his 82d year, no man of our time ever had so many and such striking vicissitudes as Mr. Davis. From the days of Adams and Jefferson, through the long period that terminated in his death, he was personally acquainted with almost every distinguished man of his country and his time; and he beheld such changes in all the varied affairs of humanity as far transcended the dreams of any generation that had preceded him. Outliving all the chief actors in the great drama in which he had played a principal part, surviving Lincoln, and Seward, and Grant, and Lee, and Jackson, and Stuart, how full of memories must his mind have been, as he trod the shores of that Southern gulf that broke in harmonious sounds by his secluded home! Perhaps to him, as to many others, that complaining sea, extending far beyond the reach of human vision, containing in its sombre depths so many mysteries forever unexplained, presented the emblem of that wide eternity upon whose echoless shore are hushed all the sounds of human strife. Or perhaps when the tempest spread its black wings over the angry waves, it recalled the stormy scenes in which his life had been so largely spent; and it may be that in the succeeding calm that brooded on the quiet waters he perceived the type of that peace that awaits the tired mariner when the

uncertain voyage of life is over. Surrounded by friends and family that had long been as dear to him 'as the ruddy drops that visited his sad heart,' it may be that weary of a world of turmoil, where we see but darkly and are oppressed with doubt, he was pleased to find in the bottom of the bitter cup of life that drop of anodyne, that 'sweet oblivious antidote,' that lulls every care to sleep.

"But even now—dust to dust, ashes to ashes. So all things mortal end. The flowers have been strewn; the voice of the priest is silent; the final requiem has been sung; the last vibrations of the funeral bell still linger faintly on sea and land; and the chieftain, whose strange career is so deeply impressed on the page of history, having received God's great amnesty, has entered upon that last repose which shall never more be disturbed by the voice of praise or blame."

Appropriate resolutions were unanimously adopted.

At *Hot Springs* there was a large and enthusiastic meeting led by the Confederate Veterans, at which Col. John M. Harrell made an eloquent and appropriate address. Mrs. Lillian B. Gray aroused great enthusiasm by reciting Judge George P. Smoots's recent poem on "Jefferson Davis at Buena Vista," and appropriate resolutions were adopted.

At *Helena* and at many other points in the State there were meetings, resolutions, and speeches, and the great State of Arkansas, whose soldiers were among the bravest of the brave in our great struggle for constitutional freedom, was no whit behind her Southern sisters in bringing loving tribute to our dead President.

FLORIDA'S TRIBUTE.

We have given the proclamation and the speech of Governor Fleming, who voiced the sentiments of his people.

In response to a telegram from the *New York World*, the Governor sent the following:

"TALLAHASSEE, FLA., December 6, 1889.

"To the World, New York:

"Throughout a long life Jefferson Davis illustrated a pure and lofty character with a powerful intellect and unsurpassed abilities. Whether as a distinguished soldier of the Mexican war, whose skill and valor saved the day to the American arms at Buena Vista, as a Senator of the United States, as Secretary of War, or the chosen leader of the Confederate cause, he was alike true to every trust reposed in him, and exhibited abilities of the highest order. He was ever true to the principles of American liberty, and impartial history will accord him a place among the most profound statesmen of the country.

"FRANCIS P. FLEMING, Governor of Florida."

At Jacksonville there was an enthusiastic meeting and suitable resolutions, and Dr. R. B. Burroughs, in transmitting the resolutions, addressed Mrs. Davis the following letter:

"JACKSONVILLE, FLA., December 11, 1889.

"To Mrs. Jefferson Davis:

"DEAR MADAM:

"At a meeting of the citizens of this place, held last evening, December 10th, the enclosed resolutions were unanimously adopted, and in order to give emphasis to them, and as additional evidence of feeling, it was also decided that a letter from the officer presiding, expressive of their reverence for the memory of your husband and their sympathy for you, should accompany them.

"Honored by this trust, let me assure you that I fully feel the delicacy with which it should be performed, and that I fully know that in this dark hour of your grief but little can be brought to your stricken heart of comfort or relief.

"In the death and entrance upon a glorious immortality of the revered Jefferson Davis, there has passed from earth a character so grand in its proportions, so perfect in its symmetry, so faultless in its beauty, that the language applied to the immortal Washington is equally pertinent to him; that he 'exhibited in one glow of associated beauty the pride of every model and the perfection of every master.' In this combination of excellences of character, of one trait no man of modern or ancient times has given higher manifestation, and his name will always stand as the synonym of loyalty to duty and fidelity to trust.

"With naked sword and eagle eye undimmed by age he stood upon his lofty eminence guarding to the day of his death the sacred dust of the cause he so nobly defended, and like the sentinel at Herculaneum, with the dust and ashes of a proud and mighty empire falling around him, he remained at his post undismayed with a serenity and calmness that was truly sublime.

"As a soldier and in defense of the honor of his country, he poured out his blood on the soil of Mexico and held aloft in his loyal grasp the battle-stained flag of the Union, and though possessed of a spirit so attuned as to 'feel oppression's slightest finger as a mountain weight,' he repelled from his bosom every feeling of hostility until convinced that the institutions he revered and the altars he held sacred were menaced.

"It is conceded that in the portfolio of Secretary of War he had no equal, as a warrior he was brave, as a statesman eloquent and wise, and when he held the reins of empire he was discreet and just. The death of President Davis seals the door of the sepulchre in which, I trust, we have forever laid at rest the spirit of intolerance of those who bravely defended the cause they deemed just and right. To-night we sit beneath the willows and sing for the last time the requiem of a nation dead—

"'No nation rose so white and fair,
None fell so free of crime,'

"This night the spirit of the illustrious chieftain encamps on the other shore with Lee, Jackson, Polk, and other Christian heroes where their banner will never droop nor its stars grow pale.

"I can see the light e'en now of a dawning day when those who fell in that fratricidal strife, each a patriot, contending for what he deemed the right, shall have mingled into one common fraternal dust that a nobler fabric will arise than that which our fathers built—the fabric of a more glorious Union, a Union, though founded on strife, that shall stand forever, indissolubly cemented by the blood of her sons, and shall bear on its cornerstone in letters of living light—the spirit of justice, equality, and right, a light that shall clearly illumine, and to this, and all coming generations, illustrate the character and the conduct of Jefferson Davis and his followers.

"To you, dear madam, the nearest friend of this great and good man, the widowed mother of his children, sitting with bowed head and stricken with grief, we would come with words of tenderest sympathy, trusting that the God of the widow and the fatherless will comfort and sustain you.

"With great respect, I am, dear madam, yours truly,

"R. B. BURROUGHS."

At Pensacola, and at other points all over the State, suitable action was taken, and Florida paid our Chief a tribute not unworthy of her gallant soldiers who followed his lead in the dark days of war.

MARYLAND'S TRIBUTE.

"My Maryland" did not "come" to the Southern Confederacy simply because her geographical position was such that she could be and was "pinned to the Union by Federal bayonets;" but the Confederacy had no more gallant soldiers than those who "ran the blockade" from this noble State; there were no more loyal hearts than many who "waited and watched" at home, and nowhere have Confederate memories been more warmly cherished. "Our Dead President" had a warm tribute paid him in Maryland.

On "Memorial Day" there was held at the armory of the Fifth Regiment in Baltimore a large and enthusiastic meeting, under the auspices of the Confederate Society of Maryland. The veterans from the "Home"—the old color bearer—the members of the Confederate Society with their battle-flag badges—the decorations—and the large number of distinguished men and noble women present—all combined to make a scene of deep interest.

Captain McHenry Howard called the meeting to order, and announced the following officers: President, Mayor Davidson; Vice-Presidents, Hon. S. Teackle Wallis, Hon. George William Brown, General George H. Stewart, and General Bradley T. Johnson. Secretaries, Major W. Stuart Symington, and Captain John Donnell Smith. Committee on memorial, Major Thomas W. Hall.

Rev. Dr. R. H. McKim, of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, (a gallant Confederate soldier), led in a fervent and appropriate prayer, and there were speeches of more than ordinary interest, feeling, and power by Mayor Davidson, who said that "another great oak of the forest has fallen." Colonel D. G. McIntosh, who commanded a Battalion of Artillery in the Army of Northern Virginia, and who said in his speech, "We will bequeath his memory to our children as a precious legacy." Colonel Charles Marshall, the old military secretary of General Lee, who closed his address by asking "Who is there that is not proud to be the countryman of such a man, who was faithful to the last?" General Bradley T. Johnston, of the old "Maryland Line," who said, "Mr. Davis and the men with him were trying to establish a government on the principles of the Constitution of 1789. I have never concluded that I have been glad that the war ended as it did." Rev. Dr. W. U. Murkland, who spoke of Mr. Davis and the Confederate Soldiers who followed him as "A brave chivalry that puts to blush all the chivalry of the past." And Hon. S. Teackle Wallis, who said of him, "He bore his persecutions as a christian and a gentleman."

We very much regret that our limited space forbids our publishing these eloquent speeches in full.

We can only find room for the following brief extracts. Colonel McIntosh closed his speech by saying :

"As President of the Confederacy Mr. Davis was called upon for the exercise of every quality which properly belongs to the statesman in the Cabinet or the military chieftain in the field. The requisitions upon him were undoubtedly large, probably more than mortal man could respond to. He alone knew the full extent of the difficulties which beset him. No one could feel as he did the responsibility of the vast interests at home and abroad committed principally to his keeping. Armies had to be raised and fed and clothed, and equipped with all the munitions of war. Diplomatic agents had to be appointed and instructed, and delicate negotiations attempted with the leading powers abroad. At home jealousies had to be appeased and conflicting interests reconciled, while ever and at all times was the constantly recurring problem—how, out of the poverty of the resources in reach, to meet the exigencies of each passing day.

"Personal opposition, of course, he encountered ; personal enmities he could not do otherwise than arouse, but his intrepid spirit never faltered. Conscious of his own integrity, supremely self-reliant in the motives and public policy upon which his conduct was based, he kept on unflinchingly to the end. No disaster could appal him. When his troops met with reverses in the field he issued those wonderful addresses, charged with fiery eloquence, which, ringing like the tones of a trumpet, revived their drooping spirits and incited them afresh to deeds of valor. When the end came he was still undaunted.

"It was the fortune of a few of his soldiers who were not paroled at Appomattox to overtake him in his passage through the State of North Carolina. His faith in the God of battles and in the success of the cause was steadfast and unshaken. He could not believe that the star of the Confederacy had fallen. His imperial will and the mighty purpose which had sustained him for more than four years refused to be thwarted, and with an intensity and eloquence born of genius he stood out for another base of operations.

"The sublimity of his faith, the magnetism of his presence, the pathos of the situation, the contagion of his own nature, affected us in a way we were powerless to resist, and our little company parted from him with the assurance that we should join him in the department of the trans-Mississippi. Two days' ride across the waste left by Sherman's army revealed to us, as we had not seen it before, the poverty of the situation, and a day or two more brought tidings of the capture which completed the overthrow of the Government.

"The next time we saw Mr. Davis was when, as a prisoner, he was brought from Fortress Monroe to be arraigned in the Circuit Court in Richmond on the charge of treason. Fortunately for the peace of the country, the reputation of the Government, and the reconciliation of the two sections, the charge was not pressed. Even at that early day the generous and graceful act of the venerable Horace Greely in offering himself as a hostage to the Government to procure the release of his former political enemy swept like so much grateful balm into the hearts of the Southern people, and formed the first step towards genuine reconstruction.

"It would be useless at this day to say much of the confinement of Mr. Davis and his treatment when in prison. We know that in those days the great heart of the people of the South yearned towards the sufferer as that of a mother yearns to its offspring. The rivets which bound his fetters pierced every bosom in the South and transfixed it with the most poignant anguish. To his people *that* becomes an atonement for any errors he may have committed. Henceforth there could be but one sentiment—he was a people's vicarious sufferer. All else was forgotten. Happily for us all the scars of his fetters have long since disappeared, and he ended his days in the midst of his friends and in the shadow of a blessed peace.

"He devoted his declining years to a defense of his public course and that of his people. 'The History of the Rise and Fall of the Confederacy' is one of the lasting monuments he leaves behind him. But while he believed to the end in the political creed of his earlier life, and that the arguments upon which they were founded are unanswerable in the forum of reason, as do many others, he admitted that the war had made them impracticable, and he expressed the sincere hope that the Union would be perpetual.

"We pass no judgment upon the place which history will assign him. He already stands out as the most interesting, if not the most conspicuous, figure of his day.

"Imperishably linked by association with the great captains whom in life he trusted and loved—his early friend and admiration, the peerless Albert Sydney Johnston; his trusted advisor and counsellor, the immortal Robert E. Lee; his faithful lieutenant, the grand and glorious Stonewall Jackson—we can afford to trust posterity to do justice to one and to all.

"What can I say in conclusion? Nature made him one of its noblemen. The faith which he professed, and the virtues he practiced, made him a Christian gentleman; and in that spirit land to which he has departed, his soul, basking in the sunshine of its creator, will pursue its pure and lofty impulses in endless activities through the ocean of time."

The graceful and admirable "Memorial" paper presented by Major Thomas W. Hall, concluded as follows:

"Few persons, comparatively, to-day trouble themselves with the details or the merits of the strip of Roman factions, but the austere unbending figure of Cato occupies for all time a niche in the Pantheon of the world's greatest men. To Jefferson Davis, firm and unyielding to the last, bound submissively to the just decrees of Providence, but bending to no censure or opinion of man, we may apply with equal truth and appositeness Lucan's famous line: '*Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*'"

"It is especially appropriate that Marylanders should unite in a public tribute to the memory of Mr. Davis, for to all Marylanders who espoused the Confederate cause, and thereby made themselves exiles from their homes, Mr. Davis was ever particularly sympathetic and kind, and they should mourn him not only as their leader, but as their friend."

At the Confederate reunion and banquet held in Baltimore, January 20th, Lieutenant Winfield Peters, recording secretary of the Confederate Society, had in his annual report a graceful record of the death of Mr. Davis (who was an honorary member of the Society) and an eloquent tribute to his memory.

At the banquet Hon. T. R. Stockdale, member of Congress from Mississippi, responded to the toast, "Jefferson Davis, Statesman, Patriot, Hero," in an eloquent and appropriate speech which we had wished to publish in full.

The Southern students of Johns Hopkins University, the Webster Literary Society of the Western Maryland College, the lady visitors of the Maryland Line Confederate Home, and other towns and organizations throughout the State took suitable action and paid fitting tribute to his memory and worth.

NORTH CAROLINA'S TRIBUTE.

In no State were the tributes more general or more feeling than in the "Old North State," and in his proclamation and his speech at New Orleans which we have already given, Governor Fowle but voiced the sentiments of his people.



DISCUSSING MILITARY MATTERS WITH MISS WINNIE.

In *Raleigh* immediately on the announcement of the sad event the bells were tolled, flags were lowered to half mast, public offices were closed, houses were draped, the Mayor, and the Governor issued their proclamations, and a mass meeting was called for that night at Metropolitan hall.

Governor Fowle, Colonel Fuller, Captain S. A. Ashe, Colonel Kenan, Mr. Henry Keith, Mr. C. M. Busbee, Mr. J. G. Batchelor, Rev. Dr. C. Durham, and Mr. George H. Snow made brief but earnest and effective speeches, and suitable resolutions were adopted.

Governor Fowle sent the following telegram in response to a request of the *New York World*:

"Jefferson Davis was loved by Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee. This is proof that he was brave, just, honest, faithful and competent. In my opinion, no other man could have discharged the duties of President of the Confederacy as successfully as he did. He dies with the esteem, respect and affection of the entire South.

"DANIEL G. FOWLE."

On "Memorial Day" business generally was suspended, the Confederate Veterans, and local military turned out, and an immense audience gathered in a meeting where Rev. Dr. J. W. Carter, Rev. Dr. C. Durham, Rev. W. M. Clark, Rev. L. L. Nash, and Rev. J. H. Cordon conducted the services, and Rev. Dr. John S. Watkins pronounced an able and eloquent eulogy which we should be glad to print.

The *News and Observer* of Raleigh thus announced the observance of Memorial Day all over the State:

"The State exchanges show that union memorial services were held on Wednesday at almost every city, town, village, and hamlet in the Old North State.

"Following are the names of the orators at a number of points where memorial services were held:

"At Asheville Col. J. M. Ray presided. Addresses were made by Rev. Dr. J. L. Carroll, Rev. Dr. W. S. P. Bryan, Rev. Father White, Rev. Dr. W. A. Nelson, Rev. Dr. G. C. Rankin.

"A large meeting was held at Durham, and places of business were closed. Addresses were made by Rev. Dr. Yates, Rev. J. L. White, Rev. H. T. Darnall, Rev. T. M. N. George, Col. R. F. Webb, Mr. James Southgate, Capt. T. L. Peay, C. B. Green, Rev. C. A. Woodson, J. B. Whitaker, Jr., (who also read a letter received by him from Mr. Davis,) and Mr. J. S. Carr.

"At Winston a large and interesting meeting was held and several addresses were made. The orator of the occasion was Rev. E. P. Davis, pastor of the Presbyterian Church. Addresses were also made by Rev. T. H. Pegram, Rev. W. E. Swain, Rev. M. C. Fields, Rev. Ira Erwin, and Hon. C. B. Watson.

"An elaborate programme, consisting of music, adoption of resolutions, etc., was carried out at Charlotte. Hon. H. C. Jones was chairman. Ad-

dresses were made by Col. Jones, Capt. A. Burwell, Col. William Johnston, Capt. R. P. Waring, and Col. John E. Brown.

"At Hickory resolutions were passed and addresses were delivered by Messrs. J. F. Murrill, F. L. Cline, and Rev. James A. Weston.

"At Greensboro' there was an elaborate demonstration. Minute guns were fired by the Guilford Grays and the Continental Guard. At the mass-meeting Hon. James T. Morehead presided, and addresses were made by Hon. D. F. Caldwell, Mayor Forbis, Judge J. A. Gilmer, Col. James E. Boyd, Mr. Scott, of Rockingham, and Judge Graves.

"At Wilmington there was a large mass-meeting. Col. John D. Taylor presided. Eloquent and feeling addresses were delivered by Hon. George Davis, ex-Attorney-General of the Confederate States; ex-Lieutenant-Governor Stedman, Hon. A. M. Waddell, Col. John D. Taylor, Rev. Dr. T. H. Pritchard, and Rev. W. S. Creasy.

"At New Berne a largely attended meeting was held. Hon. John S. Long, the orator of the occasion, delivered a superb address.

"A large meeting was held at Oxford, at which Dr. B. F. Dixon preached an eloquent sermon. Remarks were also made by Judge J. J. Davis, who was present.

"At Weldon a funeral eulogy was delivered by Robert Ransom, Esq., and a sermon was preached by Rev. W. J. Smith.

"Meetings were also held at Franklinton and other points in the State."

There was suitable observance of the day also at Rockingham, where Rev. Dr. Wood preached the sermon; Henderson, where the address was made by Mr. W. R. Henry; Kingston, where the speakers were Mr. George Rountree, Rev. Israel Harding, Rev. J. B. Harrell, Rev. C. L. Arnold, Mr. John F. Wooten, Rev. W. S. Boone, Dr. H. D. Harper, Mr. J. Q. Jackson, and Rev. N. A. Hooker; Wilson, Fayetteville, Concord, Bingham School, and many other points in the grand Old State which followed Mr. Davis so nobly during the war, and has been ever ready to honor him since.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S TRIBUTE.

Two hundred pages would not suffice to report in full the tribute of the "Palmetto State;" and yet we are forced to compress it within the limits of a few pages.

We have given the proclamation of Governor Richardson.

The Legislature adopted the following which was offered in the House by Hon. J. C. Haskell:

Resolved, by the House of Representatives of South Carolina, the Senate concurring, That this General Assembly has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. Jefferson Davis; that in the death of Mr. Davis, the South has lost its most distinguished citizen, and the country one of the ablest and purest statesmen it has ever had, whose life, character and ser-

vices, should ever be held in loving remembrance by the people of the whole country and especially by those of the South.

"That the president of the Senate and speaker of the House be requested to communicate immediately to the family of Mr. Davis this expression of the profound sorrow and sympathy of the people of South Carolina, and that in token of our respect the flags of the capitol and all the State buildings be placed at half-mast during the present session of the General Assembly.

"That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed, and signed by the president of the Senate and speaker of the House of Representatives be sent to the family of Mr. Davis.

"That as a further mark of respect this General Assembly do now adjourn."

It was ordered further that a committee of five—Hon. Robert R. Hemphill and Hon. Jeremiah Smith from the Senate, and Messrs. John C. Haskell, Isaac G. McKissick, and A. F. O'Brien from the House accompany the Governor to the funeral in New Orleans.

Among other admirable speeches on the resolutions, Col. I. G. McKissick, who gallantly rode with Jeb. Stuart and Wade Hampton and Fitz Lee in Virginia, said :

"*Mr. Speaker :*

"This General Assembly does well to express its sense of bereavement in the death of Jefferson Davis. Great in council, great in battle, great as the leader of his people, great in the clanking chains of the dungeon, and still great in the cold arms of death. Sir, I endorse all that has been so eloquently and so touchingly said in honor of our fallen chief. He is not dead, but sleepeth, and the grand and glorious principles for which he suffered and endured so much are as immortal as himself. May the God he so devoutly worshiped smile upon his widow and child and upon his weeping people. Sir, we can never surrender the principles for which Lee and Jackson died. Let us wrap the honored remains of our dead chief in the stars and bars. It will be a glorious winding sheet. I could ask no prouder honor than that it might some day be mine."

It was to be expected that battle-scarred, heroic, glorious old Charleston would pay worthy tribute to our dead President, and accordingly we have before us a pamphlet of seventy-nine pages—all of which we should be glad to insert—containing "A Tribute of Respect Offered by the Citizens of Charleston," and even that does not contain all that was appropriately said and done.

As soon as the news reached Charleston the Mayor issued the following proclamation:

"*To the Citizens of Charleston :*

"It is my painful duty to announce to you the death of our great fellow-citizen, Jefferson Davis, ex-President of the Southern Confederacy.

The sad intelligence of his passing away has come with true sorrow to the heart of a people in whose midst he spent his life, to whose service, as soldier, statesman, and chieftain, he gave all that was in life to give. Closely identified with the brightest hopes and bitterest trials of the South, as a representative of her cause, he was ever faithful and steadfast, even in martyrdom, and now in full years, in the reverence and affection of the people of the South, he has passed away in honor, even as in honor long since passed away forever, the cause he led.

"It becomes us to join with his and our Southern comrades to pay our affectionate tribute to the greatness of his mind and heart, his high character, his devotion and sacrifice for principle, his unsullied and pure life, that will ever be cherished in the memory of the South and by all good and true men everywhere.

"His funeral services are announced to be held in the city of New Orleans on Wednesday next, the 11th instant, and on the same day there will be held a memorial service in this city. This day of mourning will be held in Charleston, and all the offices of the municipality will be closed. The flag of the city will be at half-mast and the City Hall will be draped in mourning for thirty days.

"I request that all places of business be closed in observance of the day, and I earnestly invite my fellow-citizens to attend the memorial services to be held on that day.

"Given under my hand and the seal of the city of Charleston, this 6th day of December, A. D., 1889.

"GEORGE D. BRYAN, *Mayor*.

"Attest: W. W. SIMONS,

"Clerk of City Council."

Then followed meetings of the City Council, the Confederate Survivors' Association, the general committees, &c., at all of which suitable action was taken and arrangements made for the proper observance of "Memorial Day," December 11th.

This was a day long to be remembered in Charleston. There was a general suspension of business, the firing of minute guns, an outpouring of the masses of people, the draping of houses and halls, the tolling of bells, and other demonstrations that showed that the great heart of Charleston was beating in unison with the general grief.

Col Zimmerman Davis, president of the Survivors' Association and chairman of the Jefferson Davis Memorial Committee, called the meeting to order in a brief but feeling and appropriate address, and called Mayor George D. Bryan to the chair.

A long list of vice-presidents and secretaries was nominated and elected, and Rev. John Johnson (Mayor Johnson, the skilful and heroic engineer of Sumter,) led in a fervent and appropriate prayer.

Rev. Dr. R. N. Wells recited with fine effect Father Ryan's exquisite poem, "The Conquered Banner."

The venerable ex-Governor A. G. Magrath presented a preamble and resolutions of rare beauty and appropriateness, and they were seconded in a speech of ability, eloquence, and power by Major T. G. Barker, who was on the staff of Gen. Wade Hampton during the war.

Then followed speeches of more than ordinary merit by Gen. B. H. Rutledge, Rev. Dr. W. T. Thompson, of the First Presbyterian Church; Gen. Edward McCrady, Rev. R. C. Holland, of the Lutheran Church; Col. Henry E. Young, and Mr. J. P. K. Bryan.

Right Rev. H. P. Northrop, Catholic Bishop, pronounced the benediction, and the whole occasion was one of thrilling interest.

In *Columbia* the day was observed with proper services. A mass-meeting was held in the State Capitol, at which Rev. Dr. J. L. Girardeau opened with prayer, and eloquent addresses were made by Lieutenant-Governor Mauldin, ex-Governor Gen. Johnson Haygood, Gen. John Bratton, Judge A. C. Haskell, and Gen. John D. Kennedy.

There was also a mass-meeting of citizens at the Opera House, presided over by Mayor John T. Rhett, and at which were appropriate and effective speeches by Col. R. W. Shand, Dr. A. N. Talley, Col. J. P. Thomas, Mr. Andrew Crawford, and Gen. Leroy F. Youmans.

At Blackville, Camden, Georgetown, Chester, Walterboro, Darlington, Beaufort, Winnsboro, Florence, Orangeburg, Sumter, Greenwood, Williston, Rock Hill, Spartanburg, Due West, Gaffney City, Laurens, Fort Mill, and many other points there were meetings, speeches, resolutions, and other proper observances of the day.

At Greenville there was a large meeting in the Opera House, and able and eloquent speeches by Colonel J. L. Orr, the venerable Rev. Dr. J. C. Furman, Colonel J. A. Hoyt, and Rev. J. A. Clifton.

At Newberry there was a meeting at which addresses of more than ordinary beauty, appropriateness, and power were made by Dr. James McIntosh, Mr. J. F. J. Caldwell, Rev. E. P. McClintock, and Rev. Dr. J. S. Cozby.

Indeed from the mountains to the seaboard there was grief in every home, and a loving tribute from loyal South Carolina hearts.

TENNESSEE'S TRIBUTE.

The "Volunteer State," true to its traditions, its memories, and its principles, brought general and loving tribute to our great chieftain, and it is an especial grief to us that the printers warn us that we can now barely allude to what we had purposed publishing in full.

Memphis, besides her general sympathies, had once been the home of Mr. Davis, and her tribute was both full and warm. We are indebted to our friend Captain C. W. Frazer, president of the Confederate Historical Association, for a compilation of editorials in the papers, the action of Confed-

erate Veterans, citizens, exchanges, the military, Mexican Veterans, schools and other organizations of Memphis which we should be glad to publish and which would make probably forty pages of this volume. We can only say here that appropriate resolutions were passed by the Confederate Historical Association, the Commercial Exchange, the City Council, and other organizations. Memorial Day there were services in the Catholic and Episcopal Churches, and a union service in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (the one that General Bedford Forrest was so largely instrumental in building and where he held his membership at the time of his death), all of the services being largely attend. The sermon at the Lutheran Church was preached by Rev. Eugene Daniel.

The military companies of the city, Confederate veterans, and citizens generally formed a procession which marched to the Theatre where there was a packed house. Colonel C. W. Frazer called the meeting to order and welcomed the crowd in a brief and appropriate speech. Rev. N. M. Woods led in a fervent and appropriate prayer. Judge J. W. Clapp, an old personal friend of Mr. Davis, was orator of the day and pronounced a fitting and eloquent eulogy on his life and character. Judge Sneed then read the following sweet poem written for the occasion by Mrs. Virginia Frazer Boyle

"Oh! great heart, standing all alone, so long
Amid the storm and wreck of bitter years,
Unscathed by floods of calumny and hate,
Unswerved by the treachery, unblanched by fear,
Led like as one before the altar stone,
To bleed, a living sacrifice for hosts.

"Thy human light has flickered in its sconce,
Burned low, so long within the Southland's love,
The darkness trenches on the twilight hush,
And we, oh! heart, we weep that thou are stilled,

"Yea, we have loved, ah! God, so deeply well,
Forgetful of the tension on thy strings—
Have held thee, till the silent sleet of grief
Wore through thy portals, down into thy core,
And now we give thee up Heroic heart.
'Tis hard to lay the 'neath the stars and bars—
The shell of all the grandest parts, the hand
Of nature ever fashioned for a man!

"We give thee up, arisen in the light,
Above the darkened glass of human eyes,—
Yea, face to face, bound in our love, we leave
Thine unveiled fame to Truth, thy soul to God

—"Virginia Frazer Boyle."

Hon Casey Young made a few eloquent remarks in presenting the very appropriate and graceful resolutions which were adopted.

After the meeting at the Theatre had adjourned the ladies did a very fitting and graceful thing in carrying the profusion of beautiful flowers which decorated the stage to deck the grave of Jefferson Davis, Jr., who died of yellow fever in 1878 and is buried in Elmwood cemetery.

At *Nashville* the news of Mr. Davis's death was received with profound sorrow. The Mayor of the city and the Governor of the State promptly issued their proclamations, flags were placed at half-mast, buildings were draped, and immediate preparations were made for the proper observance of Memorial Day.

Chief Justice Turney adjourned the Supreme Court for the day in the following words:

"Gentlemen of the Bar :

"We have learned this morning of the death of ex-President Jefferson Davis. In view of his long identification with the country and its welfare, his eminent services and the faithful ability with which he discharged the duties of many exalted public stations, we think it due to his memory that the court adjourn for the day."

Memorial Day was observed by a large mass-meeting at the State Capitol over which General J. F. Wheeler presided and made a brief address in introducing as orator of the day Elder Lin. Cave, who was a former gallant member of the old 13th Virginia Infantry. Mr. Cave delivered an appropriate and very eloquent address, which was well received.

There was handsome tribute paid at Jackson, Brownsville, Covington, Newbern, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Gallatin, Morristown, Clarksville, Lynchburg, Pulaski, and other points.

At Knoxville there was a meeting at the First Presbyterian Church, at which the pastor, Rev. Dr. James Park, made an appropriate and eloquent address, which only lack of space prevents us from publishing, and was followed in a brief address by Rev. Carter Helm Jones, pastor of the First Baptist Church.

Zollicofer Camp Confederate Veterans also had a memorial service at the Courthouse, at which Rev. Carter Helm Jones was the orator.

At Clarksville the venerable Rev. Dr. A. D. Sears made an eloquent and effective address, which we deeply regret being unable to publish in full as we had purposed.

And at various other points all over the State there was such tribute as warm, loving hearts could bring to one so highly respected, honored and loved.

TEXAS'S TRIBUTE.

We have already given the proclamation of Governor Ross and spoken of the tribute which Texas brought to New Orleans, and now we can only cull a few leaves from the magnificent wreath of prairie flowers which the great "Empire State of the South" laid on his bier.

Galveston's tribute was elaborate and beautiful. Artillery Hall was tastefully decorated, and an immense crowd heard addresses of unusual beauty, eloquence, and power from the venerable Gen. T. N. Waul (said to be "the oldest Confederate" in Texas), who presided over the meeting; Major F. Charles Hume, Hon. R. G. Street, and Major Frank M. Spencer. Miss Lillian Walker recited "The Conquered Banner."

At *Dallas*, Camp Sterling Price Confederate Veterans led off in a movement which culminated in a very appropriate and earnest memorial service.

At *Austin* there was fitting tribute and a large mass-meeting, at which Dr. R. M. Swearingen and Judge A. W. Terrill, among others, made eloquent addresses.

At *Fort Worth*, *Laredo*, *El Paso*, *Lamar county*, *Paris*, *Floresville*, *Waco*, *Bonham*, *Cleburne*, *Richmond* (where Judge M. J. Hickey made a striking address), *Texarkanna*, *Wichita Falls*, *Comanche*, *Llano*, *Brownwood*, *Graham*, *Dawson*, *Beaumont*, *Lampasas*, *Decatur*, *Fort Davis*, *Palestine*, *Terrill*, *Houston*, *San Antonio*, *Sherman*, *Jefferson*, *Marshall*, and, indeed, at nearly every city, town, and hamlet in the State there were meetings, addresses, resolutions, and enthusiastic and loving tributes to his memory.

We cannot better close the tribute of Texas to our great chief than by giving just here the following poem, which Mrs. Davis especially requested that we should print:

"We mourn for thee, great chieftain,
But not as the hopeless mourn;
Thou hast won all life's guerdon—
Its love and its bitter scorn.

"Hail to thy glorious triumph,
In the rest thy grave shall give!
Hail to thy resurrection,
That rapturous life to live!

"No breath nor shaft of malice
Shall intrude upon the song,
Of sublimest hallelujah
From all that welcoming throng.

"No tyrant 'ban' can reach thee,
Thy freed spirit to repress,
'Where the wicked cease from troubling
And the weary are at rest.'

"Roam, then, in fullest freedom
All among those golden streets,
And rest beneath the shade trees
When'er comrade comrade meets.

"Be ours the priceless treasure
Of thy memory to keep,
With ever fresh embalming
When around thy grave we weep.

"*Dallas, Texas, December 10, 1889.*"

"—*Mrs. Mary Mitchel Brown.*"

MISCELLANEOUS.

And now we have only a few pages into which to crowd a volume.

In addition to those we have noted, Mrs. Davis received resolutions and other tributes of respect from the students of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., Poplar Bluff, Mo., Marshall, Mo., Moberly, Mo., Troy, Mo., Kansas City, Mo., Butler county, Mo., and other towns in the State, and also from Guthrie, I. T., Socorro, New Mexico, Los Angeles, Cal., and other points.

While there were some utterances in Northern papers utterly unworthy of any one living in this marvellous century, the general tone of the press at the North was, if not kindly, at least silent. We can cull only a few of their utterances.

The New York *Examiner*, one of the very foremost religious papers in the world, thus said editorially:

"The death of Jefferson Davis has called forth a general expression of respect and sorrow at the South. This was to be expected, and no reasonable man at the North will suspect the South of disloyalty to the re-established Union because they are also loyal to the man who was their leader in the 'Lost Cause.' There was a time when Jefferson Davis, as the visible embodiment of the secession movement, was more bitterly hated in the North than any Southerner, but time has softened that feeling. That Mr. Davis was an honest, almost fanatical, believer in the sovereignty of the States and in the right of peaceable secession has long been recognized. His personal integrity was never questioned, and those who have known him best have always testified to his personal virtues. Let us hope that in his grave may be buried the last of the animosities that inspired our civil war, and that the new South may join hands with a new North to make our common country not merely the greatest and the richest in the world—she is that already—but the most free, enlightened, and Christian of nations."

The New York *Sun* said:

"From him came no accent of self-exculpation or self-reproach. Failure had brought sorrow, but no compunction. Amid irreparable disaster Jeffer-

son Davis was sustained by a serene consciousness that he had done a man's work according to his lights, and that while unable to command success he had striven to deserve it. Even among those who looked upon him with least sympathy it was felt that this man bore defeat and humiliation in the high Roman fashion, and that of him in his loyalty to a lost cause it might be said, as of another majestic soul at Utica, that

“*Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*”

By the victor's side the gods abide, but by the victim's, Cato.”

The New York *Times* said:

“The funeral of Jefferson Davis and the observances that attended it throughout the South were very noteworthy for the spirit manifested in them. There is no fear now that any vindictive political action can be taken against the South, and there is thus no reason of prudence why any Southerner should refrain from speaking his whole mind. Yet, though certainly the proceedings denoted that the Southerners were not in the least ashamed of the course that they or their fathers took a quarter of a century ago, there has not been, that we have observed, a single word uttered of regret that their cause was lost or that the South was coerced into rejoining the Union it attempted to break. It would be difficult even for any person so fanatical as the late Governor Foraker or the late Mr. Halstead to find fault with the temper displayed by the people of what were once the Confederate States.”

From *Pomeroy's Advance Thought*, New York :

“God pity the narrow-minded soul that squeaks out its dirty bitterness because the people of the South love the memory of Jefferson Davis. He was always an honest man; a friend of his people, regardless of the menaces and intolerance of those who were not friendly to the South. He never used his principles as a net in which to catch fish for market. He was not the inventor of the idea that man need not love a government that he could not love, or a people who believe that a political administration has the right to punish people for not loving narrow-minded persons who hate them. Jefferson Davis came into this world as others come. He loved the people of the State and localities whose people he knew, and whose menaced interests he sought to protect. Through all the shocks and years of shocking wars and all the whirlpools of hate over which his life ran, he lived out God's appointed time, as Daniel lived in the den of lions that growled but were not permitted to lay claws upon him or to touch him with their teeth. Wise men are satisfied with the general result of the war, in its liberation of slaves and its restoration of the country. Jefferson Davis did as he thought to be right; therefore he deserves honor. He was true to his love for all that portion of the country, that did not propose to tramp with iron heel upon the other portion. He believed that statesmanship

should supercede the sword, and that reason is more honorable than rage, fanaticism and passion, heated by desire to plunder and confiscate. He has passed on to spirit life, and the South loves his memory as it should love it and as the people of every patriotic country should and ever will respect it. Were the people of the South to forget him, or fail to honor the man who endured so patiently for their sake, they in turn would deserve none of respect or place in the minds of men who have manhood.

"The cause which he was chosen to lead failed through the errors of those who planted it, and the numerical power, but not superior bravery, of those who contended against it to final victory. The North has enough to be proud of—and enough to be ashamed of—without sullyng its reputation for greatness by hurling cowardly venom upon an honest man in his memory, and upon those who admire honesty, bravery and devotion to best friends.

"Jefferson Davis will live longer in history and better, than will any who have ever spoken against him."

"LONDON, December 6.

"All the evening papers have leaders on Jefferson Davis. The *Globe* recalls Mr. Gladstone's eulogium, including the famous phrase so much criticised at the time—'Jefferson Davis has created a nation,' and adds that if he did not create a nation, it was because such a creation was clearly not possible in the conditions of affairs. If statesmanship, military genius and devotion on the part of a whole people were sufficient for the foundation of a State, a slaveholding republic would have been established. The enterprise failed, it concludes, because success in the conditions was not difficult, but impossible."

The *Daily Telegraph* says: "Jefferson Davis is gone, followed to the grave, we doubt not, by more affection and gratitude on the part of the South and a more respectful and just appreciation on the part of the North than were always his portion during life."

Mrs. F. G. DeFontaine has sent to the *News and Courier* the following extract from the letter of a friend, a New Hampshire woman, a descendant of John Quincy Adams, and a personal friend of Mr. Davis, to whom he sent his last photograph:

"The death of President Davis is an event that marks an epoch in heart and Southern history. I am satisfied he is glorified. I would not call him back. He had lived his life, won the admiration of the world, and died crowned with honors. Like Washington, he has enriched the annals of history, and his name and fame will live until the records of the world perish. This is immortality."

One of the most frankly sincere and admirably candid criticisms from a Northern standpoint is that of the *Philadelphia Times*, edited by that liberal-minded journalist, Colonel A. K. McClure: "That Mr. Davis was 'one of the most conscientious of our public men,' that he 'never yielded in convic-

tion or bowed to expediency,' that his farewell speech to the United States Senate was 'memorable for its dignity and pathos,' that the Confederate hero 'will go into history as one of the most sincere, conscientious and self-denying of all the leaders of the Lost Cause,' and finally, that he was 'honest in faith, expression and effort alike at Montgomery, where he was crowned amidst the smiles and roses of the sunny South; in the prison cell when hope and friends seem to have perished, and in the hour when the long halt was called that summoned him to the dreamless couch of the dead." All these kindly words and more come from one of the leading newspapers in the Pennsylvania city.

The New York *Herald* speaks of Mr. Davis as "not an original secessionist. He cherished hopes of the Union long after Yancey, Rhett, Toombs, and others had cast hesitancy to the winds. He was 'proud to the end, the last of the Confederates to furl the Confederate flag, awed by no reverses, discouraged by no disaster, obstinate, gloomy, impracticable, taking the sternest responsibilities, offering no compromise, seeking none; never veiling his cause by apologies, nor until the hour of his death showing the least regret.'"

Contrasting Jefferson Davis with the war President of the Union, the *Herald* says:

"In the essential element of statesmanship, Davis will be judged as the rival and parallel of Lincoln. When the two men came face to face, as leaders of two mighty forces, bitter was Northern sorrow that Providence had given the South so ripe and rare a leader and the North an uncouth advocate from the woods."

And finally the *Herald* concludes that "no one will hold a more conspicuous place than the stern, implacable, resolute leader, whose cold, thin lips have closed forever in that beloved South which he served with passion if not with wisdom."

CONCLUSION.

We know not how better to fill the space that remains to us than by quoting a speech by a Soldier-Preacher and a poem by the "Poet-Priest" of our Southland—the first made before Pickett Camp Confederate Veterans and a large crowd on "Memorial Day" at the Second Baptist Church, in Richmond, and the second written to be read at the great Southern Historical Society meeting in New Orleans, when Mr. Davis was present and made an address of rare eloquence and power.

ADDRESS OF REV. DR. S. A. GOODWIN.

* A great man has fallen. The South is in tears. She sits like Niobe over her slaughtered children, weeping at the grave in which sleeps her patriot

statesman and hero. Her altars are wreathed with cypress, her flags are drooped, and her drums are muffled. The soul of President Davis is with God, but his name is enshrined in the hearts of the people for whom he suffered, and his deeds are forever wedded to immortality.

"Mr. Davis was a patriot. The 'storm-cradled nation,' whose course his genius guided through all its years of bitterness and blood, is a thing of the past; but the principles which called it into existence and placed him at its helm will live as long as liberty has a champion or patriotism a friend. Sweet to the memory of every Southern heart is the proud consciousness that it was no lust for pelf or power, no love for gold or gain, no strife for coronet or crown, that induced him to forswear the government under whose ægis he was born, whose institutions he loved, whose battles he fought, and upon whose escutcheon he had shed a new and richer lustre; but fidelity to principles bequeathed him by his fathers, and a deathless devotion to the State whose interests he had sworn to protect. The gigantic struggle which he guided, and for whose origin he was hunted and hounded, and for whose disastrous end the ignorant and the selfish, even among his own people, have held him alone blameworthy, had to come. He was simply one of the great factors in the mighty movement; but he did not set in motion the war. The reason for it were written on the first slave ship that crossed the Atlantic; they are found in the history of the colonies; in the climate, the soil, the productions, and the genius of the people, and in the very formation of the compact that constituted the union of the States. To deny that the States in adopting the Constitution reserved to themselves certain rights, is to betray the most palpable ignorance of the whole history of the government. Virginia ratified the compact with hesitating pen in one hand, whilst with the other she held the Bill of Rights, in which she refused to delegate to the general government the privilege of controlling her own institutions and of enacting her own laws. The right of the State to control her own institutions and to frame her own laws was one of the fundamental principles of the American Constitution. The object of the compact was for mutual protection, and not the interference of one State with the local laws or individual institutions of another. Of the rightness or the wrongness of State sovereignty it is now needless to speak. The arbitrament of the sword has settled that question, and thrown the institution of slavery forever behind us. Suffice it to say that Mr. Davis, in common with Jefferson, Calhoun, and many other statesmen, believed in the right of secession, and in his senatorial speeches, and in his 'Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government,' he has given reasons for his belief in arguments that are overpowering, and with logic that is irresistible. When, therefore, the sacred compact was denounced by the fanatical partisans of the North as 'a covenant with death and a league with hell,' and instead of being used for the protection of all of the States, was perverted into an instrument for the oppression of those of the South, Mr. Davis, in com-

mon with many of the wisest and most patriotic men of the South, advised withdrawal from the Union, and the formation of the Confederate Government. But he did not do this until he had exhausted every argument in favor of the Constitution as originally adopted, and had tried every honorable means of reconciliation. The South sought nothing but the protection of her property, and the rights of her citizens. She wanted no war. She wished to depart in peace. She was moved by the same spirit that actuated Washington and Jefferson, Hancock and Adams, and all the other founders of the Republic when they threw off the yoke of British oppression, and rallied the lovers of freedom in defence of 'their altars and their fires.' The British Government denounced the signers of the Declaration of Independence as rebels, and stigmatized Washington as a traitor. The United States government denounced the founders of the Confederate States as rebels, stigmatized Davis as a traitor, and raised an immense army to put down the rebellion. Only those who are blinded by passion and perverted by prejudice can fail to see the analogous causes that called into existence the two governments. The success of the first is the admiration of the world; the defeat of the second is stigmatized as rebellion.

“ ‘Rebellion! foul dishonoring word,
Whose wrongful blight so oft hath stained
The holiest cause that tongue or sword
Of mortals ever lost or gained.

“ ‘How many a spirit born to bless
Hath sunk beneath that withering name,
Whom but a day's—an hour's success
Had wafted to eternal fame.’

“The patriots who gave their lives for the independence of the colonies are lauded as martyrs; but the heroes who died for the independence of the States are stigmatized as rebels. But no slander can sully their glory, no vituperation can stain their patriotism.

“We need not turn to Marathon nor Thermopylæ to find warriors who have wreathed their brows with unfading chaplets, nor search the storied archives of Spartan valor for names that were not born to die. We need not rifle the mausoleums of Athens, nor decipher the moss-grown cenotaphs of Rome to find the names of those who carved their way to glory through the fiery track of war, and went up from battle and burning to their homes among the stars. In all the galaxy of fame there is no brighter constellation than that of the ‘Heroes of the Lost Cause.’ Poland was wiped from the roll of nations by the iron hand of despotism; but freedom did not die with Kosciusko. Emmett died upon the scaffold; but his name is enshrined in the hearts and woven in the songs of all true Irishmen. When the last of the Gracchi expired he flung dust towards Heaven, and

from that dust Marius sprang—Marius less for having conquered the Cimbri than for having destroyed in Rome the despotism of the nobility. And from the blood of those Southern braves, wherever shed, there shall spring the preservers of Liberty, and the avengers of wrong. No; these men were not traitors. That cannot be treason for which the mothers of the South starved and suffered, and sent forth their sons to sleep in nameless graves, or to be brought home upon their shields. No; that cause can never be made odious for which Stuart, and Jackson, and Johnston died, and of which Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis were the exemplars and the exponents. No; when slander has exhausted its venom, and prejudice has spent its force, and impartial history has pronounced its verdict, the name of Jefferson Davis will shine in equal splendor with those of Madison and Monroe, Calhoun and Clay. Not a spot obscures his crest, not a sprig has been torn from his chaplet; though now 'cursed and scorned' his name will be wafted in every breeze that sighs through his native pines, and be heard in every slumbering echo that awakes to the call of freedom.

"Mr. Davis was a statesman. The consummate skill with which he guided the infant Confederacy through the storms that rocked it, and the hidden foes that threatened it, is not eclipsed by the prudence of Pitt nor the policy of Napoleon. Few fully appreciate the difficulties that environed him. He was placed at the head of a people, thrown without preparation into the midst of the mightiest conflict of the ages; they were without government, without soldiers, without arms, without any of the munitions of war; but his genius supplied every difficulty and met every want. He created, as if by magic, the most splendid army that ever marched to victory, and supplied it with the ablest commanders of the age. That his hand sometimes slipped in guiding the intricate and delicate machinery of a government throbbing with passion and heated with war, no one will deny; he would have been more than man not to have made mistakes. The Confederacy did not fail for lack of statesmanship in him, but because success in the conditions which environed it was not possible. But the calmness which he displayed in the midst of storm, the firmness which he evinced in the midst of trepidation, and the immense resources which he supplied in the midst of destitution, combined with his comprehensive knowledge of government, demonstrate him to be a statesman in whom was combined the acuteness of Pitt and the executive power of Napoleon. Perhaps no man of this age possesses his genius, combined with his versatility of talent. His knowledge of government was profound, and his acquaintance with science and literature comprehensive and accurate. As a chaste and elegant writer of English he was without a rival among American statesmen. As an orator he was eloquent, logical, passionate, powerful. Time forbids me to speak of Mr. Davis as a soldier. Suffice it to say that his gallant charge at Monterey, his skill and strategy at Buena Vista, the improve-

ments which he effected in the organization and equipment of the army while Secretary of War—all demonstrate that he was a soldier of the highest type. Trained for the army, he desired to serve the South in the field, but the people with one accord called him to the Presidency of the Confederacy, and he yielded his wishes to the judgment of his compatriots. Had it been otherwise he might have won a name that would have shone with equal splendor with that of Lee, or else have hidden it from the shafts of calumny in the grave like Stuart and Jackson and Johnston. But the crowning glory of Mr. Davis was his stainless purity and sincere piety.

"As President of the Confederacy he has been denounced as a traitor and villified as a murderer; but no man has dared to charge him with malfeasance in office or prostituting the public service to private aims. During all the carnage of war, the trials of public life, the suspicion of friends, and the persecution of enemies, he maintained a stainless character and an unspotted name. A devout student of God's Word, a man of prayer and a firm believer in Christ, and an ardent supporter of the Gospel, his piety shed its lustre over his home, softened the rigors of his prison life, sustained him under the reverses of fortune, sweetened the sorrows of old age, lighted him through the dark valley and shadow of death, and finally placed upon his head a crown that will shine with ever increasing splendor when the skies of worldly glory have darkened and her scrolls have gone to decay. The heart that offered its blood for our liberty has ceased to beat; the lips that were eloquent in our defense are silent; the arms that did battle for us are motionless; but his deeds, embalming all that is heroic in action, pure in patriotism, lovely in virtue, and sublime in Christianity, 'will smell sweet and blossom in the dust.'

"Nothing need cover his high fame but heaven,
No pyramid set off his memories,
But the eternal substance of his greatness—
To which I leave him.'"

THE MEN WHO WORE THE GRAY.

By Father Ryan.

Tell it as you may,
It never can be told;
Sing it as you will,
It never can be sung.

The story of the glory
Of the men who wore the gray,
In their graves so still;

The story of the living,
Unforgiven, yet forgiving,
The victims still of hate,
Who have forever clung,
With a love that will not die,
To the memories of our past;
Who are patient and who wait,
True and faithful to the last,
For the Easter morning sky,
When wrong's rock shall roll away
From the sepulcher of right,
And the right shall rise again,
In the brightness of a light
That shall never fade away,
Triumphant and glorious
To teach once more to men,
The conquered are victorious.
The conquered in the strife
Through their children yet shall reign
By their patience and their peace;
They shall fill the people's life,
From right's ever virgin vein,
With the purest love that flows,
Made the purer by our woes,
Without stain and without cease,
Till the children of our foes
Shall be proud and glad to claim
And to write upon one scroll
Every dear and deathless name
On our Southern muster roll.

Ah! we rebels met defeat
On the gory battle-field,
And we flung our muskets down,
When our bonnie flag was furled
But our right did but retreat
With pure honor for her shield,
And with justice for her crown,
From the forces of the world.
(For against us thousands came,
Money bought from every clime,
But we stood against them all,
For the honor of our name,

Till the fated day of time
Came but to crown our fall
With a fadeless wreath of fame.)

Retreat into that shrine,
Back of every Southern breast,
Your hearts, my friends, and mine,
Where right finds a holy rest
On the altar-stairs that slope
Toward the throne where reigns the just,
Where we still live on and hope,
And in Him we place our trust.

Is it treason thus to sing?
Why, then treason let it be,
Must we stoop to fawn on wrong?
To the idol must we bring
Our heart's idolatry
And the fealty of song?
No, no; the past is past,
May it never come again;
May no drum or bugle's blast
Summon warriors to the plain!
The battle's play is o'er,
We staked our all and lost;
The red wild waves that tossed
The Southland's sacred bark
Are sleeping on the shore.
She went down in the dark:
Is it wrong for us to listen
To the waves that still will glisten
Where the wreck we loved went down?
Is it wrong to watch the willows
That are drooping o'er the grave?
Is it wrong to love our brave?

Are our memories a treason
To the powers we must obey?
Can the victors give a reason
Why the men who wore the gray
From our hearts should march away
And should pass from us forever
Like the dreamings of the night?

Do they want the South to sever
The blood-consecrated ties,
The sacred bonds of sorrow,
That will link our last to-morrow
To our glory-hallowed past?
Ah! pure hearts cry, Never! never!
For each soldier heart that dies
In our memories still is beating;
Though the years are fast retreating,
We remember to the last.
Nay, tell it as you may,
It never can be told,
And sing it as you will,
It never can be sung—
The story of the glory
 Of our bonnie, bonnie flag,
When its battle-wings were waving
In the valley—on the crag—
On the billows of the ocean,
By the river's winding shore.

The years have passed away,
But, ah! 'tis flinging still
Around our hearts to-day
The self-same spell it flung
O'er our soldiers in their gray.
Back of lines that never quailed,
Far from battle-banners flash,
There were lips that moaned and wailed
And how many eyes that wept;
Tho' they heard no cannon crash
Nor the terror-storms of lead,
And they sighed the while they slept
When they dreamed their own were dead,
Mothers, wives and children fair,
Back of all the ranks that fought,
Knelt adown in holy prayer,
And in Heaven only sought
In their infinite despair,
Gleams of hope to light the night,
Darkly gathering o'er the right.

Can a singer gather up
In the chalices of song,

Half the tears that filled the cup
Of the griefs of such a throng ?

Crimson drops on battle plain,
Thro' four sorrow-laden years—
Were they richer than the rain,
That baptised our homes with tears?
Nay ; no singer yet has sung
Song to tell how hearts had bled,
Where, our soldiers' homes among,
Wept eyes waiting for the dead.

And one—statuesque and still—
(Is he in the hall to-night,
Who yet suffers for the right ?)
Faithful chieftain of our cause—
Like an ocean rock his will
Let the wild waves rise and fall ;
What cares it, and what cares he ?
Tho' still banned by freedom's laws,
In his home besides the sea,
Lives he freest of the free.
Ah ! they chained his feeble frame,
But they could not chain his thought,
Nor the right for which he fought ;
And they could not chain his fame,
But they riveted his name
To the hearts of you and me.
Aged chieftain ! Southern truth !
In you keeps immortal youth !
You, our truest and our best,
What care you for any ban ?
Are you not the noblest guest
In the hearts of each and all ?
For us all you wore wrong's chain,
And each heart is now the hall
Where you have the right to reign.

Leader of the men in gray !
Chieftain—truest of the true—
Write our story as you may,
And *you* did ; but even you,
With your pen, could never write

Half the story of our land.
Yours the heart and yours the hand—
Sentinels of Southern right;
Yours the brave, strong eloquence—
Your true words our last defense;
Warrior-words—but even they
Failed as failed our men in Gray;
Fail to tell the story grand
Of our cause and of our land.

—*Father A. J. Ryan.*

And now our task is done, and we send forth the “Davis Memorial Volume” in the hope that it may prove in some humble degree worthy of its great theme.

ADDRESS
OF
HON. J. A. P. CAMPBELL,

Before the Mississippi Legislature.

Senators, Representatives and Fellow-Citizens :

This occasion is well calculated to recall the scenes of 1860-'61, when the mutterings of the storm that soon burst in fury upon this before peaceful land were heard distinctly, and engaged the attention of all. It is appropriate to recur to that period, with its spirit of patriotism, which inspired our people, and directed their course.

The world has done justice to Southern valor, which was so conspicuous, and struck such sturdy blows on many fields as to compel recognition and acknowledgment, but justice has not been done to the motives of the Southern people; and it devolves on us, who were actors in it, to vindicate the truth of their history, and transmit to posterity a correct account of the impelling cause of their action. The charge of wantonly and causelessly severing their relations to the Union is without foundation. Nor is it true, as often asserted, and by many believed, that the masses were hurried to disunion, against their judgment and wishes, and without their consent, by aspiring leaders. Their action must be considered from their standpoint then; and thus tried, it will appear that the movement sprang from the spirit of self-preservation, and a sublime determination to maintain their birth-right of freedom. The impelling cause of secession was far more justifiable than that which led to the Revolution of 1776; and the different result in the two cases cannot change the dictates of justice or the decision of impartial history with reference to it.

The culmination of sectional feeling among the people of the North, arising from different institutions, interests and habits, in the election of a president of the United States, produced widespread alarm among the people of the South, as to continued security for their institutions and interests in the Union; and they were confronted with the momentous question: What should be done for the safety of great interests thought to be imperiled? It was not a spirit of ambition which aroused the society, but a *sense of danger*, and desire to avert it. The conviction was general—well nigh universal—among the people of the South, that the Union was about to be perverted to their injury. Right or wrong, this was the prevalent belief. All classes shared the apprehension. There is no instance in history of nearer approach

to unanimity among a people than characterized our movement in secession. The universality of the apprehension is a strong indication of ground for such general concern. While there were differences of opinion, as to what was wise to be done, the conviction was general, that something should be, and the prevalent sentiment was that safety should be sought by prompt withdrawal from a Union about to be used for the destruction of our rights. In this there was nothing unnatural or unprecedented. We had a conspicuous example of it in the course of our forefathers, which inspired us, and many other precedents in history for our course. There was no objection to the constitution or the Union it formed, and there was no hostility to the people of the North. Born to an inheritance of freedom, proud of the glories of the Union of which the South was so large and important a part, and to which her people had contributed so much, her sons revered the constitution, and the Union it formed, and shrank from the thought of being deprived of either.

So strong was this feeling among Southern men, that the idea of dissolving the Union had to be endured for a long time before it was finally embraced, even after thought of danger to the rights of the South was associated with its continuance. It was not until the conviction was forced upon the people, that the union of states created by the united efforts of the people of South and North was about to be employed against the South, that a determination was formed, to *abandon the Union and save the constitution*.

We proved our devotion to the constitution by substantially adopting it for the Confederate States, and showed our love of the Union by forming one just like that we left.

The long delay to dissolve the Union vindicates the South from the charge of hostility to it. A reverential devotion to the constitution and the Union caused the people of the South to cling to the Union with a delay fatal to the success of their final action. It was in the power of the South, for a long time dominant in the Union, to have established a separate government, at any time during many years after, it became apparent that this alternative would probably be forced upon it. The wonder is, that this was not done, when the South was the more powerful section, or when it was discovered that power was about to be transferred to the North.

The unprepared condition of the Southern States is conclusive evidence of the absence of premeditation to destroy the Union. No preparation whatever had been made. Disunion and war were a surprise to our people, and were accepted only as a last resort to avert what was regarded as a greater evil.

The attachment of the South to the Union of the constitution was very strong and is easily explained.

The Declaration of Independence was the production of Southern intellect and statesmanship. Southern valor and skill did much to maintain it. The constitution of the United States was largely the work of Southern states-

men, and Southern men had shaped and moulded and administered the government under it for many years. It was only when they conceived that they had to choose between the Union and the constitution, that they resolved to abandon the former and preserve the latter.

Whether our people acted wisely or unwisely, and were culpable for loving the Union so well, and clinging to it so long, must remain unanswered forever.

Looking back it is not surprising that the North should have been unwilling to part with the South. It was natural for the citizens of each section to adhere to it. I have never blamed a Northern man for supporting *his* country, in the contest which followed; and before the bar of justice and fairness, I demand the same recognition for myself and countrymen in supporting *ours*. We are all to a large extent creatures of education and victims of circumstances. This is our native earth, and rights to which we were born were in jeopardy. Men "love their land; because it is their own:" "And scorn to give aught other reason why." The seceding states united in a confederacy, which maintained for four years an organized constitutional government; put great armies in the field; secured belligerent rights, and though not formally recognized, had an existence among the nations of the earth. It claimed our allegiance, and was entitled to it. *Our cause was just, and to-day I am not ashamed of it.* It can never become odious in the bright light of truth. In it were centered the hopes of millions, through the varying fortunes of war for four years, and after multiplied thousands of heroic deeds and deaths, the Sun of the Confederacy set forever, in gloom and darkness; its bright banner, all covered with glory and renown, was furled on land and sea; its gallant soldiers and sailors dispersed; its music hushed; its votaries smitten with sadness and grief. But though the cause was lost, it was not dishonored. Its existence, though brief, was dazzling with brilliancy. Its arms, though finally unsuccessful, filled the world with their renown. Its struggle, though a failure, showed the world how a brave people could dare, and suffer, and die to maintain their rights, as they understood them, and recreant to their high trust will this people be, if the time shall ever come, when Jefferson Davis and his compatriots shall be forgotten.

One of the chief actors, the most colossal figure in these stirring times, was Jefferson Davis, the illustrious deceased, the grand historic character, whose life is commemorated on this occasion, and by these proceedings. When the Confederate government had been resolved on, all eyes were turned to the great Mississippian, as pre-eminently fitted to be the President of the Confederate States, and commander-in-chief of its army and navy, and he was unanimously elected to that position by the Provisional Congress assembled at Montgomery. In a calm, on placid seas, anybody may steer or command the vessel, but when a storm comes, the highest skill and courage are required. It is a just tribute to the distinguished dead that, in the supreme moment, when patriotism ruled, and naught was thought of but the honor

and glory of the infant government about to begin its struggle for existence, and a great statesman and soldier was desired to be placed at the head of affairs, no other name than his was mentioned for the great trust. Called to be the chief executive of the Confederate States, this great man addressed himself earnestly to the arduous task imposed upon him, which was no less than to mould a government, in its civil and military departments, while struggling by arms to maintain its very existence. He was subsequently elected by the unanimous votes of the electoral college the permanent President of the Confederate States.

How grandly he bore the burden placed upon him during the four years or more of the existence of the Confederacy, is familiar history. The end came, and found him at his post of duty, which he had never deserted during all the weary period of the contest. The Confederate cause was lost, and its illustrious leader became a prisoner of State, falsely charged by irresponsible popular clamor at the North, with complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln, and afterwards falsely charged by indictment with treason against the United States. Every effort was made to humiliate and degrade him. His wrists were manacled by handcuffs within the massive walls of Fortress Monroe! Shame and eternal execration on the authors of such unparalleled meanness! Proudly and defiantly he bore himself under all that he was forced to endure, and showed the world the impossibility of storming the fortress of a resolute and intrepid soul. All efforts to humiliate or degrade the noble prisoner failed. His splendid character shone forth conspicuously from the narrow confines of his dark prison cell. His brave spirit never quailed. No murmur escaped him. He scorned to sue for mercy. He demanded to be tried on the charge against him. For two years he was deprived of his liberty and his rights, bearing himself with composure and dignity befitting his high character and distinguished career. The decency of the North soon revolted at the base charge of complicity in the death of Lincoln, and the prosecution for treason was abandoned. He was allowed his liberty, but was ever pursued with malevolent rancor by a large portion of the people of the North, and was constantly the object of misrepresentation and abuse by those incapable of rising to a just conception of his great character, and the justifiableness of his course.

Probably, no man was ever more misrepresented or misunderstood.

He did not desire or seek to promote disunion. He was animated by the common sentiment of the Southern people. He loved the Union he had been taught to revere; in which he had grown to honor and distinction, and for which he had periled his life and shed his blood.

He had more to lose by disunion than any Southern man. He was, undoubtedly, the foremost man in the South, among our public men. He was a United States Senator, and had been Secretary of War, and with a brilliant reputation as a civilian and soldier, had fair prospects for the Presidency of the United States. He was slow to accept secession.

The oft-repeated charge that he desired a disruption of the Union that he might be chief of a Southern Confederacy, is utterly untrue. It is well-known by those possessed of his views, that he did not wish to be President of the Confederate States.

The imputation that he did not have a just conception of the contest, or that he thought a small number of troops or a short time sufficient to end the struggle by arms, is a groundless calumny, born of total ignorance or reckless hate or mendacity. He, more than any of our public men, anticipated a long and serious struggle. His knowledge of the people of the North convinced him that the South would not be allowed to depart in peace, and his knowledge of war, and the preparation and resources of the North, and the comparative want of both in the South, impressed him with the seriousness of the step taken by the seceding States. Time and again have I heard him, in this hall, warn his hearers that the time might come when a sense of danger would impel the Southern States to assume control of their own affairs in a separate government, and that wisdom dictated timely preparation for the possible conflict. His view was that secession meant war, and that the States of the South should prepare for the possible contingency, both because such preparation would go far to avert the necessity, by deterring from that course which would produce disruption; and, if the States should be driven at last to secession, they would be ready to maintain their attitude. After the formation of the Confederacy it was the declared opinion of President Davis, in the early part of the spring of 1861, that the war would be serious, and that Virginia would be the chief seat of war. I heard him make this declaration in Montgomery, in May, 1861, and a distinguished friend of mine, now living, was present and heard it.

His career was illustrious, and challenges admiration. He was a great man. He was the grandest man I ever knew, and I hope I will be pardoned for saying that I have had opportunities for measuring him by some of the greatest of earth. Tried often, and on great occasions, he always proved equal to the demand upon him, and thus sustained the real test of greatness. Bred to arms, he achieved distinction as a soldier. Betaking himself to civil life, and the peaceful pursuits of a cotton planter, in 1835, after seven years of service in the regular army, he was eminently successful, and in a few years had \$10,000 to his credit with his cotton factor in New Orleans, as shown by the testimony of that factor, now on file in this capitol. Embarking in public life, after nine years of seclusion on his plantation in Warren county, he surprised the country by the extent and variety of his knowledge, and his wonderful power as a public speaker, in a land abounding in orators, and was very soon a recognized leader. Elected to the Congress of the United States, as a representative, he maintained his reputation. Chosen colonel of the First Mississippi regiment for service in the war with Mexico, he hastened to the scene of hostilities, and won great renown as a brave and skillful officer. Returning on crutches, rendered necessary by a serious wound received in the battle of Buena Vista, he was offered a brigadier-general's

commission by President Polk, and declined it, because he held to the view that all commissions should come from the States in such cases.

Arriving at home with his splendid military reputation added to his civic virtues, "Col. Davis" was the pride of Mississippi, in that day of her glory and power. A vacancy having occurred in the Senate, he was appointed United States Senator by Gov. Brown, and, when the legislature met in 1848, he was, by the vote of every member, elected to fill the unexpired term in the United States Senate. Here he took high rank, and was chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. In 1850 he was elected by the Legislature of Mississippi to a full term of six years in the Senate of the United States. In 1851, at the call of the State's rights party in Mississippi, which had been beaten and discomfited at the election held in August for delegates to a constitutional convention, so that its candidate for governor retired from the ticket, Col. Davis resigned his seat in the Senate and made the race as a candidate for governor. He was then for a time in private life, and in 1853 was called to the cabinet of President Pierce, and made Secretary of War, and contributed much to the efficiency of the army of the United States. At the close of his four years' service as Secretary of War, he again entered the Senate, in pursuance of an election by the Legislature of Mississippi, and again was made chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, for which he was pre-eminently fitted, according to the judgment of his fellow Senators and the country.

He continued in the Senate taking a prominent part and maintaining his well-earned and distinguished reputation as a publicist and debater, and was easily the foremost Senator from the South, until he was called away by the sovereign voice of Mississippi, spoken by a convention of her people assembled in this hall, in January, 1861. That voice he never failed to hear and heed. Sorrowfully he turned his back on the Senate of the United States, after a dignified and pathetic farewell, and hastened to new duties and perils. He was made major-general of State forces, and betook himself with characteristic promptness and zeal to the discharge of the duties of this position, and was thus engaged when he was called to the Presidency of the Confederate States.

He was not a saint; he was human, and doubtless erred. He may have had faults. The sun has spots, but they are invisible, obscured by its effulgent rays. So, his faults, whatever they may have been, were eclipsed by his splendid virtues. Through a long and busy life, tried on many theatres, and ever exposed to the clearest public gaze, he bore himself magnificently, illustrating many of the highest virtues that adorn human character. *His courage was sublime.*

I speak not merely of the sort of courage that enables one to bear himself well on the battle-field. Most men have that. But have reference to that high moral courage based on truth and faith in the right; that moral virtue, which sustains its possessor under all circumstances and prompts and

enables him to follow his conviction of duty in the face of a frowning world, if need be.

He had a lofty contempt of everything low and mean. His methods were all direct, open and manly. He was incapable of truckling; he did not know how to act the small politician. He had faith in the triumph of right. He was governed by principle in his actions, and depended on his high character, and public appreciation of it for his success. His public and private life was pure; his conduct always upright. He was always truthful, honorable, brave, faithful, and consistent in maintenance of the right as he viewed it.

A distinguishing feature of his character, and the most prominent one was his devotion to duty. *Duty was his inspiration and guide.* Where it pointed he followed, whatever the sacrifice or peril. He left his pleasant seat in Congress to lead Mississippians on fields of carnage, in a foreign land, in obedience to its behest. When severely wounded in battle, he remained in command all day. He resigned a full term of six years in the Senate of the United States, to be the candidate of his party for an office he did not desire, and in the face of the strong probability of defeat. So, when he accepted the presidency of the Confederate States, with its exacting duties and perplexities. *No man had a higher sense of duty.* He consecrated his life and devoted all the energies of his earnest nature to the service of his country.

His conception of public office was that it is a public trust—a place to render the very best service he could—to do duty for his country, and he toiled assiduously and unremittingly for this purpose, and with this high resolve animating and sustaining him.

There was never a more faithful public servant, and this imports far more than is generally understood; for the multitude has little conception of the corroding care; the consuming anxiety; the pressing and almost crushing sense of responsibility, and the ceaseless effort of him who is entrusted with great responsibility, and is fit for it and worthy of it. The many throw care aside when the day's business is over, and sleep sweetly and soundly, knowing nothing of the perturbed hours and disturbed rest of those in public positions of great responsibility, on whose sufficiency and fidelity the welfare and happiness of society largely depends. The many are patriotic, undoubtedly, for it is their interest to be. There has been and there is such a thing as patriotism as the chief inspiration to holding office. There are those who hold office to serve their country, surprising as this announcement may now be regarded by many.

Though the multitude were reproached for following Christ for the loaves and fishes of which they had eaten, there were yet some who sought him from higher motives than the loaves and fishes. Though of the ten lepers healed by him, nine failed to return to give him thanks that was his due and their duty, there was one who was mindful of his obligation. And although the *per centum* of those actuated by proper motives and mindful

of their just obligation may still, as of old, be small; there are yet some who desire public office to render service to their country; and Mr. Davis was a conspicuous example of this small class it may be, but which certainly exists.

His consistent adherence to principle was strikingly exhibited by his refusal of a brigadier-general's commission at the hands of the President of the United States, because he held the view that commissions of officers of the volunteer forces should come from the States; and during all his administration as President he confined himself strictly within the constitution and laws, thus illustrating by example what he had contended for.

His firmness was mistaken by many for obstinacy, and he was sometimes reproached for persistent adherence to his own convictions as to the conduct of affairs. Such was the earnestness of his nature, the strength and sincerity of his convictions, the stability of his character, and the steadfastness of his views, that he was slow to yield to any suggested change in that on which he had deliberately resolved.

To this trait of his character are we indebted for the priceless treasure we possess in the matchless fame of Generals Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, and Stonewall Jackson. When Lee accomplished nothing in West Virginia, and Jackson as little in his Romney expedition in the winter of 1861, and when General A. S. Johnston retreated from Bowling Green, there was great outcry because of these failures, and President Davis was urged to supersede those officers, but he was aware of the insuperable difficulties, and sustained the officers named with undiminished confidence until they severally vindicated his wisdom and firmness in withstanding public clamor, and achieved enviable fame for themselves and the Confederate arms. He lived and labored for his country, and while his strong individuality exhibited itself in his administration of his great trust, his paramount concern, his absorbing object—that which possessed and swayed and governed him—was devotion to the country whose faithful servant he was.

He had a fine person—a splendid bearing that commanded attention everywhere. "He was chief of a thousand for graces." His attainments were varied and extensive. As an orator he could thrill, and move an assembly as no other man whom I ever heard, could. As a writer he had few superiors, for a clear, forceful, and graceful expression of his views. His State papers are models of style. His defense of the Southern people in his history of *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, will stand forever unanswered and unanswerable, as their complete vindication before the impartial tribunal of disinterested posterity.

The former civilization of the South produced the highest types of manhood and womanhood the world has ever seen, and Jefferson Davis was one of the best specimens of that splendid period.

But he has gone from us. He sleeps his last sleep. No sound shall awake him to glory again. While he lived he filled the world with his fame, and millions mourn his death. Death never claimed a nobler victim. When, a

few weeks ago, his death was announced, the busy world paused to notice and discuss the sad event. It was a notable occurrence. The grand character of the man, coupled with his representative character as the illustrious chief and survivor of a cause that had challenged the respect of the world, secured general attention. Throughout the South that he loved so well, and served so faithfully, and where his great virtues were known, and prized by all capable of appreciating the highest qualities of manhood, grief was universal. No such exhibition of universal sorrow was ever witnessed in our land. Millions joined in doing honor to the memory of this great character. Peer of Washington! His fame is secure. Glory guards it. It will grow brighter with the march of time. Mankind *will* honor and pay tribute to the high qualities he exhibited through his long life. It is instinctive to do so, when passion does not sway. It is the tribute paid by the spark of divinity in the soul of man to virtues that are God-like, because God-given.

"Lives of great men all remind us we may make our lives sublime," and I would fail to improve this occasion, if I did not seek to impress on this audience some of the lessons taught by the distinguished career of the illustrious dead. Disraeli said, "The secret of success is constancy to purpose." The wise man, long before, had said: "Seest though a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings; he shall shall not stand before mean (obscure) men." High resolve, with constancy and diligence, will, as a rule, surely bring success, and these traits of character were conspicuously present in all the life of Mr. Davis. His was a busy life. He had no time for trifling. The gaiety and frivolity of life, and even its ordinary social claims, had little charm for him, for he was chiefly occupied with the great concerns of life. His character is admirable, in his utter disregard of common methods of securing popular favor. He cared not for the popularity that is run after.

"He would not flatter Neptune for his trident,
Or Jove for 's power to thunder."

He commanded respect because he deserved it. Whatever his hand found to do, he did it with his might. In private life; in the army; in the House or Senate; as Secretary of War; as President of the Confederate States; wherever he was placed, diligence, constancy, seriousness and devotion to business characterized him. He was always diligent and faithful. He did his duty, and thus commanded respect. Duty performed never fails of its reward, in some way. His splendid character was superior to the accidents and failures of life. Chains and a dungeon could not disgrace him. He verified the distich,

"Honor and shame from no condition rise;
Act well your part, there all the honor lies."

He showed himself greater in adversity and defeat than in the day of his power. He proved that "*Worth makes the man*," and in adversity rose above his surroundings, and reflected honor on human nature.

He was ambitious, no doubt, but it was to serve his country, and he was ever ready to sacrifice himself for it. He exhibited self-denying patriotism. His life proves that conspicuous merit will secure attention, and obtain recognition in time of danger and popular concern. In a rude age kings and leaders were chosen for their stature. The man who stood head and shoulders above his brethren was in the line of promotion, and apt to secure it. So, in this age of civilization and refinement, when physical proportions are less necessary, and therefore less influential, he who possesses intellectual and moral qualities which place him above his fellow-men, is very apt to be called to fill high place. True it is that

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

But while there are doubtless men who live and die unknown to fame, because of want of opportunity, the man of true merit, who aspires to popular favor, and pursues it by proper methods, as he will, is apt to secure the prize he seeks. Mr. Davis's eminent ability, as displayed before a convention, led to his being brought before the people as a candidate; and each place he afterward held came to him because of his fitness for it. He was sought for high places of trust and honor. He was by nature and sense of propriety incapable of office-seeking, as sometimes witnessed.

He might truly have declared :

"Exegi monumentum ære perennius."

He erected for himself a monument more lasting than brass; but, if ever a man was deserving of a monumental pile commemorative of his virtues and services, and expressive of a people's gratitude, he was. He gave his life for us. He was a vicarious sufferer for the whole South. He bared his bosom, and received in his person, as our representative, the envenomed hate of the North. It was on our account he was imprisoned. For us he wore manacles! Because he was our chief, chosen by us for his exalted position, he was reviled, traduced, denounced and pursued as the chief of malefactors. Every venomous shaft hurled at him was aimed at us. He was simply our representative, abused because he was such. His life was part of the history of the Confederate struggle. Because he survived the Confederacy, and proudly maintained an unrepentant attitude, refusing to sue for pardon or seek relief from political disabilities, he continued, long after the war was over, to provoke the bitterness of large numbers of the people of the Northern, who never lost an opportunity assail him. The injustice of this is manifest, for, if he chose to remain under political disabilities and asked no favor, none had any just cause of complaint.

He was our most conspicuous representative, it is true, but he was animated and moved by the common impulse of the people of the South. He was our leader in a cause dear to us all as Southern patriots, and was no more deserving the wrath of the victorious foe than the rest of us. The general love and confidence of the Southern people respecting him seemed to irritate and provoke the vilifiers of the North towards him.

A monument erected on massive foundations, deep and broad and strong, would represent his sturdy character built on the sure foundation of truth and right. Piercing the topmost skies, it would typify his lofty sense of honor and duty. Its breadth would signify his growing fame. Enduring for ages it will be only coeval with his reputation, and the continuing influence of his great example. Covered all over, thickly covered, with appropriate and inspiring inscriptions, inciting to lofty endeavor, it will but feebly express the lessons of his great life.

But he is gone. We ne'er shall behold his like again. His,
 "One of the few, the immortal names,
 That were not born to die." Then,
 "Let us weep in our darkness, but weep not for him!
 Not for him, who departing, leaves millions in tears!
 Not for him, who has died full of honor and years!
 Not for him, who ascended fame's ladder so high,
 From the round at the top, he has stepped to the sky."

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